

**THE BIOGRAPHY OF  
HON. ROBERT WILLIAM WILCOX**



BY

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TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

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## Translator's Introduction

The publication of Nakanaela's book coincided with a brief period of optimism for those who believed that Hawaiians should control their own affairs. Represented by the National Reform Party, Hawaiians running on a platform for native-rights had just succeeded in achieving an effective majority in the Hawaiian legislature and moreover had managed to turn out a domineering cabinet set in place by the 1887 "Bayonet Constitution." For years this cabinet led by Lorrin Thurston had whittled away at the prestige and authority of the Hawaiian monarchy. Wilcox had his detractors, then as now, but few would argue that much of the credit for the achievements of the National Reform Party belongs to Wilcox. In 1890 he was the man of the moment.

A complex mix of American, Hawaiian and Italian cultural values found expression in Wilcox's life. His father, William S. Wilcox, was a New Englander, a descendant of a patrician family from Tiverton, Devonshire, England, "British offsprings of the Teutonic race mixed with the ancient Roman blood from the time of Caesar," according to the Wilcox genealogy.<sup>1</sup> Two of the Tiverton clan immigrated to New England but later the elder, Daniel Wilcox, returned to England. The younger immigrant settled in Connecticut and his descendants spread through Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York. The Wilcox clan of Kaua'i founded by eighth missionary company member Abner Wilcox descended from the Connecticut branch of Wilcoxes. William S. Wilcox, father of Robert W. Wilcox, came from a Rhode Island branch of the family.<sup>2</sup>

Most sources, including Nakanaela, claim that the elder Wilcox came to Hawai'i in 1843 as a sea captain. More accurately, according to New England sources, after tiring of the carpenter's trade, he arrived as first mate on the whaler *Menkar*, under the command of Captain Joseph Sherman.<sup>3</sup> When Captain Sherman announced his intention to put into the Hawaiian islands to sell some trinkets, Wilcox objected, wanting to get on with the whaling. The captain suggested that Wilcox leave the ship, since he had no liking for the way it was run. Wilcox made the best of his situation, joining the crew of another New Bedford whaler. With his share of the proceeds of a

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<sup>1</sup> "Ka Mookuahau o Robert Kalanihiapo a Ikeia ma ka Inoa Robert W. Wilcox, Honuaua, Maui." (The Genealogy of Robert Kalanihiapo, also Known by the Name Robert W. Wilcox, Honuaua, Maui). *Ka Loea Kalaiaina*, July 29, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Wilcox's Family History." *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Feb. 21, 1895, p. 3. Reprinted from an unnamed New Bedford, Mass. newspaper. A log of the *Menkar* held by the Newport Museum is available as Pacific Manuscripts Bureau PMB 768.

successful voyage, Wilcox returned to Hawai‘i and went into the cattle ranching business with L. L. Torbert. He did not entirely abandon seagoing life, and in 1849 took Torbert's schooner *Josephine* to San Francisco with a cargo of gold seekers and Irish potatoes.<sup>4</sup> Later Wilcox invested his capital in land on Maui, and in 1854 married Kalua Makoleokalani, a descendant of Maui royalty. The line of Kalua's father has been traced back to Lonohonuakini, mō‘ī of Maui and on her mother's side to Umi-a-Liloa of Maui .

William and Kalua Wilcox had six children. Robert was the oldest, followed by Caroline Haupa, Albert Richard Ke-pa, Edward Makole, Charles Kauakahiakua, and Nancy Kalua. After Kalua's death in 1865, William Wilcox returned periodically to New England, and remarried there, but was drawn back to Hawai‘i. He wanted his children to have a voice in the “reorganization of Hawaiian society,” and expressed concern that because of their mixed blood they would not be fully accepted in either Hawaiian or in haole society.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly William Wilcox communicated his aspirations to his children: certainly determination to have a voice in Hawaiian affairs was to be a vital character trait in William's oldest son, Robert. William Wilcox outlived most of his children, and at the time of his death in 1910, was still overseeing and farming his land holdings at Ulupalakua, Maui.<sup>6</sup>

Robert Wilcox was given a Hawaiian name, Kalanihiapo, but seems not to have used it, preferring to be known as Robert William. He grew up on the rain-swept slopes of Haleakalā. Nakanaela nicely isolates behavior patterns in the youthful Wilcox that were to figure prominently in the character of Wilcox, the man: a scrappy and athletic disposition and an inquisitive intelligence. As Nakanaela hints, young Wilcox was well aware of his ali‘i heritage. He mastered a knowledge of Hawaiian genealogy and in later life once dared to correct several genealogical points in Lili‘uokalani's publication, *A Queen's Story*.<sup>7</sup>

After a few years in the common school of Makawao, Maui, Robert's father packed up the required “four suits of clothes, one Sunday suit, one warm coat, two sleeping suits, three bed covers, one blanket, two pillow cases, and two hats,”<sup>8</sup> paid the \$75 annual tuition, and enrolled his son Robert in Haleakalā Boarding School situated in an isolated area near Makawao. His

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<sup>4</sup> Janion, Aubrey. *The Olowalu Massacre*. Norfolk Island: Island Heritage Press, 1976, pp. 39-41.

<sup>5</sup> "Wilcox's Family History." *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Feb. 21, 1895, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Obituary of William Wilcox. *Maui News*, Jan. 4, 1910, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> "Some Genealogy: R. W. Wilcox Corrects Statements in Ex-Queen's Book." *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 25, 1898, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Bureau of Public Instruction. Correspondence files, Maui. State Archives of Hawai‘i.

classmates, in addition to his three brothers, included Lorrin Thurston and Hezekial Aea. Both Thurston and Aea figured in Wilcox's later life. Thurston was to become a bitter political enemy. When Wilcox was elected as Hawai'i's first representative to the United States Congress, he intended that Aea's son be the first Hawaiian to attend West Point. The West Point appointment, however, seems not to have materialized, and Aea's name does not appear in West Point enrollment records.

Operated by the Bureau of Public Instruction, Haleakalā School experimented with a “manual labor” curriculum. The boys contributed to their keep by milking cows, pounding their own poi, and farming the school's fields. The school was not a success and closed in 1878 after only ten years of existence. The Bureau of Public Instruction cited a difficulty in retaining headmasters as the principal reason for closing the school.<sup>9</sup> Robert Wilcox, however, remembered the school and his teacher, Mrs. Sarah Thurston, with affection. He also responded with enthusiasm to the military-school regime instituted at the Haleakalā school by headmaster F. L. Clarke.

After graduating from Haleakalā, Wilcox spent four years on Maui teaching school and tinkering with sugar cane processing equipment. As Nakanaela details, he began to speak out and write on public issues of the day and after an unsuccessful bid in 1878 was elected in 1880 as Wailuku's delegate to King Kalākaua's Legislative Assembly.

The Kalākaua court, to which Wilcox arrived to take his place, presaged new vigor and dignity for the Hawaiian Kingdom. Kalākaua proposed to place more Hawaiians in important government posts. The kahuna, the chanters and the dancers came out of hiding, having been driven underground by the missionary influence. Luxurious appointments appropriate to a world-class monarchy replaced missionary austerity. The “mission boys” viewed these moves as a threat to their long-established and comfortable roles as the real power base of the Hawaiian monarchy. American merchants and planters were similarly uneasy. There was disunity even among Hawaiian ranks, and supporters of the Dowager Queen Emma, who, having lost to Kalākaua in the 1874 election, worked behind the scenes against him.

Kalākaua, whose concern for his native people seems to have been genuine and sincere, took respite from these tensions in his court amusements, and for a time no one pleased the King as much as silver-tongued Celso Caesar Moreno, an Italian born “adventurer,” as the press of the day liked to term him, who arrived in Honolulu in 1879 with visions of a cable to connect America and

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<sup>9</sup> Bureau of Public Instruction. Minutes, 1845-1879, p. 368, 444, 445. State Archives of Hawai'i.

Asia, a steamship line from the American western coast to China by way of Hawai‘i, and a plan to increase the numbers of Chinese immigrants to the islands. All of Moreno's schemes harmonized with Kalākaua's own dreams of Hawai‘i as a Pacific world power. Moreno was in the Kingdom for only nine months, but during that time managed to stir up a number of whirlwinds. His influence on Hawaiian affairs was substantial, and this dashing Italian remained a factor in Wilcox's fortunes until after the turn of the century.

Wilcox arrived in Honolulu with a characteristic contentious flourish. His seat in the Legislature was contested by M. Kealoha, who also claimed to have won the election on Maui. Finding that the total number of votes cast in the Wailuku district exceeded the number of authorized voters, a legislative judicial committee reviewed the situation, ultimately deciding in Wilcox's favor. Although Wilcox was fairly quiet as a freshman legislator, he did introduce a bill for tax relief for large Hawaiian families, and proposed that neighbor-island hospitals and roads be built. He became known as an advocate of education for Hawaiians and supported a bill to send Hawaiian youths abroad to be educated.<sup>10</sup> As Wilcox himself was chosen as one of those youths, this last appropriation, brought before the Legislature by Kalākaua probably at Moreno's suggestion, served as a turning point in Wilcox's life.

Before Wilcox's selection as one of the scholars, however, he figured in an episode that allowed him to cast off his identity as Mr. Wilcox from Wailuku and to enter Hawaii's larger political scene. At the close of the Legislature, Kalākaua precipitously dismissed his cabinet and appointed a new group. Moreno, who had just been naturalized as an American citizen, was appointed to the powerful post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Yielding to public pressure against this step, Kalākaua reversed the appointment before a week had passed. Wilcox took the position that the King had the right to appoint whomever he chose, and he posted placards around town proclaiming “Way up Moreno!”, defending Moreno as a champion of the native Hawaiian people.

In times of trouble Hawaiians chose to gather not at haole-dominated Kawaiaha‘o Church, but rather at the “second church”, Kaumakapili. Here Wilcox in “stentorian tones,” (so mocked the haole press<sup>11</sup>) delivered an impassioned speech opposing “na keiki o na misionari” (the children of the missionaries), and reasserting Kalākaua's royal prerogatives. A mob scene erupted as hats flew

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<sup>10</sup> Journal of the Legislative Assembly. State Archives of Hawai‘i.

<sup>11</sup> *Hawaiian Gazette*, August 25, 1880, p. 3.

into the air and the audience tramped to and fro in the church aisles, shouting and crying.<sup>12</sup> Honolulu was witnessing for the first time the charismatic force of a new leader. When calm was restored, the gathering passed a resolution quietly thanking Kalākaua for his reconsideration of Moreno. A disgruntled Wilcox presented Kalākaua with his own minority resolution.

Several days later Wilcox received news that he was to be included in the European study-abroad program, along with the considerably younger boys, James Booth and Robert Boyd. The three were the first of 18 young Hawaiians sent to six foreign countries during 1880-1887.

Kalākaua appointed Moreno as guardian and escort for Wilcox, Booth, and Boyd, thereby allowing Moreno a more graceful exit than might otherwise have been possible. The choice of European schools for the boys represented an affront to the Calvinistic Americans in Hawai‘i, who mistrusted what they perceived as European pomp and aristocratic pretensions.

The question arises as to the choice of Wilcox. No longer a youth, Wilcox in 1880 was a man of twenty-five, with several years as a teacher and elected official already behind him. Agnes Quigg, who had studied the full history of the studies-abroad program, notes a larger motivating force behind the study-abroad program: Kalākaua's wish to enhance the prestige of the Hawaiian monarchy by educating the children of Hawaiian chiefs for responsible positions in governmental and professional affairs of the Kingdom.<sup>13</sup> Through such means, the reins of government could be placed where they belonged, in the hands of native Hawaiians. Wilcox met the chiefly criteria through his mother's lineage. Undoubtedly there were other factors in Wilcox's selection. His Kaumakapili speech attracted attention, and both Kalākaua and Moreno had reason to thank Wilcox for the support Wilcox had demonstrated for the two.

Nakanaela supplies fresh details on the travels of these Hawaiian tourists as they sampled famous sites in the United States and in Europe. In the American capital city Moreno carried out a secret mission for Kalākaua by presenting letters of complaint against American authorities in Hawai‘i to future President James A. Garfield. Kalākaua believed that American diplomats had schemed against Hawaiian royal authority. Also in Moreno's pocket were letters of introduction bearing Kalākaua's seal, which, as Nakanaela details, gained the group entree to a number of international notables. Nakanaela fails to reveal the source of his information on the American and European tour, and some of the details are in error. (These problems as they are known to the

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Agnes Quigg. "Kalākaua's Study Abroad Program." *Hawaiian Journal of History*, v. 22, 1988 , pp. 170-208.

present editors are considered in footnotes to the Nakanaela text.) Perhaps Nakanaela embroidered his tale, or it may have been that he was given incorrect information.

Moreno attempted to carry out the original plan of enrolling the boys in German schools, but German authorities questioned the boys' lack of German language skills, and ultimately the Hawaiians were placed in Italian academies. Boyd enrolled in the Royal Naval Academy at Leghorn, Booth in the Royal Military Academy in Naples, and Wilcox in the Royal Academy of Civil and Military Engineers in Turin.

At this point, in 1881, Kalākaua himself arrived in Italy, on his own grand tour. Kalākaua was shepherded about by his bossy attorney general and commissioner of immigration, William N. Armstrong along with Chamberlain Charles H. Judd. Finding that Moreno was still involved with the affairs of Kalākaua and the study-abroad program, Armstrong summarily dismissed Moreno and placed the boys in the charge of Michele Cerulli of Naples, also appointing Cerulli as Hawai'i's Italian consul. For his part, Kalākaua remained loyal to his old friend Moreno, believing him not to be the devil he was painted,<sup>14</sup> but he chose not to challenge Armstrong on this point. Kalākaua found the boys “wonderfully improved in physic [sic] and manners.”<sup>15</sup>

In Turin, the ancient Alp-ringed city cluttered with remnants of a Roman, medieval and Renaissance past, Wilcox “became Italianized,” as Honolulu critics put it. Immersing himself for the first time in the history of the world outside of Hawai'i, he read of the exploits of Italian patriots Count Camillo Benso di Cavour and Guiseppe Garibaldi, and found application in these histories to problems existing in Hawai'i. When he happened upon Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Wilcox discovered surprising parallels between Machiavellian philosophy and his own views. Wilcox agreed completely with Machiavelli's analysis of the desperate time of men when salvation can only be expected through the intervention of a powerful leader. Excited by his revelations, Wilcox mailed a copy of Machiavelli to Kalākaua. Kalākaua, however, wearily replied that of course he had already studied Machiavelli but found “half of the the instructions antiquated and inconsequential in these times of Higher Learning.”<sup>16</sup>

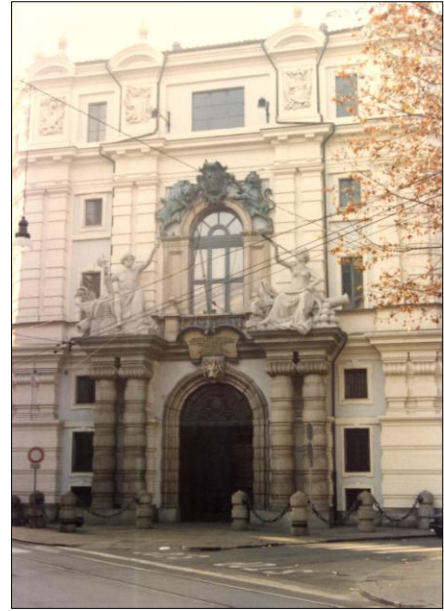
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<sup>14</sup> Richard A. Greer, ed. "The Royal Tourist — Kalākaua's Letters Home from Tokio to London." *Hawaiian Journal of History*, v. 5, 1971, pp. 75-109.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p. 91

<sup>16</sup> Kalākaua to Wilcox, April 9, 1883. State Archives of Hawai'i.

Wilcox graduated from the Turin Military Academy, and then enrolled in the Royal Training School of Artillery and Engineering (Scuola d'Applicazione d'Artiglieria e Genio). The school, housed in a massive stone structure that in Renaissance years was Turin's Armory, still functions today as a military school now called Scuola d'Applicazione d'Arma. Wilcox acquitted himself well, ranking in the top half of his class, no mean feat for a Hawaiian expatriate.



The trappings of aristocratic Italian life pleased Wilcox, and he was excessively proud on the day he earned the right to wear the elaborate uniform of an Italian army officer. Rationalizing the expense of the outfit to his guardian, Wilcox wrote that he would probably make use of the uniform at home in Hawai'i. Make use of it he did, in two revolutions, and the uniform was destined to become part of the lore of Hawai'i's revolutionary era. The Nakanaela book includes a chant, noting the admiring popular response to the sight of Wilcox so splendidly clad. "Behold Wilcox," goes the chant, "in the glittering apparel of Italy, he resembles a yellow-striped bird!"

The cloud on the Italian sky was Michele Cerulli, a niggardly, mean-spirited guardian who kept the Hawaiian students on an unnecessarily austere budget. By now Wilcox was moving in upper-class Italian society, and he chafed against Cerulli's tight-fistedness. Wilcox complained to Cerulli, who promptly forwarded Wilcox's angry letter to Kalākaua. Kalākaua wrote a scolding letter to Wilcox, whereupon Wilcox apologized to some degree. A certain credibility must be accorded Wilcox's complaints against Cerulli. When Cerulli, by this time bankrupt, was replaced, he refused to render a final satisfactory accounting of the boys' expenses, and Walter Murray Gibson, acting as Kalākaua's financial minister, commented unfavorably on Cerulli's handling of the accounts.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Correspondence between Wilcox, Cerulli, Kalākaua, and Gibson is in the "Hawaiian Students Abroad" file. State Archives of Hawai'i.



Nakanaela omits the above difficulties, but does spin a pretty tale of Wilcox's romance with a titled young Italian woman, Louisa Maria Carolina Elizabeth Isabella Sobrero, known familiarly as Gina Sobrero. From the Nakanaela narrative readers learn something of what Wilcox said and what Gina said during the wooing, but the source for these passages remains a mystery. Perhaps Wilcox shared memories with Nakanaela, perhaps, enticingly so, Nakanaela had access to a private journal, or possibly Nakanaela experimented here with fictionalized biography. In outline, however, the passages relating to the courtship follow the corresponding account included in Gina Sobrero's published memoirs, *Espatriata; Da Torino ad Honolulu* (Rome: Voghera, 1908).

On her mother's side, Gina Sobrero claimed connections to the aristocratic Colonna di Stigliano family of Sicily. Her paternal grandfather was named baron in 1844 in recognition of his military services for the House of Savoy.<sup>18</sup> Gina's father Lorenzo Carlo Giuseppe Sobrero inherited this title and was also a military officer, for a time acting as one as Wilcox's instructors.

Gina had a literary bent. She wrote poetry, and in later years, an etiquette book that went through several editions.<sup>19</sup> Of most interest to Hawaiian historians is the travelogue Gina published in 1908 under the pseudonym "Mantea."<sup>20</sup> In this book, Gina adds her memories of the romance in Turin when Wilcox wooed her as his "little lehua blossom," conjuring up all the romance of far-off Hawaii, land of the volcano goddess Pele and her sacred flowers. Gina reveals that Wilcox promised her she would be a "queen" in Hawai'i. Wilcox's faults had more to do with pride rather than dishonesty, and quite possibly Wilcox, rightfully proud of his own genealogy, saw little difference between Italian nobility and Hawaiian ali'i. Aside from his way with words, Wilcox was an extremely handsome man, over six feet tall, with burning dark eyes, the "noble Roman nose" of his father's family, as one observer noted, "and the exotic Hawaiian features of his mother."<sup>21</sup> In his impressive Italian uniform, he undoubtedly caught the eye of many a young lady.

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<sup>18</sup> Manno, A. "Il patriziato subalpino." Unpublished typescript held by Biiblioteca Reale, Turin, pp. 450-451.

<sup>19</sup> Gina Sobrero. *Casi della Vita*. Torino: S. Lattes. 1911. Also, her *Le Buone Usanze*. Firenze: A. Salini, 1918. Rev. ed., 1923.

<sup>20</sup> Gina Sobrero. *L'espatriata: Da Torino ad Honolulu*. Roma: E. Voghera, 1908.

<sup>21</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 25, 1891, p. 1.

On their wedding day Gina and Wilcox were received by Cardinal Alimonda at the archbishop's palace. The ceremony itself was a civil one, conducted at the Palazzo di Citta, Turin's magnificent town hall. Now Wilcox stood with his bride near the site where medieval kings had dazzled the countryside with nuptial displays of fireworks, "burning heaps a-fire set off by a dove with wings ablaze."<sup>22</sup>

A second ceremony followed at a Protestant chapel. Bearing a lavish wedding gift from Kalākaua, Colonels James Boyd and Samuel Nowlein, along with Nowlein's daughter Maile, who was studying art in Turin, represented the Hawaiian court at the ceremonies. The Italian press expressed a hearty liking for "these pleasant and amiable gentlemen, whose manners are polished and whose conversation is highly intelligent." They were pleased that Wilcox "should have chosen one of the most beautiful flowers of the garden of Italy to transplant to those far away regions, where reigns an eternal spring."<sup>23</sup> In reporting on the ceremony, Honolulu newspapers, with customary Yankee suspicion of Old World pretentiousness, decried the "great pomp" of the ceremony.<sup>24</sup>

The newlyweds left for a honeymoon in Switzerland. Wilcox had learned several months earlier of the "Bayonet Constitution" imposed upon Hawai'i which severely restricted the powers of the monarch. "Had I been on the spot," Wilcox angrily wrote, "I would have the place of chief commandant." This would have prevented, Wilcox thought, the "silent rabbit" response of the populace.<sup>25</sup> To his dismay, Wilcox soon learned that the Reformists, in a move to trim government expenses, had halted the studies abroad program and ordered Wilcox's immediate recall.

The romance of Wilcox's Italian sojourn stirred the imaginations of Hawaiians who took pride in the accomplishments of one of their native sons. For Hawaiians, Wilcox's alliance with Gina strengthened his claims as a nobleman, as is evident in the Nakanaela text in the several references to "Prince Wilcox — half Hawaiian royalty, half Italian."

Disillusionments came rapidly to both Wilcox and Gina when the couple returned to Hawai'i. Penniless, Wilcox accepted Lili'uokalani's offer that he and his wife share her Kapālama residence. Lili'uokalani moved from her own bedroom, taking a "colder" room, to accommodate the

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<sup>22</sup> Marziano Bernardi. *Turin and its Environs*. Turin: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1961, p. 93-94.

<sup>23</sup> *Gazzeto Piemontese*, June 15, 1887, quoted in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 27, 1887, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 18, 1895, p. 1. This is a retrospective view of Wilcox's marriage.

<sup>25</sup> Wilcox to Foreign Office, August 27, 1887. State Archives of Hawai'i.

newlyweds.<sup>26</sup> Gina found the “islands of eternal spring” not to her liking. Despite Lili‘uokalani's graciousness, Gina considered the Princess as “ugly as a ape.”<sup>27</sup> The poi Gina thought abominable and Honolulu society equally raw. Her new husband occupied himself with political intrigue, and refused to confide in her. Within weeks, Gina confessed to Lili‘uokalani that she had made a terrible mistake.<sup>28</sup>

Believing that he had been educated to take his place in the upper ranks of government in Hawai‘i, Wilcox was outraged at his treatment by members of the Reform Party who had pledged themselves to end Kalākaua's alleged corrupt and extravagant policies. He joined other conspirators in “the Dominis affair,” an event that Nakanaela slides over, and one that complicates Nakanaela's portrayal of Wilcox as Kalākaua's unwavering advocate.

With the “Dominis revolt,” the graduate from Italy turned against Kalākaua. Wilcox's pride had perhaps been injured by Kalākaua's scoldings during the days in Turin, but more fundamentally, as a man of action he faulted Kalākaua for yielding too easily to Reformist pressures. In January of 1888 he and other discontents organized as many as three hundred armed men, positioned the troops at the Royal Barracks, and went to Kalākaua with the demand that the King abdicate in favor of Lili‘uokalani. Promising to think the matter over, Kalākaua dismissed the callers. Nothing came of the affair. Minister of the Interior Lorrin Thurston gathered signed statements and prepared charges of treason. But Gina came to Thurston in tears and promised that if charges were dismissed, she and Wilcox would go away. According to Thurston, Wilcox also came to him to plead for mercy, saying that he had been desperate, living as he was on charity. Thurston said Wilcox was at that time willing to return to Italy and join the Italian forces then fighting in Arabia.<sup>29</sup> Thurston declined to press charges against his old schoolmate of Haleakalā Boarding School days, and Wilcox and Gina hastily left the islands for San Francisco. Lili‘uokalani assisted a drive to raise a thousand dollars to assist the couple. The grateful Gina, by then pregnant, fell on her knees before Lili‘uokalani and asked how she might repay the Heir Apparent for her generosity. Lili‘uokalani thought perhaps, if Gina's child were a daughter, Gina

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<sup>26</sup> Lili‘uokalani diary. State Archives of Hawai‘i and Bishop Museum.

<sup>27</sup> *L'espatriata*.

<sup>28</sup> Lili‘uokalani diary. State Archives of Hawai‘i and Bishop Museum.

<sup>29</sup> Speech of Minister of Interior Thurston in Reply to Imputations of Attorney-General Ashford, Hawaiian Legislative Assembly, June 6, 1890.

might name the child after Liliuokalani's home, Mu'olaulani.<sup>30</sup>

In San Francisco Wilcox found employment as a surveyor and Gina as a teacher of Italian and French to the young ladies of San Francisco. Their daughter was born in the Palace Hotel. The hearts and minds of both were elsewhere, and early in 1889 Gina left for Italy. Wilcox knew that she would not return. The baby daughter died soon after Gina's return.

According to a government official of the day, Lili'uokalani wrote to Wilcox urging him to return to restore the rights of the Hawaiian chiefs,<sup>31</sup> and in April of 1889 Wilcox was back in Honolulu preparing for revolution.

Armed resistance represented a departure from past patterns for nineteenth-century Hawaiians. Gun-running, violence and strong-armed tactics had been the province of foreigners. Wilcox's participation in the 1889 revolt bears out the truism holding that it is not the poor and downtrodden commoners who revolt; it is the unemployed educated class. Of additional significance in the revolt is Wilcox's selection of his co-leaders from the foreign element of Hawaiian society: several Italians, one German, a Belgian, and a number of Chinese men, none of whom had much fondness for the American oligarchy in control of Hawaiian affairs. Wilcox also called on his friend from his Italian school days, hapa-haole Robert N. Boyd.

The facts of the 1889 revolt are well known. Setting up base at Lili'uokalani's Pālama home, Wilcox organized revolutionary meetings, gathered arms, and collected forces, then in the early morning of July 30 led some one hundred men in several military formations to 'Iolani Palace. Arrayed in his Italian officer's uniform and drawing on his Italian lesson-books, Wilcox occupied the Palace grounds and trained four small cannons at the four gates of the Palace. Wilcox steadfastly insisted that his goal was to support the King and pave the way for a new constitution. Throughout the evening Wilcox dispatched messages to Kalākaua, who had strategically retreated first to Queen Kapi'olani's private residence at Honuakaha, near Queen and Punchbowl Streets, and later to his royal boathouse on the edge of Honolulu Harbor. Confrontation was not Kalākaua's style. Looking back on the revolt a number of years later, Wilcox regretted his deference to Kalākaua. Had he led the revolution as a "Hawaiian Napoleon Bonaparte" instead of a "Hawaiian

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<sup>30</sup> The notes on Gina Sobrero are taken from Lili'uokalani's diary and the memoirs of Lydia Anola, as cited in Helena Allen's *The Betrayal of Lili'uokalani* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1982).

<sup>31</sup> Testimony of V. V. Ashford to Blount Commission, (U. S. 53rd Congress. 3d Session, 1894-1895. House. *Affairs in Hawaii*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895, p. 671.) Hereafter cited as Blount Report.) According to Ashford, Lili'uokalani's letter to Wilcox was found in a pocket of his clothing during the investigation of the 1889 revolt against 'Iolani Palace. The letter however is not cited in the official trial proceedings following the 1889 revolt.

Garibaldi,” Wilcox said, he would have carried the day.<sup>32</sup> As it was, even V. V. Ashford, in charge of the government's defense against Wilcox, believed that the revolt came breathlessly close to success.<sup>33</sup> But packets of dynamite, thrown by a local baseball star, flushed out the rebels in the royal bungalow where they had made their last stand. In the eyes of the haole oligarchy the affair had its comic opera aspects, but in the end seven of Wilcox's men lay dead for the cause of Hawaiian rights.

“Hang him!” cried some government partisans. Instead, Wilcox was tried under the ethnic jury system then in effect, providing that Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians were to be tried by their own countrymen. The system was an outgrowth of the consular courts of early contact days which had shielded fearful foreigners from native justice. The system had its built-in problems for the haole inasmuch as those who had their own courts were then compelled to respect verdicts handed down to Hawaiians by Hawaiian juries. The outcome of the Wilcox trial, outrageous to many haoles, was to prove the ultimate irony of the system.

Giving the haoles an opportunity to demonstrate the terrible swift sword of western justice, the Wilcox trial was preceded by that of Belgian co-conspirator Albert Loomens before a jury composed of foreigners. Loomens was convicted of treason and sentenced to hang. With this example before them, members of the a Hawaiian jury convened to try Wilcox on the lesser charge of conspiracy, government officials having obviously decided that a native jury would refuse to convict Wilcox of treason, a capital offense. The Nakanaela version of the trial, drawn almost verbatim from newspaper accounts, reveals an arrogant, unapologetic Wilcox, secure in his conviction that he acted in the best interests of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Wilcox's testimony at the Loomens trial was read into the record with its suggestions that Wilcox had the approval of Kalākaua in his efforts to proclaim a new constitution and oust the Reform Cabinet. At the conclusion of the evidence, Judge A. Francis Judd instructed the jurors, leaving them little option in the face of the evidence other than to find Wilcox guilty. The jury disregarded Judge Judd's stern injunctions, and returned a verdict of not guilty, finding in effect, that the guilty parties were those who had wrongly seized power from the monarch. Legal scholars have a term for such verdicts: “jury nullification,” a term useful in understanding those situations when a higher social justice

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<sup>32</sup> "Wilcox Autobiography for the Congressional Record." *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 1, 1900, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Ashford, as quoted in Nakanaela text.

may with cause override strict legalities. Those participating in the trial were by no means unaware of the complexities involved, and the trial transcripts document the court's struggle to define the thin line dividing patriot and traitor, a line that can shift with today's election or tomorrow's coup.

Nakanaela conveys an element lacking in most accounts of the Wilcox trial: a sense of the great adulation Hawaiians of the day held for Wilcox. A sculptor issued bronze medallions showing his likeness and these were bought up by the hundreds. When Wilcox was jailed, Hawaiians flocked to visit him, crowding into every inch of the courtroom to witness the trial, and pressing about him, straining to touch his hand. Fearing a riot, government officials were forced to convey Wilcox in a closed coach to and from the court. Supporters raised the substantial sum of two thousand dollars for Wilcox's bail, and the verdict of not guilty brought shouts of joy.

Wilcox's popularity swept him into office as representative to the State Legislature from the Pālama district. He ran as a candidate for the National Party, a group pledged to undo the work of the Reform Cabinet. As Nakanaela details, National Party adherents in the Legislature succeeded in accomplishing that which armed revolt had failed to do. In June of 1890 a dispute in the Legislature, which began with a somewhat minor argument as to where the Militia was to be quartered, expanded to larger issues having to do with lack of confidence in the Reform Cabinet. As a result of this chain of event, the Ministers of the Reform Cabinet were compelled to resign.<sup>34</sup>

On this note of hope for the royalists, the Nakanaela account closes. *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki* is typical of a number of nineteenth-century Hawaiian language books. In format, it is a collection of separately-authored works loosely strung together into a whole by an editor. Nakanaela's creative voice is heard most clearly in the first four chapters, covering Wilcox's childhood and years in Italy. Thereafter, Nakanaela serves more as a translator of previously-printed English language documents. Appended to the text are some twenty mele composed by the Hawaiian community in honor of Wilcox; these fall into the genre of Hawaiian political songs analyzed and described by such authors as Ellie Williamson and Amy K. Stillman.<sup>35</sup>

Some three hundred copies of the Nakanaela book were sold at two dollars a copy. Sales

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<sup>34</sup> Ralph Kuykendall has a complete account of the 1890 legislative fray in his *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, v. 3. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 455-469.

<sup>35</sup> Ellie Williamson. "Hawaiian Chants and Songs Used in Political Campaigns" in *Directions in Pacific Traditional Literature*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1976. See also Stillman, Amy. "History Reinterpreted in Song: The Case of the Hawaiian Counterrevolution." *Hawaiian Journal of History*, v. 23, 1989, pp. 1-30.

diminished with the appearance of a rival publication about Wilcox, *Ka Duke Hao o Hawaii* (The Iron Duke of Hawaii), a work which seems to have disappeared from the libraries and private collections of Hawai‘i. Both books capitalized on the avid interest of the Hawaiian people in Wilcox, a man committed to turning back the wave of haole domination in Hawaiian affairs. Nakanaela was quick to bring suit against the authors of *Ka Duke Hao* on grounds of plagiarism against one such similar work. A judge however found that defendants Samuel K. Pua and Thomas P. Spencer had as much right to prepare an account of Wilcox as did Nakanaela.<sup>36</sup>

The drama of Wilcox's life was far from over. As the climactic and tragic events of the 1890's unfolded — the death of Kalākaua, the troubled reign of Lili‘uokalani, the overthrow of the Monarchy, and eventually, the annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States — Wilcox remained at storm-center. In response to the chaos of the times he at times discarded his royalist beliefs, and became in turn a radical terrorist, once more a royalist, astonishingly an annexationist, and then a republican.

To return to the point where Nakanaela ended his narrative, the early days of the 1890 Legislature and the dissolution of the Reform Cabinet: Wilcox was disappointed that he was not named to a post in the new Cabinet, but pressed on determinedly with the next goal of National Party adherents, revision of the Bayonet Constitution. Progress here was slow, and Wilcox threatened to “wash the streets with blood and to bomb Honolulu's finest buildings.”<sup>37</sup> His rhetoric placed him in the radical wing of the National Party, and when he ran again for the Legislature in 1892, it was as candidate for the newly-formed Liberal Party.

The Liberals, made up of radical elements of several Hawaiian political factions, dared to oppose some of the policies of Queen Lili‘uokalani, who had succeeded to the Throne after the death of her brother Kalākaua in 1891. Most Hawaiians looked on the Queen with a deeply-rooted loyalty and reverence, and the Liberals as a group did not attract broad-based support in the Hawaiian community. Wilcox's appeal as a popular hero, however, carried him to reelection.

As he prepared for the upcoming legislative session, Wilcox was arrested for treason. He and his Liberal Party associates had gone too far with their accusations against the Queen's “rotten” administration. “No woman ought to rule,” railed Wilcox. “They have no brains. They are

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<sup>36</sup> The plagiarism case is summarized in the *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 9, 1890.

<sup>37</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Sept. 6, 1890. p. 6.

generally weak.”<sup>38</sup> Disillusioned with the Monarchy, Wilcox spoke out in favor of a United States of Hawai‘i and let it be known that he was not adverse to serving as the proposed republic's first president. By now a master orator, he manipulated a large crowd gathered:

“And who shall be president of this new republic,” shouted Wilcox.

“Wilcox,” roared the crowd.<sup>39</sup>

His goal was “ultimate annexation to the United States.”<sup>40</sup> This was too much for the Queen, and Wilcox, along with sixteen other Liberals, was arrested for treason. When the government considered the slim chances of convicting the prisoners, a decision was made not to prosecute, and Wilcox was released to take his place in the Legislature. The affair assisted the cause of those arguing for annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States on the grounds of the political instability of the kingdom. All this agitation was bad for business, explained the annexationists.

The Monarchy fell on January of 1893, but not as Wilcox had hoped, as a change from within, but as an act of American gunboat diplomacy. Alienated from Sanford Dole's Provisional Government administration, Wilcox withdrew for a time from the public arena.



He found a new love, Princess Theresa Owana Kaohelani, who claimed direct descent from the Kamehamehas. Theresa came from a long line of beauties. Of particular note was her lovely mother with thick, black hair falling to her ankles and with cheeks “like the lehua, whereon the color came to stay about eleven in the morning and gradually faded away at about eleven at night.”<sup>41</sup> By 1892 Theresa was a survivor of a failed marriage to Alexander Joy Cartwright, the son of the famous “father of baseball.” She was a spirited, contentious woman, well acquainted with lawyers and courtrooms. Her lifetime legal adventures included two divorces, a skirmish with the mainland department store Woodward and Lothrop, a suit against the Arlington Hotel, another for her recovery of Hawaiian crown lands, and in the post-Wilcox years, a spectacular fraud case involving Theresa's alleged forgery of the Queen's will. This was a woman with a fire to match Wilcox's own.

In Italy Baroness Gina Sobrero had begun divorce proceedings. Wilcox was in San Francisco

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<sup>38</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May. 6, 1892.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Wilcox to J. H. Blount, April 6, 1893. Reprinted in *Blount Report*, p. 1062.

<sup>41</sup> Obituary of Princess Theresa, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 6, 1944, p. 1.

to consult with his brother-in-law in the summer of 1891, undoubtedly about the divorce arrangements. Divorce in Italy, then as now, was not taken lightly, and a civil court, in a case that dragged on for two years, denied Gina's claim that Wilcox had misrepresented himself. The case was appealed to a higher court and an annulment was granted. Following Gina's appeal to Pope Leo XIII, an ecclesiastical annulment was also granted, the first such appeal to be approved since Garibaldi's annulment in 1880. The bitter outcome of the romance of Wilcox and his Italian baroness caught the attention of European and American newspapers, who welcomed at the same time the occasion to recount the equally dramatic details of Garibaldi's dismissal of his bride, the countess Raimondi, moments after their wedding (Garibaldi having suddenly learned of Raimondi's indiscreet past). With headlines announcing "The Baroness is Free!" the Honolulu press eagerly brought Hawai'i's readers up to date.<sup>42</sup>

Wilcox and Theresa did not wait for the final divorce formalities, and their son, Robert Kalanikupuapaikalaninui Keoua, was born on January 16, 1893, the day American marines from the *Boston* came ashore to assist in Lili'uokalani's dethronement.<sup>43</sup> That afternoon Wilcox put public duty before his private affairs and walked to the Palace grounds (which once he had stormed), to join the proceedings of a mass meeting of Hawaiians gathered to try to make some sense of the events of the day. He spoke in a subdued manner, urging calm.



Having deposed a queen, the United States was uncertain as to what to do with the Hawaiian island kingdom. For a while Wilcox continued to speak out for annexation, arguing that annexation was "perhaps the salvation of the native race."<sup>44</sup> He joined the haole Annexation League as one of the League's six vice-presidents. But soon he did an about-turn, and returned to the ranks of the royalists.

Wilcox's defection from the annexationists confounds historians and contributes to his reputation as an erratic opportunist, bending like a willow with every wind. It seemed for a while during President Grover Cleveland's administration that the United States intended to restore

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<sup>42</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 18, 1895.

<sup>43</sup> *Home Rula Repubalika*, Jan. 22, 1902, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Albertine Loomis, *For Whom Are the Stars*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, p. 51.

Lili‘uokalani. Wilcox then realized, he explained later, “that the United States meant to do what was right and just,” and accordingly he “decided to become a strong adherent to the queen.”<sup>45</sup> Despite Wilcox's earlier attacks on the Queen, he retained a personal affection for her, and the Queen, who regarded Wilcox as a naughty but harmless hothead, forgave easily. Wilcox's criticism of the Queen had always centered on her advisors, that “half-Tahitian blacksmith,” Charles Wilson and “half-caste cowboy,” Samuel Parker,<sup>46</sup> the implication being that had the Queen listened to wiser counsel, much of the turmoil of her reign could have been avoided. Certainly, Wilcox was totally at odds with the “mission boy” Provisional Government established after the overthrow. In this light, Wilcox's return to the royalist camp has its rationale.

No longer a legislator and out of favor in government circles, Wilcox considered other options. Chinese friends recruited him as a mercenary for the wars in China, and he booked passage for Peking. But then arose another opportunity to change the course of Hawai‘i's destiny. “I am a revolutionist,” he had announced as his manifesto,<sup>47</sup> and in 1895 he took up arms, not for China but for Hawai‘i.

“There are revolutions, and revolutions,” wrote the compassionate friend of Hawaiians, Nathaniel B. Emerson, as he reflected on the years he had witnessed in Hawai‘i. “A broad distinction is to be made between the factional pulling and hauling [in Spanish America] and that earnest protesting uprising which makes for a broader justice.” Emerson classed the 1895 revolt in the latter category.<sup>48</sup>

The revolt was conceived by others, Samuel Nowlein, in particular, and Wilcox, questioning the military soundness of the plan, at first hesitated to join. Four hundred rifles and a hundred pistols were to be landed secretly, Nowlein explained to Wilcox, and buried in the sand at Waimānalo until needed. Hawaiian forces were to gather and march on the Provisional Government. Provisional Government President Sanford B. Dole, National Guard Commander J. H. Fisher and Minister of the Interior James A. King were to be arrested. The Queen would be restored. She would have a new constitution and a new cabinet, with Robert Wilcox as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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<sup>45</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 1, 1900, p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Liberal Party rhetoric as quoted by Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, v. 3, op. cit. p. 528.

<sup>47</sup> Wilcox to Blount, *Blount Report*, p. 1015.

<sup>48</sup> Nathaniel B. Emerson papers on 1895 revolution, Robert Van Dyke Collection, partial copies at HMCS, including interview with Wilcox. Albertine Loomis's *For Whom Are the Stars?* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976) is the standard secondary account of the revolution.

“What of cannons?” Wilcox asked.

There were none, said Nowlein, and Wilcox concluded that the scheme had scant chance of success.<sup>49</sup> Wilcox kept the plan a secret from Theresa as he had once concealed a revolutionary plot from his first wife, but did seek counsel from his friends.

“They want to make you a cat's paw,” advised one friend, and went on to despair for the Hawaiian people, “who talked but never did anything.”

“What would you advise me to do?” asked Wilcox.

“You are in a bad position,” said the friend, “being a Hawaiian, to stand aside and look on while your countrymen are going into it.”

“That stirred my heart,” said Wilcox. “It made me feel as if my honor were touched.”<sup>50</sup>

He enrolled in the revolt. Throughout the engagement he remained true to his conception of a military officer. His first act was to row out for the guns brought in close to shore by the *Waimānalo*. There had been delays, and the panicked *Waimānalo* captain was all for dumping the guns overboard. Wilcox insisted on proceeding as planned, thereby saving the plan from an early abortion.

On the afternoon of January 6 Wilcox rode to Ka‘alāwai near Diamond Head to take up his command. He was dressed in a business suit, with the long cloak of his Italian uniform slung over one arm. Some two hundred Hawaiians had converged at Ka‘alāwai. Trying to bolster their courage for battle as they cleaned their weapons, many of the men had been at the gin bottles. Outraged, Wilcox smashed the bottles with his cane and endeavored to muster the men into disciplined squads. The rebels' secrets had not been well kept and shortly government police and national guard forces were on the scene to rout the Hawaiians. The rebels made a stand on Diamond Head for a time. Firing was fierce on both sides, but miraculously only three men were killed during the skirmishes. It was soon obvious that the rebels' cause was lost. Wilcox and a group of some fifty left the scene and, using ancient and secret trails, made their way to Pālolo Valley and from there over the ridge to Mānoa Valley. Government forces pursued them, and in the haste to escape, Wilcox let fall the Italian cape from his shoulders. It lay in the dust of Mānoa Valley, until it was claimed later as a war trophy by government soldiers.

Wilcox and his gradually diminishing forces hid out in the upland ridges above Honolulu for

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<sup>49</sup> Nathaniel. B. Emerson papers. Interview with Wilcox.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. Interview with Wilcox.

two weeks, living on wild fruit and occasional donations of food from supporters. One camp follower cooked her pet dog for the half-starved men.<sup>51</sup> In Honolulu government forces were filling the jail with captured rebels and royalist sympathizers. When all hope was lost, Wilcox came down through Nu‘uanu Valley to surrender. He expected that he would be shot on sight.

The Provisional Government had declared martial law and now proposed to try the rebels by military tribunal, to prevent the chance that an ethnic jury might refuse to convict the Hawaiian rebels. Many of the rebels spouted fountains of information in a play for clemency. Wilcox declined to play this game. An impressive list of citizens, including a number of haoles and the Queen herself, were tried and convicted of treason. The tribunal sentenced Wilcox and five other ringleaders to be hanged.

The final decision in capital cases rested with President Dole, and after much consideration Dole commuted the sentences of the ringleaders to long terms of imprisonment at hard labor. By the end of the same year, yielding to popular sentiment that the uprising was a political and not a criminal act, Dole released all the prisoners. Wilcox pledged the government that he “would not abet or join any more to any move of any sort against the Republic.”<sup>52</sup> He kept his word. So ended his career as a revolutionist.

Released, Wilcox turned to peaceful pursuits. He opened a surveying office, appealing to a native Hawaiian clientele by advertising in the Hawaiian language press.<sup>53</sup> His domestic affairs were now also at peace, and Honolulu residents commented on his touching devotion and attention to his two children. Politics however remained as a controlling force of his life, and in 1900 he traveled to Washington to lobby for the rights of Hawaiians.

Hawaiians feared that the old “mission boys” would influence framers of Hawaii's Organic Act to retain the property qualification for voting rights. Prince Jonah Kalaniana‘ole and others raised nine hundred dollars to send Wilcox to Washington to fight for fairness for Hawaiians. “W. O. Smith and A. S. Hartwell were on the spot before me,” Wilcox recalled, “working tooth and nail to shut out the native Hawaiians from the right of franchise. ... I was asked by members of Congress what I should like done in the matter of qualification, and I said I would rather see an

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<sup>51</sup> Towse, Edward. *The Rebellion of 1895: A Complete History of the Insurrection against the Republic of Hawaii: List of Officers and Members of the National Guard of Hawaii and the Citizen's Guard*. Honolulu: Hawaii Star, 1895.

<sup>52</sup> Loomis, *For Whom Are the Stars*, p. 220, quoting Wilcox's appeal for release to Attorney General Smith.

<sup>53</sup> *Oiaio*, March 6, 1896, p. 3.

educational qualification.... What happened? My advice was followed.”<sup>54</sup>

In 1900 Wilcox, representing the newly formed Home Rule Party, ran successfully as Hawai‘i's first representative for the United States Congress, the highest elected office in the newly-formed Territory. That Wilcox won this high honor is an indication of the enormous popular esteem with which he was held despite his several reversals. The pride his Hawaiian supporters demonstrated at the outcome of the election was matched in intensity by the indignation and shock of his opponents in Hawai‘i's haole community. Readers of Lorrin Thurston's *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, which had run a venomous campaign against Wilcox, could scarcely believe the headline: “Bob is off to Washington!”<sup>55</sup>

On the night before Wilcox's departure, two thousand Hawaiians marched with torches down King Street to Kaumakapili Church. The old church had burned down in the Chinatown fire of 1900 leaving only blackened walls. Wilcox and his wife sat on a platform erected for the occasion in the midst of the ruins. The torch bearers stood around the platform shining fire-light so that Wilcox could be seen from the far reaches of the crowd. In front of the platform dancers sat cross-legged wearing leis and the colors and mottoes of the Home Rule Party.<sup>56</sup>

The next day Wilcox sailed on the *Rio*. To the mission boys' displeasure, there was a final round of hulas. Wilcox wore a business suit, strands of ilima victory leis, “and his usual smile.”<sup>57</sup> Theresa wore a black holokū. Their entourage included servants and his personal secretary. Wilcox's elation dimmed when he learned that his old political enemy Lorrin Thurston was to be a fellow-passenger on the *Rio*, whereupon “Wilcox was furnished with an anti-sulphurous concoction,” as the *Independent* observed.<sup>58</sup>

Arriving in San Francisco enroute to Washington, he found that Gina Sobrero plotted a woman's revenge against him. “I can never forgive the man who ruined my young life and who also deceived me into marrying him by wicked and false stories as to our future in Hawaii,” Gina wrote to an American friend in a letter widely reprinted in both the mainland and Hawaiian press.<sup>59</sup> “The post of honor to which he aspires in the Congress of America shall never be his, if I can stop

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<sup>54</sup> *Independent*, July 9, 1902, p. 1, 4.

<sup>55</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 1, 1900, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Independent*, Dec. 1, 1900, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in *Independent*, Dec. 22, 1900.

it, and for this reason I shall soon visit your country.”<sup>60</sup>

Gina charged bigamy, a technically correct complaint since Wilcox had remarried before the Italian divorce proceedings were final. Wilcox's enemies, led by Mr. Loebenstein of Maui and his attorney George Gear, added to Gina's petitions with charges of treason and election irregularities. Washington residents had earlier listened to miscellaneous claims of fraud and swindle registered against Wilcox by Moreno (he of the Kalākaua court) in the *Washington Bee*. A congressional committee investigated all charges but voted to clear Wilcox.<sup>61</sup>

As Hawai‘i's delegate to Congress Wilcox could introduce but not vote on bills. During his term of office, 1901-1902, Wilcox sponsored four major pieces of legislation related to Hawai‘i, none of which passed final readings. The first was a land bill which would have made Hawai‘i's public lands subject to the general land laws of the United States. Second, he proposed legislation providing for part of the island of Moloka‘i to be placed under control of the United States government and to become a reservation for all persons afflicted with leprosy, not only from Hawai‘i but also from the entire United States. A third bill addressed the problem of arid land areas in the north and south Kohala districts on the Big Island; the Kohala Water Bill would have granted the Kohala Ditch Company an exclusive commission to build the ditches, canals, reservoirs and dams that would bring new life to the Kohala area. Wilcox's final bill proposed the establishment of a system of free schools in the Territory of Hawai‘i patterned after the school system of the eastern United States. All of the proposed bills reflected Wilcox's vision of a modernized Hawai‘i destined someday, Wilcox hoped, to be an American state, but one governed internally by educated Hawaiians.<sup>62</sup>

Theresa recorded Wilcox's Washington political and social doings in the Honolulu newspaper she founded, *Home Rula Repubalika*. She also used the paper to set Honolulu straight on matters of genealogy. The *Independent*, for one, was relieved that Mrs. Wilcox had taken on that particular task, observing that “few of the printing offices here are large enough to deal with Hawaiian genealogy with names of twenty two thousand words.”<sup>63</sup> Mrs. Wilcox took on another of her favorite causes in the paper, women's suffrage, inciting the *Independent* to add in the same

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> U.S. Congress, 56th, 2d session. House. Report no. 3001. Washington Government Printing office, 1902.

<sup>62</sup> A detailed analysis of the Wilcox bills is in Roberta Nose's "Robert W. Wilcox, Hawaii's First Delegate to Congress," *Hawaiian Historical Review*, January 1967, pp. 346-356.

<sup>63</sup> *Independent*, November 4, 1902, p. 3.

above-mentioned editorial, “We have suffered enough from the dear ladies.”

His first term as delegate concluded, Wilcox ran for re-election in 1902. He stumped throughout the islands on a platform calling for land for Hawaiians, Hawaiian as a language of instruction in island schools, and statehood for Hawai‘i. His contemporaries called his program unrealistic,<sup>64</sup> yet today statehood is a reality and the Hawaiian language is alive and well in many island classrooms. Land reform programs for Hawaiians, incomplete and imperfectly administered, remain an issue.

Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole defeated Wilcox at the polls and Wilcox retired with Theresa to their home on the slopes of Punchbowl. While in Washington he was beset by a serious illness. His doctors diagnosed the trouble as an inflamed ulcer of the stomach. After treatment in a Washington hospital, he recovered to a degree, but he had confided to Theresa: “Mama, I am not going to live much longer.”<sup>65</sup>

In 1903 urged by his friends to run for sheriff of Honolulu, he did so. On the evening of October 22, 1903, political associates came to his door to fetch him for a speech at a political rally. He was ill and Theresa protested. “Let him give his speech first, and then come home,” she insisted. “But,” said the friends, “in that case, no one would stay for the rest of the rally. They want only to hear Wilcox!”<sup>66</sup> Wilcox gave his speech, but when he came home, suffered another attack of the internal bleeding that had afflicted him in Washington. By morning he was dead. Theresa wailed for him in the old way on the wide lanai of their home. His death was a major news event of the day. Rumors mongers in Honolulu let it be known that he had been prayed to death by his enemies, or perhaps had been fed glass. With considerable hypocrisy, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, his old foe, announced his passing with a large first-page portrait of Wilcox and a eulogy.



Three years earlier he had been baptised a Catholic in Honolulu's downtown Catholic cathedral. In this sanctuary his funeral was conducted with all the imposing features of a royal ceremony.

<sup>64</sup> See, for example, editorial comments in *Maui News*, August 30, 1902, p. 2.

<sup>65</sup> *Independent*, October 24, 1903, p. 3.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*



A century now has passed since the revolutionary days of the Wilcox era. It is an appropriate time for a reassessment of the man. Interest in Wilcox endures, and in 1993 a bronze commemorative statue by Jan Gordon Fisher (left) was unveiled at Fort Street Mall. The statue now stands prominently in downtown Honolulu at Wilcox Park (on Fort St. Mall), named in his honor. In 1988 Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, a separatist group advocating Hawaiian sovereignty, invested a Wilcox descendant, six-year-old Noa De Guair, as their “ali‘i nui.”

The history books of Hawai‘i have not been kind to Wilcox. Too many of them depend heavily for sources on the nineteenth-century haole press which waged an unconscionable campaign against Wilcox throughout his career. Wilcox “fancied himself the Garibaldi of Hawaii,” writes Hawaiian history dean Ralph Kuykendall<sup>67</sup>; to pause on the phrase “fancied himself” is to sense the ridicule intended. Gavan Daws in *Shoal of Time* sees Wilcox as a malcontent of “exotic” talents and impractical, confused dreams.<sup>68</sup> More specialized historians of the era, Albertine Loomis and William Russ, for example, echo the unflattering assessments of Kuykendall and Daws. Nakanaela's tribute, by conveying the sense of veneration Hawaiians held for Wilcox, tells another side of the story.

In many respects Nakanaela's book is a period piece. Modern readers are likely to react uncomfortably to such similes for Wilcox as a “blinding flash of light” or an “angel from heaven.” The similes reflect Nakanaela's belief in Wilcox's supernatural *mana*, an attribute of his ali‘i heritage. Beyond this analysis, the reader will find few clues in Nakanaela to the complexities of Wilcox's character, nor does Nakanaela solve the greatest puzzle of Wilcox's life, his role reversal from royalist, to annexationist, royalist once again, and finally, American Republican. The obvious key to the puzzle is the interplay between this particular man and the events of his era. Until 1887 the circumstances of Wilcox's life led quite naturally to his convictions as a royalist. He was born into the most secure years of the Hawaiian monarchy. An elitist European education and his marriage to an Italian aristocrat strengthened his loyalties to monarchical government. After

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<sup>67</sup> Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, v. 3, p. 427.

<sup>68</sup> Daws, Gavan. *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*. New York: Macmillan, 1968, p. 255, and generally.

the 1887 'Iolani Palace revolt, Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani disappointed Wilcox, and as a realist, he came to believe that the best hope for Hawaiians lay with union to the United States. His participation in the 1895 revolt seemed less motivated by loyalty to Lili'uokalani than by a sense of honor, and quite possibly, by a promise of high office in a restored constitutional monarchy.

Although his portrait of Wilcox is incomplete, Nakanaela does offer a wealth of fresh biographical detail, and a good sense of Wilcox's pre-1890 political ideals. Also, he reproduces a number of important nineteenth-century documents not easily accessible elsewhere. These include a partial transcript of Wilcox's 1887 trial, several samples of Wilcox's fiery speeches, and a little-known account of the 1887 revolution told in the words of a participant on the government side, Volney V. Ashford. Perhaps most importantly, Nakanaela tells from a Hawaiian's perspective the story of these bitter years, when a race weakened physically by waves of introduced diseases and psychologically by foreigners who boasted of the innate superiority of the white race, found in Wilcox a source of renewed energy and strength.

*Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki* is representative of an important and relatively little known body of Hawaiian literature. Other works of this genre are Joseph M. Peopoe's *Ka Moolelo o ka Moi Kalākaua I* (Biography of Kalākaua I, Honolulu, 1891) and James W. L. McGuire's *Ka Moolelo Pokole no ka Huakai a ka Moiiwahine Kapiolani, ame ke Kamaliwahine Liliuokalani i ka Iubile o ka Moiwahine Victoria o Beretania Nui* (A Short History of the Voyage of Queen Kapi'olani and Princess Lili'uokalani to the Jubilee of Queen Victoria of Great Britain, Honolulu, 1938). The above listed honor the ali'i of Hawai'i, but others such as John Sheldon's *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Joseph K. Nawahi* (Biography of Hon. Joseph K. Nawahi, Honolulu, 1908) and Sheldon's *Kaluaikoolau* (Honolulu, 1906) depict the exploits of more ordinary Hawaiian citizens. These works, only now becoming more accessible through translations, depart from the retellings of ancient legends or recastings of western stories into the Hawaiian language, and instead show Hawaiians claiming their places in a larger, multicultural world, while at the same time holding to their own traditions.

Aloha i ka 'āina, aloha i ke ali'i, aloha i ka lāhui. Love and respect for the land, love and respect for the ali'i, love and respect for the nation of Hawaiian people. These are the underlying themes of Nakanaela's tribute to Wilcox. The values have endured, and are central to the vocabulary of many in modern Hawai'i who continue to work for the perpetuation of the Hawaiian cultural identity.

### **Translator's Note**

Included in *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilcox* are many place and personal names, some in the traditional Hawaiian forms, others in Hawaiianized English. In an effort to convey the flavor of the Hawaiian text as well as to document this aspect of nineteenth century Hawaiian linguistic practice, I have retained Nakanaela's renderings and have included the English names in brackets. Wilcox is sometimes called by his English name, but often by his Hawaiian one, Wilikoki. As does Nakanaela, I have used both forms.

The concepts of aloha 'āina, love for the land, and lāhui Hawai'i the nation of Hawaiian people, are part of the shared vocabulary of those who live in modern Hawai'i. I have preferred to leave these terms in their Hawaiian forms.

Many other Hawaiian words are now a part of the English vocabulary. Among these are hula, kahuna, ali'i, and haole. In this translation I have italicized only the more specialized and less familiar Hawaiian terms.

The Biography  
of  
Hon. Robert William Wilcox

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His young days; in the legislature; education  
in Italy; in good graces of Italian nobility;  
as an officer in the Italian army;  
as a commander in the Italian army;  
his return to his birthplace;  
the beginning of his aloha for his land  
the war of loyalists in July;  
the enthusiasm of the people in electing  
him representative;  
songs composed for him  
sung throughout  
the islands.

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COMPILED AND EDITED BY THOS. K. NAKANAELA

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LAKE AND NAKANAELA, PUBLISHERS  
HONOLULU, KINGDOM OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,  
1890

This book is registered under the authority of the law enacted by  
the Legislature of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, by

THOMAS K. NAKANAELA

on May 7, 1890, in the the Office of the Minister of the Interior of the  
Kingdom of Hawai‘i Kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands

## Preface by the Publisher

The first Commandment is that you shall love God, the second that you shall love your parents, and the third, that you shall love the land of your birth. The man who neglects any of these lessons from heaven, says the Great Book, is a man without sincerity.

In releasing this historical account to the public, it is our hope that it will be received and soundly cherished by the Hawaiian nation throughout the islands, for it is well known that ordinary people earlier knew much about and were familiar with ancestral lines in the native land. The writing and setting into print of the account in this book has been carried out carefully and exhaustively, according to the things known by our Hawaiians, and much effort has been made to explain all matters.

When one gives attention to the reputation of certain men of knowledge and wisdom in Hawai‘i today, perhaps none of these have attained the reputation of Hon. R. W. Wilcox. This is a man whose ideas are known, the soldier, the strong supporter on the side of his own people and his native soil, and in acceding to the wishes of the people, there has come the thought of publishing the history of this remarkable man.

His full story will be known from this book. Since he has been known by the people as a public servant, he has applied his knowledge to shape government policy. He has been a great help, and because of his strong support, the rightful claims of the Hawaiian Kingdom have continued to this day. After discussion and counsel with some prominent people of the Kingdom, they gave us the faith and encouragement to publish the history of this unique man.

Some of the important speeches of Hon. R. W. Wilcox will be known from this book, the story of his trial and that of the people arrested in the struggle to take over the Kingdom. Added to this is the testimony that the commander-in-chief of the Honolulu Rifle Association, Col. V. V. Ashford, delivered to the Minister of Foreign Affairs concerning the events of that day of bloodshed, July 30, 1889.

Appended are some *mele* composed with artistry for him and chanted from the portals where the mountains meet the sea. These are *mele* enabling native Hawaiians to cherish him greatly and not forget him. Uppermost in our thoughts is that Hawai‘i should not turn away from Hawai‘i, rather since it is in her destiny to have originated in the realms of the gods, so it is that

acceptance of this book is like the accepting of the most beautiful *mele* for this most famous child of the Hawaiian Kingdom. It is true that Wilcox's heart and that of the Hawaiian people is full of patient suffering, because of the contemptible actions commonly carried out against them in days gone by and this is a matter that some people of some foreign governments would not be able to accept patiently had such action been taken against them. However, although these events have met with the contempt of Hawaiians, never has there occurred any action which would have created the impression that there was no aloha for the King, or no aloha for the nation. These are the reasons true Hawaiians cherish him, and as they cherish this book, so do they cherish Hon. R. W. Wilikoki.

Lake and Nakanaela

Honolulu, July 12, 1890

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# **The Biography of Robert William Wilcox**

## **Chapter I**

Robert William Wilcox was born at Kuhulu, Honua‘ula, the island of Maui, on February 15, 1855, to Mr. William S. Wilcox and Kalua, his wedded wife. The elder Wilcox was American by birth, however, he had British parents, and R. W. Wilcox's mother was a Hawaiian woman, Honua‘ula being her birthplace. In R. W. Wilcox's childhood, he was already aware of his rank, his character, and his true ancestry, and the people of that day knew this too. He was the most outstanding of the little children running about during those days, in liveliness, alertness, in heeding orders from his parents and listening to their teachings, and in the opinion of some, he excelled in the little amusements of the children of his time, for instance, shooting marbles, kite-flying, shooting arrows and the other games common to the children then. In verbal combat and debate among his friends, he was the best by far, because of his shrewdness and his intelligence. When it came time to fight, little Wilcox was the best. His friends, from the largest to the smallest, would fly at him from all directions, but in all of Wilcox's fights and quarrels, he did not harbor the slightest resentment against his friends. His anger was like a whirlwind, twisting and flying in all directions, litter and dirt whirling and flying up everywhere above the ground, and then, all at once, spent.

When the elder Wilcox saw the way his first-born was acting, he became reflective. He mulled it over and the conviction became stronger. It would be good if he were to go to school. He should enroll him immediately in school to be educated.

When R. W. Wilcox was seven, his family returned to Wailuku because the elder Wilcox had acquired some sugar acreage there. While R. W. Wilcox was running about with his playmates at their homestead, all kinds of ideas began to rise up in his mind on all kinds of things. He sought out all kinds of activities, and when he met with an obstacle to what he was doing, he would run to his parents to question them. When some word was said in conversation by his friends that he did not understand, he would run at once to his parents and ask what the word meant. Sometimes his parents were rather annoyed with this continual activity on the part of their firstborn, but nevertheless, they explained the meaning to him.

When he was eight, that is to say in 1862, the elder Wilcox enrolled him in an English

language day school at Wailuku. He went there for one year and earned the respect of his teachers because he succeeded in mastering the lessons assigned to him to study; furthermore, during this time his knowledge and ability increased immensely as a result of his exposure to schooling, and he became the very best student in the estimation of his teachers.

While R. W. Wilcox was going to school at Wailuku, the elder Wilcox acquired a certain piece of land for sale at Pi‘iholo, Makawao. He now owned more than 500 acres, land for the raising of livestock. And when all was ready, the family returned to Pi‘iholo, Makawao. At this time a boys' boarding school called Haleakalā had just been completed. The teachers at the school then were the uncle of the Minister of the Interior, L. A. Kakina [Thurston] and Mrs. Thurston, and the very first students enrolled in the school were R. W. Wilcox, his younger brothers, the [future] Minister of the Interior L. A. Thurston, and his younger sister, Helen Thurston. The school was opened in 1869. While R. W. Wilcox was boarding there, he was a favorite of Mrs. Thurston, as were his little brothers, and Mrs. Thurston furthered very much the education of R. W. Wilcox and his schoolmates in matters relating to the Kingdom of God, as well as in matters concerning one's fellow human beings and aloha for the mother country. To this day, R. W. Wilcox has not forgotten in the least the things he learned, and it was a matter of much pride to him; moreover the seeds Mrs. Thurston planted were firmly embedded in his heart, and her shining light guided him wherever he went. It was true, R. W. Wilcox said, that through Mrs. Thurston knowledge and wisdom were first nurtured in him, both Godly concerns and matters relating to living in a proper way.

After several years under the patient tutoring of these teachers, his store of knowledge and his abilities increased in reading and in all the other lessons assigned him. Let it be recalled that the Makawao area is widely known for cold and rain but Wilcox put up with these unpleasant features patiently. When he was going to school, the thought came to him of publishing some significant issues for discussion in the newspapers, and he quickly carried out this idea. His adversaries debated with him in the newspapers. Usually Mr. J. H. Waipuilani and a number of others were published in the paper, but Wilcox came out ahead. His fame was set in motion and it spread throughout the island chain. His new name came to be “The Great Star of East Maui.”

In the last years of his stay at school, the Thurstons left their positions as school masters, and Mr. F. L. Kalaka [Clark] along with his assistants, came to fill the-vacancies. Let it be recalled that

under these teachers instruction for the students in the military arts began for the first time, and with respect to this the lessons had a tremendous effect on R. W. Wilcox. Wilcox continued his search for knowledge under this teacher in other subjects, but most of the subjects he sought out himself and mastered on his own. In the graduating ceremony in the month of June 1875, Wilcox graduated successfully from school with a document of congratulation containing much praise from the teachers of the school.

Then came the day when Wilcox made ready to return to his birthplace at Honua‘ula, and when he was packing up his baggage, love welled up in him for the place where he had frolicked and run about with his friends of these halls of learning. When friends and teachers parted, the flood of tears overflowed, the rain of Ukiukiu softly approached, and memories rose up of the *mele* they had composed. Here it is:

### **Haleakala Song**

1. Beloved is Haleakala  
Majestic in the calm  
Touched by a sudden shower  
Mountain peaks looming above  
The ‘iwa of the uplands  
Soars in the gentle stillness  
It drinks from the ‘ohelo  
Water scattered by the birds.

Chorus:

Beloved, beloved  
Beloved is our home here.  
Moistened  
By the rain of Ukiukiu.

2. We are enjoying our surroundings  
As evening falls.  
The sweet sounds of the tree shells  
A bird flitting through the leaves of the trees  
Most lovely  
Is the sound of the instruments  
With the sound of the bamboo gently sighing.
3. Twofold is the famous beauty  
In the Makawao uplands  
Haleakala rising above  
Mauna‘olu below  
Home of the ‘iwa  
Enhancing the flowers  
Fragrances mingle  
Amongst the roses.
4. For me this is a place of aloha

A place where the waters of Kalena meet,  
These surging surrounding waters  
Cause strong emotions in my heart.  
A strong impression arises  
Sensing the cold water  
Rippling gently on the side of my ribs.

5. Beloved indeed are the raindrops of Ulalena  
Moving gently  
Above Pi'iholo.  
Resembling a rainbow lei  
Koa leaves glow  
Mamane leaves rustle.

There were six young people who had written this *mele*, the third stanza being composed by Wilcox. To this day he has not forgotten in the least the words of this *mele*; indeed, in the opinion of some, it is fitting that he is called “Expert Composer of Courageous Mele” for this age when the Nation of Kalanikaulilua<sup>1</sup> flourishes.

Here one should record the names of the friends who shared life together in the halls of learning, patiently enduring together the hardships of this home in the uplands. Following are some of them: Elena Simerson<sup>2</sup>, supercargo on the Malulani, S. E. Kaiue of the Malu Ulu, Hezekiah Aea of the Elele, Robert Kalanipo'o<sup>3</sup>, J. H. K. Malulani Alike, Nicholas George, Charles and Richard Wilcox, Sam Kaeo, S. P. Aholo, William and John Johnson, Willie King, William P. Haia, Thomas Clarke, Malama, H. Kahiamoe, L. A. Thurston, and numerous others.

He left the halls of learning and returned to his birthplace at Honua'ula, near Puio Hill, and it seems that his situation at that time resembled a new ship, launched for the first time on the ocean, prepared nevertheless for combat with terrible, turbulent winds and the tossing waves of the open sea. While there he continued to turn to uplifting, learned books, hoping very much therein for knowledge, the right way of living, and for guidance in times when there was to be no guidance. In looking at the accounts of men born to the island chain of Hawai'i, very few young men are known of his nature and his character; moreover, hidden inside his heart, he sought after “wisdom and knowledge.” In this respect his character is rather like that of the wise politician of the United States, Daniel Webster, because of the things he so avidly sought after: the obscure matters inside

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<sup>1</sup> Kalanikaulilua was one of Kalākaua's names.

<sup>2</sup> In later life, captain of the inter-island steamer from the Big Island to Honolulu.

<sup>3</sup> In later life, construction engineer of the first wagon road in South Kona.

“the stars of the heavens and the mysterious matters inside the sea, the dark sea, the deep sea.”

R. W. Wilcox's determination was fixed above all on love for fellow beings, and uppermost was his strong desire for the independence of his country and the continuation of the Monarchy. It is true that R. W. Wilcox's way of thinking was predetermined, because there are perhaps no people other than the Hawaiians that God has made under the sun, to whom He bequeathed an uppermost obligation: that is, firmly imprinted on the heart of each Hawaiian is that famous word “aloha” -- and from large to small, from old men to old women, embracing the islands of the Hawaiian chain.

While R. W. Wilcox was living at Honua‘ula, he was chosen by the Government as schoolmaster for the school at Keawekapu, Makena, in the year 1875. He did not remain for long in that post, because of his wish to learn about the machinery for burning cane in the Wilipaona Sugar Mill of Wailuku. At some point he left this position because he was chosen by the Government as schoolmaster for the Government school at ‘Ulupalakua. He remained in that position for one year or more, leaving again in the last months of the year 1877. The reason he left that position was that many invitations came to him strongly urging him to run for representative for the district of Wailuku in the Legislature for the upcoming year 1878. Several days shortly before election day for the district of Wailuku he put himself on the ballot. He went to strengthen the cause of W. H. Halstead, inasmuch he was a candidate running on the ballot for the district of Makawao, and at dawn on election day, Wilcox arrived at Wailuku, and when daylight set in, Wilcox began to deliver to the public a very forceful speech, making clear his position in running on the ballot. He explained the issues concerning the rights of the nation and the government with sincerity, that is to say, aloha for fellow human beings, aloha for the land, and aloha for the King. Because of this speech of Wilcox's, his fame spread quickly throughout the election district of Nā Wai'ehā, and he was called by the people of Wailuku the “Master Politician of East Maui.” Let it be recalled, Wilcox had not in the least expected to become a member of the session, because the time was very short for him to garner strength for himself among his fellow Hawaiians, but he understood that it was impossible for him to lose running on the ballot for the year 1880. The candidates running on the ballot in 1878 were W. O. Smith, L. W. P. Kaneal‘i, R. W. Wilcox and numerous others. When the ballots were counted, R. W. Wilcox lost because his ballots had been tampered with, and so, when the ballots were counted at the meeting, the result was: W. O. Smith, 180, elected; L. W. P. Kaneali'i, 160, elected; R. W. Wilcox, strangely enough, with 150 ballots,

defeated. This defeat was very much regretted by those who had campaigned for R. W. Wilcox, but R. W. Wilcox presented words of encouragement enthusiastically acclaimed by the people, and the attitude of those who had voted for him was just as optimistic, saying, “When the election for the 1880 session rolls around, we will unite to campaign for you.”

After the excitement of the events of that day, R. W. Wilcox left Wailuku, and returned to his birthplace, Honua‘ula. While Wilcox was living there, his thoughts were occupied by what was happening in government politics. As he understood the situation of those days, there were three interest groups, namely, 1. the faction of the Ministers, 2. the faction represented by those supporting the Dowager Queen Kanemaka Emma, and 3. the faction supporting the Ali‘i. There was some friction among these factions during those days, but when Wilcox thought over these matters, he became determined to try hard, if he became a member of the Legislature in the 1880 session, to work at the task of reconciling points of view, from the Throne to the most humble citizen, to preserve peace everywhere in the land, and to see to it that equal justice be done from the rich to the poor man. And so, it was appropriate that his very first speech on government policy was delivered before the voters of Wailuku. The words of this speech merit attention in the individual hearts of all true Hawaiians in this progressive age of Kalanikaulilua. And here it is:

My fellow citizens, aloha to you! Before I reveal my thoughts to you, I ask first, forgive me if I err in some of my words. (*There were joyous cheers.*) Now, my fellow citizens, it is true that after I had considered your invitation for me to run as your candidate for this approaching Legislature, I decided to accede to your request, and for this reason, I stand before you today, a candidate for the good of the many. (*The crowd cheered again.*) My fellow citizens! After I had decided to run on the ballot, I considered the platform on which I would go out and fight in the legislative halls should I be elected, and it is this: 1. I will fight hard for equal rights for all men, from the King sitting on the Throne, to the most ordinary of men, from rich man to the most poor. (*The crowd cheered.*) 2. I will work hard to support the continued independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom, as well as take action to improve the country in wealth and wisdom. 3. If righteousness is done, the heavens fall. (*The crowd cheered again with much enthusiasm.*) And I want very much for each of you inside your heart to concentrate, my fellow citizens, on these things:

love for fellow man, love for own mother country, and love for our King. (*The crowd cheered once more.*)

Therefore, my fellow citizens, if I appear here today, then I am ready to carry out all your commands passed on to me to work on in the Legislature of the Kingdom, provided, however, these are for the good and for the prosperity of my lāhui. (*The people cheered again.*) It is true, my fellow citizens, going forth to the Legislature may be compared to an important battle commander going forth, dressed in his best, armed with weapons, standing before his army, taking careful note of the place where the enemy is lying in wait. What I am saying to you is entirely true. There are many obstacles lying in wait for all the representatives attending the Legislature, but, if a man stands firm for what is right, then nothing can move him, and this means, he then will support the independence for the ‘āina, the sanctity of the Throne, and equal justice for the lāhui.

While Wilcox was staying at Honua‘ula, he decided to return to the sugar mill at “East Maui” to learn about the machinery for burning cane in the mill cane burners, under the direction of the chief sugar boiler of this mill, namely Mr. Charles Copp. He stayed there trying hard to learn about this kind of work with much patience until the last month of the year 1879, and during this month, the invitations came to him to return to Wailuku to run on the ballot for the 1880 session. He acceded to these requests. The representatives running along with Wilcox who made the strongest show of strength were Hon. J. W. Kalua on the Independent side, and on the Government side, Mr. Sam Obed and Hon. H. A. Williams. When election day came, Wilcox again presented a forceful speech similar to his first speech in the year 1879 and through this speech the native Hawaiians were overcome with great happiness, and voted overwhelmingly for the Independent Party, as follows: Hon. J. W. Kalua, 201; R. W. Wilcox, 190. But, it may be recalled, there were some irregularities in the ballot box at Honua‘ula. There were only 90 people qualified to vote on the ballot, but there were many more ballots than this cast for Mr. Kealoha, and Mr. Kealoha thought that he had come out ahead. But when he went after the certificate electing him representative for the Legislature from the election board at Wailuku, he was refused. Wilcox was not at all concerned about these unscrupulous actions, and he said without any hesitation that the seat in the Legislature was his. When the 1880 Legislature was seated, Mr. Kealoha arrived in Honolulu, and

R. W. Wilcox returned to Wailuku, where he took his ease, expecting that the order issued by the Legislature for him to come back and take his seat in the House would arrive. In considering the case of Mr. Kealoha, the House turned him down, and decided that the distinguished seat of the district belonged to the Hon. R.W. Wilcox.

When the legislative order arrived for R. W. Wilcox from the Legislature issued by the secretary, he went to be seated in the distinguished seat for the district of Wailuku, among festive and happy manifestations toward him.

When he took his seat in the Legislature, he saw that his earlier supposition was entirely correct, that is, there were three factions among the members of the House at that time, the first, the partisans of the Ministers, the second, the partisans of G. W. Philipo and J. Nāwahī supporting Queen Emma Kaleleonālani, and the third, those who were indeed for the King. R. W. Wilcox strongly supported the side of the King, and he worked hard for equal justice for all and at the task of furthering the Kingdom and educating the lāhui Hawai‘i. He was conscious of one-sided actions carried out by the government and for this reason he said, “It is true that the ‘āina has fallen prey to unsteady governmental policy that is fickle and one-sided, and in respect to conducting the affairs of the Kingdom, it is obvious that there is much resistance among all the Hawaiians of the ‘āina. Therefore, I will try with whatever knowledge I have attained to support all proper actions brought before the House if they are for the good and probable benefit of my own lāhui.”

R. W. Wilcox strongly supported the bill toward the end of the Legislative session which would send Hawaiian youths to be educated in foreign countries. When the Legislature considered this bill, the members cooperated to pass it, and upon being called on for their vote, most of the members were united in their approval.

When the 1880 Legislature was adjourned, the cabinet consisting of S. G. Wilder (Waila) and his group was dissolved, and a new cabinet was seated, the Bush and Moreno cabinet. Because of the appointments to this new Cabinet, the partisans of the dismissed cabinet members gathered in excited confusion. A mass meeting of the natives was called at Kaumakapili Church for the task of putting together some resolutions to take to the King indicating a lack of confidence in the new cabinet. However, when the meeting convened, R. W. Wilcox rose and delivered a forceful speech, opposing those actions of the people who had organized this meeting. The following is an extract of what he said that evening:

“As for actions of this nature, they are foolish, because you do not have the power to oppose what the King has decreed. Actions of this kind will drag the nation into divisiveness, and set one against the other. Therefore, I have cooperated fully with the king's choice in this new cabinet. Opposition of this kind with lack of knowledge on their part is a mistake, that kind of action is foolish. What then are your thoughts concerning this, fellow citizens?” As a result of this question posed by Wilcox, everyone supported fully what he had explained with much enthusiasm. “We agree with this line of reasoning,” called out resounding voices everywhere in the hall.

After that everyone went home. Nothing came of this meeting, but still, some members of the committee were elected to take up the resolutions prepared by the people who had conducted the meeting, and R. W. Wilcox was chosen as one of the committee members. But when the committee met, he was much opposed to the actions taken. Wilcox acted independently in a statement he sent to the King, explaining his strongly opposing view to the actions taken at the meeting, and he made very clear that he strongly supported what the King had done.

On a later day an order came to R. W. Wilcox calling for him to appear before the King, and he acceded to the royal command. When he appeared before the King, the king spoke to him in clearly defined terms, as follows:

‘I have decided that you shall be one of Hawai‘i's sons to be sent for advanced schooling abroad, and that your companions on this singular voyage will be James K. Booth and Robert N. Boyd.’<sup>4</sup>

When the King had completed his command, R. W. Wilcox bowed humbly before him, and rendered words of gratitude for this amazing piece of news that had come to him. Wilcox turned to go and to join his companions, James K. Booth and Robert N. Boyd, on their voyage in search of knowledge.

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<sup>4</sup> Here, quite probably, Nakanaela has invented the dialogue.

## Chapter II

When all was ready, they awaited the day when the steamship was to sail. On August 15, 1880<sup>1</sup> at 11 a. m., they, along with C. C. Moreno, boarded the steamship Zealandia, and at 12 noon, the lines to the wharf were let go, the engines got underway, the whistle blew, finally trailed off, and the ship made a gentle turn, the bow set for the entrance to Mamala [Honolulu harbor].

While friends and the crowd were gathering at the wharf, the boys in the band were playing their instruments with all their might and handkerchiefs and hats were waving. His Majesty came to wave his hand in his last aloha. Love's grief is a remarkable phenomenon. The tears flow when one leaves family and homeland for a foreign land.

Let it be recalled, navigation texts were familiar to him, and on this trip his expertise was evident and below are the chartings from the notes he set down in his diary of the trip.

When the ship had cleared the entrance to Mamala, R. W. Wilcox knew that their bow was then at Lat. 21°, 17', 48", north, and Longitude 157°, 51', 48" west. After so many bells the ship was on course and when Wilcox looked back, the pleasant valley of Nu'uanu had disappeared, homes and vegetation were still to be seen, the sun was setting in the sea, the Rain of Tuahine was creeping along in the uplands of Wa'ahila, and there rose up in his memories thoughts of that famed Hawaiian *mele* that had been composed, as follows:

Beloved is Kau'iki  
Afloat on the sea like a bird  
I am imagining as my lei  
The rainbow lei of the sea.

When the ship had come up on Hanauma, a tin pan was rattled, and Wilcox realized that it was time for a light meal. When the meal was over, he went up again on the deck on the ship, and there he saw Waimānalo exposed to view. This being the home of Hon. J. A. Cummins, there arose within him aloha for that pleasant kama'āina. When he turned to the east, there was

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<sup>1</sup> The date given in the Nakanaela text is incorrect. Wilcox departed Hawai'i on August 30, 1880.

"the land of Hina lying at ease," adorned by the mist, and in the early evening, "Moloka'i Nui a Hina" had disappeared in the sea-spray.

The wind was blowing strongly by then, and the following night, the sea was calm and clear in all directions. On the 16th of August, there was a rain squall during the day's early morning. Wilcox looked after his friends, prostrated by seasickness, as were most of the passengers. They were not able to come to the dining table. At 12 noon of this day he knew that they were at Lat. 23°, 29' north, and at Lon. 154°, 07', 45" west. The bow was set for north 55°, 48' east, and the distance of the ship from the land left behind at that time was 252.7 miles.

At noon of the 17th, he determined that the ship at that time was at Lat. 26°, 01', 21" north, and at Lon. 149°, 34', 12", and that the bow of the ship was set at north 59°, 38' east, and that that the distance of the ship from the land left behind was 1158.5 miles.

On the 18th the waters of the ocean were calm and quiet, the ship's speed picked up, and he knew that compared with 12 o'clock noon of the day just before, the distance of the ship from land on the present day was 852.3 miles.

On the 19th the ship was sailing with the bow at north 58°, 04' east with a Lat. of 34°, 14', 32" north and a Lon. of 139°, 11', 12" west. And the distance of the ship from land was 1158.5 miles.

On the 20th at 12 o'clock noon the ship was at Lat. 36°, 38', 42" west and the bow was set at north 63°, 19' east.

On the 21st, the bow of the ship was at north 66°, 38' east at Lat. 33°, 20', 58" north and Lon. 130°, 52', 30" west and the distance of the ship from land left behind was 1474 miles.

On the 22nd the ship neared land, and at the hour of 10:30 in the morning of this day the pilot came alongside the ship, the shore being fogbound. A short time later the mist cleared, land was sighted and they passed by the Ipuka Gula [Golden Gate] and at last entered the harbor .

When the ship was tied up at the wharf, they jumped ashore, boarded coaches and rode directly to the Palace Hotel. They stayed there for one day, then all of them boarded a train and rode toward the East, resting for a short time in the city of Omaha, and from there on to the city of Cincinnati. When they reached their destination [Washington, D. C.], C. C. Moreno went to carry out his mission from King Kalākaua, meeting with Gafila [Garfield], the leader of the Republican Party, to request support for his cause at this time. When he returned to their hotel, they all went to visit the famous sites of the city of Wasinetona [Washington], as well as all the

places in the government building of the United States of America. While they were in the government building, the young Hawaiians were introduced by C. C. Moreno to the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Charles Schurz and to the chief executive officer of the government of the United States at the time, Fred Douglass, who was then also the President's minister to Cuba<sup>2</sup>. He was a Negro American who was greatly esteemed by the heads of the government of the United States of America. After visiting all the famous places of this beautiful city, they left this place for the city of Nu Ioka [New York]. After visiting all the famous places in this city, they boarded a steamship and sailed for Cherbourg, Farani [France]. Let it be recalled that this ocean is not like the Moana Pakipika [Pacific Ocean] with respect to the calm serenity of the seas; it strikes terror to the heart when the ocean waves are seen, resembling rising mountains of unlimited height, but nevertheless, this was naught to the large ocean-going vessels.

After seven days of sailing, the ship docked at Cherbourg. This place was a very strong fortress on the shore of the country of France, surrounded by mighty fortifications. Not remaining there for long, they boarded trains to ride to Parisa [Paris] that city unequalled in its beauty in the world. While they were in this city, the young Hawaiians were presented by Mr. C. C. Moreno to Leon Gambetta, the famous sage of the French government, and here are his words of encouragement to them:

‘Seek knowledge and learning, because therein are the gates to enlightenment and to progress for the land and the citizenry. And when you have achieved this education, return to aid in the task of governing of your King who is so much appreciated.’

Later the young Hawaiians were presented to that very famous personage who had engineered the Suez and Panama canals, Count Ferdinand de Lesseps and his words of encouragement to them were the following:

‘I consider it a pleasure to know you people from far-off islands who are to be educated in Europe. It is true that you all will not be denied in your search for knowledge if you are steadfast and patient, and then, after you have been educated, return to service in your government, and carry out the task of seeking justice for the King, people and the nation.’

While there, they went to see the tomb of Napoliona I [Napoleon I] and his royal younger

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<sup>2</sup> Douglass, Frederic, 1817-1895. A black orator, journalist and politician, secretary of the Santo Domingo Commission, marshal and recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia, U. S. Minister to Haiti, not to Cuba. (*Dictionary of American Biography*.)

brothers, and they were quite amazed at the things they saw. After they had visited the famous sites of Paris, Moreno, Booth and Boyd traveled to Geremania [Germany] and Wilcox stayed in Paris.

Moreno tried hard to enroll them in school in Germany, however this was not permitted because they did not know the language, and because the school in which they were considering enrolling was quite advanced; only those who were the most qualified in the country were admitted. Moreno tried for two months, but permission was withheld, and after this period of time, he returned to take the young Hawaiians all the way to Italia [Italy]. They returned to get Wilcox who was staying in Paris. They left this place to travel to the city of Genoa, Italy. When they arrived there, the young Hawaiians were presented by Mr. Moreno to the most famous patriot in Italy, the man loved by his countrymen, General Jose Garibaldi,<sup>3</sup> and during their conversation with him he gave them these words of encouragement:

‘The most important thing I wish to tell you is this: you must hold this fast in your heart from this hour on. First of all, know and love your fellow man, and secondly, love your King and your country, and acquire the education to return to help in the governmental work of your wise King.’

The young Hawaiians met a famous man, Prof. Verdi,<sup>4</sup> the most famous composer in the world, the one who had composed many of the songs played by the government band [Royal Hawaiian Band]. After having visited the famous places of the city of Genoa, they traveled to Roma [Rome], the eternal city of this world, and while the train was on its way to far-off places, the first thing sighted was the great Catholic church of the world, Sana Peter [St. Peter's]. When they arrived in the city they went to visit this cathedral. They experienced an immense sense of wonder at the thought of all the wondrous things that they saw inside this cathedral. Inside the

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<sup>3</sup> Garibaldi, Giuseppe, July, 1807-June 2, 1882. Garibaldi served as a great source of inspiration for Wilcox who admired the tenacity, courage, and endurance of this idealistic nationalist who had been instrumental in driving foreign powers from Italy and in uniting the country. However, it is unlikely, as Nakanaela claims, that Wilcox met Garibaldi. According to Garibaldi's biographers, toward the end of his life, plagued by rheumatism and generally in poor health, Garibaldi left his home on the island of Caprera near Sardinia only twice, in November 1889 for Milan, and in March of 1882 for Sicily. Interestingly, Garibaldi himself had a tendency to enhance his own biography, claiming for instance to have been sailing on the *Constanza* in 1826 when that vessel set out from Marseilles to Taganrog but returned in March having been plundered by pirates. The *Constanza* then sailed again only to be attacked by the same pirates twice. The record shows, however, that instead of having been aboard the *Constanza*, Garibaldi had sailed on the *Il Giovanni Francesco*, a vessel left entirely unharmed. (For information on Garibaldi, see John Parris, *The Lion of Caprera: A Biography of Guiseppe Garibaldi* (New York: David McKay, 1962 and Jasper Ridly, *Garibaldi* (London: Constable, 1974.)

<sup>4</sup> This meeting might have taken place. Verdi was alive and healthy during this period and traveled often to Genoa.

cathedral of St. Lateran were preserved the steps that Jesus had climbed at the very end in Jerusalem, shortly before his return to heaven. These steps are called "the sacred steps of the Lord." The steps are watched constantly by guards, as ordered by the Pope, and all those who go to see these steps crawl when approaching close. Some rich people tried to buy these steps for millions of dollars, but the Pope would not at all agree.

After this they went to see King Umberto of Italy, and when they met, he gave these words of encouragement, thusly:

'Seek learning until you find it, then return directly to your homeland for the work that is right for you, for the King, the country, and the people.'<sup>5</sup>

As a result of Moreno's persistence, the young Hawaiians met with the ministers of the government of Italy, and the minister of the army, Gen. Ferrero and with Benedito Brin, the naval minister, the military leaders who planned the operations of the wondrously bold Italian warships, and their words of encouragement were similar to those earlier extended to the young men, thusly:

'In as much as the schools where you wish to enroll are under our authority, permission from the schoolmasters for enrollment will not be withheld. Try hard to master the complex matters relating to the army and naval professions. This is indeed a place of refuge that can ward off the evil and disorderly deeds flourishing in the nation.'

After exhaustive efforts by C. C. Moreno, it was agreed that the young Hawaiians could enroll in the royal military preparatory schools of Italy as follows: R. W. Wilcox in the military academy of Turino [Turin], R. N. Boyd in the naval military academy at Leghorn, J. K. Booth in the military academy of Napela [Naples].

Having completed the legalities of enrolling the young Hawaiians in school, Moreno returned to his home. It should be understood, this school in which Wilcox enrolled was a school for teaching and practice in the Italian language, and he spent one year in this school under the patient schooling of his tutor, Capt. Geletta. He was examined by the officers of the first year class of the academy and in his examinations in advanced studies, Italian and French languages, R. W. Wilcox successfully passed all the examinations in these subjects, and after a short vacation, he entered the first year class at the academy. There were three classes in this academy,

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<sup>5</sup> The speeches attributed to Umberto, Verdi, Garibaldi, and Ferdinand de Lesseps are so similar that readers are tempted to infer that these addresses are fictional.

first, second, and third levels.

He enrolled in the first year class in 1882 in the month of July. There were classes in this school in advanced studies, land surveying, celestial navigation, military strategy, cartography, and so on, and there were classes in physical education, horseback riding, fencing, high jump, marksmanship, firing a cannon, and many other kinds of lessons.

As for drills, there were various sections under the leadership of the captain and the officers. At all times the school was in session, there were guards at constant watch marching about outside, and if one of the students broke the peace in the school, the school master at once called the sentry to lock up in a cell the one who had caused the commotion. Wilcox worked hard to master the lessons for a year, and in the examinations of the students by the committee, that is, a colonel, a major, and subordinate officers, Wilcox successfully passed, with hearty congratulations from his teachers. In this school 20 points constituted the highest score, and Wilcox received an 18, his classmates ranking below him. The school was closed for a vacation after the examination, and at the invitation of the British Consul, he went to his residence for a vacation with his schoolmate, the son of the Consul. The residence of the Consul was quite a distance from the school, in the city of Como.

When the time approached for the school to reopen, he returned and the instructors hastened with the more than 200 students to go to the drill fields of the Italian government for drilling. The drills were held at a place called Saint Marizio, at the foot of the famous mountain range, the Alps, a distance of 15 miles from Turin. They stayed there for one month, learning about drills of various sorts, combat on horseback, drills in marching, cannon practice, drill with small arms, and so on, and in the final days of the training period, the sharp-shooting corps, some 20 in number, was chosen by the officers, and Wilcox was one of those enrolled in this group. Wilcox seldom missed a target when he fired a rifle.

Right after this, everyone returned happily to the halls of learning and paraded up and down on the streets surrounding the town during the festivities, with visitors crowded far and near on the streets of the city.

When school began again, Wilcox was placed in the second year class, this being the year of 1883. Subjects in the class were in advanced fields, surveying, draftsmanship, astronomy, lessons in the history of famous military men, such as Napoliona [Napoleon] and Feredarika ka

Nui [Frederick the Great] and the many other famous warriors of Europe and the United States. Steadfastly, he tried hard to learn his lessons, and when the year was over, the school held examinations, and Wilcox graduated from this class with reports full of praise from his teachers.

When the examination was over, he traveled to see James K. Booth at Naples, as well as R. N. Boyd at Leghorn. When school time neared, he returned to Turin where the school mates of the graduating class were getting ready for maneuvers at the drill fields, before returning to enter school.

Lessons in this class were in advanced subjects, lessons in erecting fortifications in wartime, the history of the legacy of the war between France and Germany, and many other advanced lessons in military cartography. Wilcox occupied himself constantly in learning his lessons, and when the time came that 100 days remained until the students in the graduating class would at last graduate, the members of Wilcox's class (this was the graduating class this year) took part in grand celebrations. They fired guns, shot off fireworks, and so on.

It was the custom for students in this class from former times, and also it was in commemoration of Napoleon's reign as emperor of the French government after his escape from the island of Elba and his victory over all his enemies.

When examination day came, Wilcox graduated with honors, and awaited the appointment from the King to one of the royal military posts in the military corps of the government. A few days later, he received his appointment from the Minister of War of the Italian government, in the name of the King, as lieutenant in the cannon corps for war operations, and in this position he received a monthly salary from the government and lived independently on what he earned.

### Chapter III

While Wilcox was in the first year class at school, during a vacation he was invited by one of his schoolmates to come to a dinner party given by his parents for the person who had been invited. At this dinner party he met the daughter of Baron Sobrero, Lady Louisa Maria Carolina Elizabeth Isabella Sobrero. This was one of the old aristocratic Italian families, and when Wilcox caught sight of the girl, he desired her. In accordance with the customary rules of gatherings of polite society he was introduced to the young lady by his classmate, and then Wilcox had the opportunity to express his passionate feelings to this young, graceful Italian girl. Before she responded to him, he thought, "How can I make this young, beautiful and graceful young lady my dance partner this evening?" It is true that from the conversation between the two of them, it was immediately obvious to him that this was a very highly educated young woman. After the flirtations and the dancing, Wilcox fell deeply in love with the young lady. During the evening, schoolmates crowded about her jealously, because she was the loveliest flower in the garden of all the young ladies gathered that evening. Her thoughts were all of Wilcox, and Wilcox's thoughts were all of her. Many of the youths sought after her to dance with her, but she answered all of them, "I am engaged, I have a dance partner, he is Wilcox, the prince of Hawai'i."

After the events of this evening, each returned home, but each remembered this evening, and each heart beat for the other, though neither knew that eventually they would become man and wife.

Four years later, Wilcox graduated from school with much praise from the teachers. A dinner party was given by the graduating students at the residence of the British Consul, and among those invited were the family of Wilcox's lady, her sister and their mother.

It is true, Wilcox had forgotten a little of what they had said at their first meeting, but he had not forgotten in the least the mutual attraction between the young girl and himself. He was overjoyed at their reunion, because she was the one his heart had chosen to become his wife, should she agree. During this meeting they decided together that the young lady would be the dance partner for him alone, not for any of the others. Of course, many of Wilcox's schoolmates sought after her to dance with them, but she answered, "I am engaged to Lieutenant R. W. Wilcox. He is my dance partner this evening." With these words the young lady answered Wilcox's friends. They had decided among themselves that the young lady was engaged to the famous and noble

Wilcox.

During the many dances held later Wilcox and his friend from school days were always there, and because of this closeness between the two of them, the heart of the beauty of Italy was won over to Wilcox. After talking together with the family, it was decided that they would marry. But Wilcox did not give his promise then, saying, "I cannot give my promise at this time, because I must first write my beloved King, and if he approves, then this will be right." Two months later, King Kalākaua's reply consenting to the marriage was received.

After they had been engaged for one month, they married on July 15, 1887, under three authorities, the first, before the Catholic Church, the second, before the government of Italy, and the third, before the Church of England with the blessing of the Hawaiian Consul, in an elaborate ceremony. Among the distinguished people who came to witness their marriage were teachers from the academy, the royal military officers, the British and Hawaiian consuls, the bride's family, Colonel James H. Boyd, Colonel Sam. Nowlein, Miss Maile Nowlein, and mutual friends from many different schools. It was said that this was one of those marriages for all time, which made a great impression on those who came to witness it.

After their marriage, they traveled to Helewekia [Helvetia, that is, Switzerland] and also to other nearby places. They stayed for one month, then returned. While they were living together harmoniously, the order to come home arrived from the Hawaiian government, and accordingly they returned to Hawai'i, with great expectations of finding work on which to make a living. However, upon their return they found that the Hawaiian government had been taken over by the Reformists. Wilcox tried hard to get work, but he was treated with contempt by the leaders of the Reform government. Wilcox stayed patiently in Honolulu with his wife for six months, but he had not the least hope of finding work on which to make a living. Because of this, the thought in them grew that they should travel to Kapalakiko [San Francisco], because it would be easier to find work there. In the month of April 1888 they left Hawai'i for San Francisco, and they stayed at the Grand Hotel.

Within the walls of this hotel their first child was born, a daughter. He found work in San Francisco as Chief Engineer for the Board of Water Supply. He remained in this position for over a year, but left this position to return to Hawai'i. His wife and baby returned to Italy, and on their return journey to their native land, the baby died. Her name was Signorina Vittoria Eleusine Maria

Carolina Elizabeth Wilcox.

The news of the death of his first born came to Wilcox while he was held prisoner at Kalākaua Hale, and when he heard this devastating news, it was something that tore him asunder.

### **The Genealogy of the Parents of R. W. Wilcox's Wife**

The name of Wilcox's father-in-law was Aaron Lorenzo Carlo Giuseppi Sobrero, a distinguished officer in the artillery corps of the Italian Army, and an aristocrat entered in the genealogy books of the nobility of the Italian Kingdom. Sobrero's wife was Donna Victoria Colonna, a daughter of the first ranking nobles of the Spanish aristocracy, and the first-born daughter of Donna Maria Antonio Colonna Stigliana, who died in Naples, Italy, and was a very high ranking noblewoman in the hierarchy of the nobility of Sepania [Spain].

## Chapter IV

When R. W. Wilcox returned from San Francisco in the month of April 1889, he learned that governmental power was in the hands of the party called the Reformists. There was no equal justice in that administration, and the King was not held in respect and there were other conditions of this sort; therefore, he made up his mind to take action, that is, to act in such a way as to overthrow the government. He took as a motto the famous words of Napoleon, that famous hero of the French government, and engraved deeply in his heart was this:

"Bravery is the motto, and this is my seal as a professional soldier."

The truth was that this was a time to set right the government of Hawai'i, since power was in the hands of those who had instigated the rebellious commotion of 1887. The King had been compelled to sign the constitution called the Bayonet Constitution, an act he undertook in order to keep peace in the Kingdom. As a result of this constitution, control of the Kingdom had fallen into the hands of the four Ministers. The King on the throne was left without a voice, and those four people had the decision-making power, the King retaining only a formal approval in all matters. The Hawaiians who held government posts during that time were dismissed, for reasons that had no justification, and the haole members of this large group took over these posts. Because of this state of affairs, unrest was rife among the people, and relations between Hawaiians and those haoles of the government party were broken off. And it was this singular cause that suggested itself strongly to him: to carry out some action to overturn what the Reform government had brought about and to restore the authority of the King, by enacting a new constitution that would bring justice to the Hawaiian lāhui and to the 'āina.

Wilcox began at once to appeal to the young people with Hawaiian hearts, explaining to them his criticism and his strong wish for justice for native Hawaiians in their own homeland. In his speeches he suggested that the compatriots organize themselves in a rifle club, and this organization thus brought together was called the "Kamehameha Rifle Association." Numerous native Hawaiians, the rightful young heirs to the 'āina, joined under his leadership, and by firing off their weapons, all members learned how to shoot their rifles. This rifle association was established in the first week of June 1889.

## The Meeting to Overthrow the Government

On Saturday afternoon of the first week of July, the very first meeting to overthrow the government was conducted by Wilcox at Iwilei, and a large number of young Hawaiians gathered there. After selecting the major leaders of the association, he delivered an address to the association members, as follows:

‘It is true, you have assembled in this place this evening according to my command, therefore, here are the tasks I wish to outline for you: that is to say, we are united with one heart, with aloha for the ‘āina and the King. True, the attempt to overthrow the government and the constitution is a major undertaking. It should be up to the Legislature to do this, but it will be a long time before that happens. Therefore, I am determined within myself that ultimately we can overthrow the governmental administration if we unite under my leadership. It is true that only one armed force will stand in our way, the Honolulu Rifle Association. It is known that the members of that association will support this government administration. Therefore, my friends, I have not the least fear of this association if we will all stand firm. Then they will be as nothing, and if we stand firm without fear, our safety will be restored, justice will be returned to the ‘āina, and justice for the King and the lāhui shall be as it used to be.’

After swearing in the members under the constitution of the association, proceedings were recessed until the next meeting on Pūowaina Hila [Punchbowl]. Those who came to that meeting at Iwilei on Saturday afternoon came again the following Saturday. Matters decided upon at that meeting had to do with supplies for armed conflict, and with the question of how to obtain these supplies. The proceedings were recessed at four in the afternoon and it was decided to meet again at Mu‘olaulani Hale<sup>1</sup> when the time came to convene the members again. Several days later, the members were again convened to meet at the place decided upon. At the meeting on the evening of July 29, a large number assembled, and this was the last meeting until the armed group appeared at the Palace. Before the association marched to the Palace, Wilcox once more delivered before the association a speech having to do with aloha ‘āina, his love for the land, and it was this speech which stirred the spirits of the patriots to go forth and carry out fearlessly the action they had planned. The speech goes like this:

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<sup>1</sup> The home of Lili‘uokalani, today the site of the Lili‘uokalani Children's Center.

‘It is true, my friends of the native sands of Hawai‘i, dying on the battlefield because of wishing to be in possession of one’s own native land, and for the rights of independence for the Kingdom, and the right to live protected by the King and by the constitution, is something greatly honored by the most famous soldiers in the world. We know, my friends, that we are truly hard-pressed. Our rightful heritage to the land has been taken from us by *malihini*, by newcomers, that is to say, the missionaries, and the government has been completely overrun by them, so much so that they have deprived us of governing our own country. And the only thing we can do to restore our rights is to rise up in the same way as they have done, and take major action ourselves, that is, to take back and recapture these rightful claims through the strength of weapons of war. True, through them has come education, but on the other hand, through them we have also learned how to use the weapons of war to attain justice and good fortune. I speak the truth to you, condemning them all is to be above them even if we were to fall in this action we contemplate. I am reminding you to stand firm, all of you, with strong determination until the goal is accomplished.’

As a result of this speech, the resolve of the patriots became very strong, and at two o’clock in the dawning hours, the battalion lined up as follows: there were three companies under the leadership of the chosen captains. The first company was under the leadership of Captain Hiram Ka‘aha and his subordinate officers, the second company was under the leadership of Captain Alex. Smith and his subordinate officers, and the third company under the leadership of Captain A. S. Mahaulu and his officers.

The soldiers of this regiment were properly supplied with rifles and with small hand guns, official hats and red shirts, as is customary everywhere for soldiers. When the lehua of Lihau pushes out, the marching is majestic to all who observe it.<sup>2</sup>

It should be understood, these soldiers were not accustomed to hand-to-hand combat on the battlefield, they were only skilled in marching and shouldering rifles. This is not to criticize them for they were as one in marching, in shouldering rifles, in thought and so forth.

With the sounding of the hour of three in the dawning hours, the battalion marched out under

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<sup>2</sup> Red shirts, worn by Garibaldi’s Italian Legion defending Montevideo, Uruguay, against Argentina in 1843, had become symbols of nationalism. By outfitting his men in the red shirts and marching hats of Garibaldi’s army, Wilcox paid tribute to the ideals of Garibaldi. In this passage Nakanaela overlays an Italian symbol with a Hawaiian allusion, the red of the lehua flower.

his command, straight down the Alanui Mō'ī [King Street], When the troops came to Kahuinaakale, they picked up two policemen, and at the order of the captain of the battalion, these two joined the march, and at the corner of Polelewa, they picked up one policeman, and under order, he joined the march, and at the corner of the Alanui Rikeke [Richards Street] and Mo'ī [King], they picked up one policeman and he entered the march. From this street, the troops marched straight up until arriving at the mauka gate of the Palace.

## Chapter V

### The Account of the Wilcox Rebellion Against the Government

on July 30, 1889

#### Great Disorder in Honolulu. The Public Agitated

More than a hundred Hawaiians under the leadership of Wilcox. The Palace grounds and Hale Aupuni [Government Building] taken under Wilcox's control. The Honolulu Rifle Association called into battle the rebellion. The Honolulu Rifles fire the first shot at Wilcox from the new Music Hall. Wilcox forces fire the cannon at the Music Hall. Both sides intensify the battle. Wilcox fearlessly dodges rifle fire. Six of Wilcox's soldiers killed. Point-blank fire at Wilcox by the Honolulu Riflemen deflected. Wilcox's forces routed. The misfortune at Hale 'Ākala [Kalākaua's Bungalow] from the box of dynamite. The battleship *Adamu* [*Adams*] helps the forces of the Honolulu Riflemen. The critical situation of Wilcox and his few remaining men inside the Hale 'Ākala. The capture and imprisonment in Kalākaua Hale of Wilcox and his soldiers.

This is the way it happened, the heart-stopping deed which Wilcox carried out on that morning of July 30, 1889, that is, his account of how he led a large force of men armed with weapons, rifles and bird-shot guns, headed straight for the Palace, fitted out in uniforms, marching along, one in step and one in soldierly, courageous strength, no fewer than a hundred men in all. Because of all this, all the city's office buildings were closed that day, and the War Minister ordered the government's armed force, the Honolulu Rifles, to come forth to safeguard the peace of the state, and all in an official capacity were ordered to go obtain guns and arms from the jail in order to make a stand against Wilcox. When the troops [of Wilcox] reached the mauka gate of the Palace grounds, upon his order, they pounded on the gate.

From within the guard asked in a loud voice, "Who is it?"

"Wilikoki," came the reply.

"That is not an authorized password," said the guard. "Stand ready to answer with the password!" the soldier called out again in a commanding voice.

At Wilcox's command, one of the men climbed over the gate, and some of the guards were spotted going into the Palace. Then some of the men jumped over and opened the gate, and the forces entered the Palace grounds, and stood mauka of the Palace.

Wilcox left the troops and going up to the steps asked the guard standing on watch there, "Who is the officer of the day?"

"Lutanela [Lieutenant] R. P. Waipa is the officer of the day," answered the guard.

"Go bring him here," said Wilcox.

Lieutenant Waipa was sent for, and upon being ordered, he came. When he appeared, Wilcox asked that the Palace be turned over to his command. But this was not agreed to. Wilcox twice approached and strongly urged Waipa for this this same thing, but by no means was this agreed to.

He [Waipa] said in no uncertain terms, "How can I turn over the Palace to you? There is no order authorizing me to turn it over to you. I have my orders to carry out and I will stand at this station until my very last soldier.

After Wilcox had gone with twenty of his men to the barracks to see Kahalewai, the latter turned over the Palace grounds to Wilcox. After he had assumed this authority, they returned and began to station troops at all points within the Palace grounds, the cannons were commandeered and armed, and set up at various stations as follows: two guards at the four gates of the Palace grounds, twelve men under the command of Captain B. A. Kahananui at Hale Aupuni [the Government Building], brass cannons at the three sides of the palace, their muzzles aimed at the three sides of the Palace grounds. The men at the cannons were stationed thusly: The brass cannon mauka of the Palace under Loika and Wilcox, the cannon at the 'Ewa side of the Palace under R. N. Boyd and Poni, the cannon on the Waikīkī side of the Palace under the command of George Markham and Keki. The riflemen and the hand-gun forces siding with Wilcox were stationed within the Palace grounds, shielded by trees and plants, and this was quickly carried out by the officers under Wilcox.

While this was being carried out, the Honolulu Rifles were coming down the Alanui Beritania [Beretania Street] and straight down the Alanui Pāpū [Fort Street]. There were some people riding in vehicles at the entrance to the grounds of Kawaiaha'o, with soldiers lying in wait inside the grounds and sharpshooters on the tower.

Before the fighting began, Samuel Damon came over on his horse to the mauka gate of the Palace grounds, and Wilcox came out and stood outside the gate. While they were standing there talking, the Honolulu Rifle sharpshooters fired three shots at one and the same time at Wilcox from the Music Hall. Wilcox moved aside a little, and with a crackling sound the bullets hit the post of the gate just behind the place where he had been standing. It was obvious that each of the three

bullets had been aimed at him, one at the head, another at the chest and the the third at the belly. At that, Damon left the place where they had been standing, as did Wilcox.

When the forces siding with Wilcox heard the sound of the guns, they began to let fly fire balls from the cannon at the new Music Hall and rifle fire was seen bursting here and there. It was apparent that the glass windows and the entrance door of the new Music Hall were shattered and broken by the bullets. Meanwhile there was a hail of bullets from the government forces from the tower of Kawaiaha'o Church, the new Music Hall, the office of the chief postmaster on Richards Street, the Hawai'i Hotel, Hopper's house at Mililani and Mrs. Ha'alele'a's house just mauka of the Palace ground. Some of Wilcox's men were hit and killed, namely Loika, Poni, Kelelua, Kawaiwai and Sam. Tucker, and others were hit by a bullet, namely R. N. Boyd, Geo. Markham, Keki, Kamai, Walu, Thomas Hopa, Keawe, Makolo and Ku'aumoana. At the hour of eleven, the gunfire abated somewhat on both sides, because Wilcox's forces retreated into Hale 'Ākala [the King's bungalow]. Outside a second encircling of the Palace took place, and from this time on before the fighting began [again], many of his men left him [Wilcox] and ran outside the Palace grounds heading for their homes.

During the time when the gun fire was intense on both sides, Wilcox, the hero, was indeed seen running about from place to place where the guns were firing, giving orders and firing off guns at those sites where the shooting was going on. In the places where Wilcox paused for a moment, numerous bullets were seen falling down like raindrops, and with an iron dirt shovel a bit of sand was put down here and there with some dirt on top of it, so that that he could move about everywhere in this way.

Wilcox made clear his position to several of his friends in this way:

'As God is my witness, I did not at all think of this action as a revolt against my mother country, her independence, and her integrity, but rather as giving support and lending strength for the rights of my beloved people, the cause of independence, the rights of the Throne, and the dignity of the beautiful flag of Hawai'i, and if I die carrying out this action of mine, my death will be a sanctification. It is my hope that God will not forsake me, until all the rights that have been taken away by the American plunderers<sup>1</sup> have been restored.'

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<sup>1</sup> Here, Americans who come to Hawai'i to become prosperous are likened to the *kolea*, the golden plovers, who come to Hawai'i each fall and become fat before their return to Siberia and Alaska in the spring.

When the sun began to set in the west, he saw that half of his forces had deserted him, so he went inside Hale ‘Ākala to stay with the few soldiers remaining with him, hoping very much that help would come after it became dark, but while he was there, as rifle bullets kept erupting inside the building, some of his friends appeared and announced that they would be captured. Later on, armed forces came and Wilcox was taken prisoner with his forces, and was led to the jail to be locked up. As this took place, there were derisive calls from the government partisans. Wilcox was dressed from head to toe in his army uniform, the sword reflecting his rank at his side, spurs glittering on his shoes, the military cap on his head, red stripes running along his side, and a black and white fur cape on his shoulders.

Word spread through town to the effect that the King had helped Wilcox and in response to the rumor, a proclamation of denial was issued on behalf of the King:

To Hon. S. M. Damon,

Aloha to you. There was a strange opinion and there were rumors flying about claiming that I had joined with Mr. Wilcox in these actions. I am making it clear in utmost honesty that this is only gossip. There is not the slightest truth in it, and not the slightest connection exists between this and the actions taken by the Cabinet yesterday.

#### Kalākaua

While Wilcox was locked up in Kalākaua Hale [the jail], all day and all night, not the slightest attitude of fear was seen within his heart, and he kept on the magnificent uniform of an Italian officer, with its golden braid. Thus, according to a *mele* that was composed:

Majestic, Wilcox stands  
In the glittering apparel of Italy.  
Glancing quickly at him,  
One sees a yellow-ribboned bird.

On Wednesday morning many citizen, both men and women, came to see those captured and accused of various crimes, such as rioting, conspiracy, and rebellion.

At eight on that day never to be forgotten, the Cabinet of the Kingdom, the Ministers Resident of foreign countries, the Consuls, and the Captain of the warship *Adamu* [Adams] had met and they had decided to send S. M. Damon to go to see Wilcox and to ask Wilcox to give himself up along with his men, and this had been the reason why Damon had gone forth on horseback, as

explained earlier, and Wilcox had been fired on by the sharpshooters of the Honolulu Rifles from the Music Hall. Later Damon had gone back to report to the cabinet that his mission had not fared well, because at the very time he was conversing with Wilcox, matters had come to a head. As a result of this message, Konela V. V. Akepoka [Colonel V. V. Ashford] was ordered by the Cabinet to position at once the Honolulu Rifles at all places around the Palace to safeguard the protection of the public and the government and to oppose the revolutionaries.

The following proclamation was issued on the sidewalks on the street, signed by Sheriff J. H. Soper and three Cabinet Ministers:

“Each able bodied man is ordered to enlist under the government forces in this city, and to appear before the sheriff of the Kingdom.”

At eleven that day, one unit of marine forces was dispatched from the battleship *Adams*, and they marched directly to the residence of the Komisina Amerika [American Commissioner] on Alakea Street.

This dispatching of American forces onto Hawaiian soil is a matter greatly to be regretted by true Hawaiian hearts. Whereas once Hawaiians recalled the long period of friendship which linked America and Hawai‘i in aloha, this became the day that future generations of Hawai‘i will recount as the first day that America broke the trust of the established friendship between the two. And this happened although Hawaiians had done nothing against American citizens, indeed the highest government officials were not on the side of the ali‘i.

On this day never to be forgotten, the news spread that the reason for the uprising was that Wilcox wished to place the Crown Princess Lili‘uokalani on the Throne, and because of this, it was thought that the Crown Princess had joined in this action. But during the investigation the question was put to her directly, and she answered in the following way:

‘I had absolutely no knowledge of these actions of Wilcox until being questioned by the Cabinet Ministers about all these matters that were rumored, just after my return from Hilo in the month of June. Later on when I heard about the things Wilcox was planning, I told Wilcox at once

that I was opposed to this, and that it was best that he end this uprising. By no means did I join in any of his secret meetings. It is true that it was my house that Wilcox was living in, but when I returned from Kaua'i, I told him to go live somewhere else. When Wilcox was living in Kapalakiko [San Francisco], he wrote me about these actions, but I replied in my letter that he should not take the slightest action on these matters when he returned to Hawai'i; if he was returning with the idea of running on a ballot, then that was all right.'

One of the newspaper reporters in this town went to interview R. P. Waipa and his testimony follows below:

'I was standing guard at the Palace with twelve soldiers, with one sergeant and one corporal. The soldiers were guarding the various gates. At four in the early morning I was overcome by drowsiness and a feeling of inertia. I was startled out of my sleepiness when a soldier woke me up and informed me that Wilcox was outside the gate of the Palace grounds on the mauka side with a great many men. Wilcox called out for the guard at the gate to open the gate, and moreover, called out, 'Line up men.'

Then I immediately ordered my forces to stand ready inside the Palace, to protect the royal residence, and then I called to the gate guards to return inside the Palace, whereupon I saw one of Wilcox's soldiers climb on the wall and jump down inside. He opened the gate from within, that is to say, the mauka gate.

Then Wilcox called out to his forces, some eighty of them, to line up in front of the Palace. Then Wilcox came up and stood before me, and ordered me to surrender my sword and authority over the Palace to his command. I refused to his face in no uncertain terms. Then I ascended the stairs of the Palace, Wilcox following after me with his loaded gun held fast. While I was going up, I quickly looked behind me thinking that I was a dead man for sure. I had only a sword in my hand at that time. When he had reached halfway up the stairs, he turned and went down to his soldiers. There were some sixty of his men standing firm with guns. Later he returned and asked me where the cannons were. However, I did not tell him, but later, he found them and began at once to

position them in place on the four sides of the Palace.

At this point he ordered the powder house broken into. Then I came out and went to inform Kapena [Captain] Kahalewai at the Halekoa [the Barracks], about all these events. He ordered me not to kill any of those who had come inside the Palace. Then I returned once more to the Palace grounds, and took over protecting the Palace as usual, standing on the stairs. Later, Wilcox once more ascended the stairs, calling out to me to hand over command of the Palace to him, because he wanted to put the cannons back inside the Palace.

I answered him in a loud voice, 'I will not agree to hand over the Palace until the life of my very last man has been given up.' At this time he went out and after a short time had passed, came back and asked me where the primer and equipment for firing the cannons was kept. However, I did not tell him. At eight he came up holding his pistol in his hand, cocked it so that it was ready to fire, and when he saw me, he aimed his gun directly at me. But there were two soldiers directly behind my back ready with their guns. I ordered them, when Wilcox's hand moved, they were to shoot him pointblank. He asked me again to come inside the Palace but I refused him as I had earlier.

Right after this, the rifles were readied for battle. Walking toward the lower part of the building, I was perhaps mistaken for Wilcox by the sharpshooters; three bullets whizzed by me at the same time, the third, however, grazed my shoulder. We had a bite to eat in the morning but did not have anything again until in the evening after the surrender. Sometime after seven in the evening, I saw some men running away from Hale 'Ākala [the Bungalow]. I knew at once that this was surrender. And indeed right after that Wilcox was taken prisoner.'

Two days after Wilcox had been locked up in jail, that is to say on August 1, 1889, he and A. Loomens were taken before the Court of Justice for the crime of conspiracy during a period covering the past three months. Wilcox's lawyer, Konela V. V. Akepoka [Colonel V. V. Ashford] appeared in person, along with the one of Loomens, Mr. W. A. Whiting. The questioning did not go well, therefore, the action of the court was postponed.

On August 2, the full list of names of those who had joined the rebellion was released, along

with those who were only suspected of joining in the action. And here it is:

Robert W. Wilcox, Albert Loomens, A. S. Mahaulu, Alexander Smith, Capt. H. Ka'aha, Robert N. Boyd, Geo. Markham, Capt. Kahalewai, B. H. Kahananui, Ka'imimoku, John Hapa, J. M. Poepoe, J. K. Kaunamano, Kailianu, Keoki Kaili, Geo. Maxwell, Pamalo, Samuel Leleo, Pali, Nakai, David Kahukula, Hamaia, Kauka, Henry Kuikahi, Keoni Palau, Hoomanawanui, Solomona Kalahili, Kanikaliu, S. E. Kaiue, Loheole, Kekoni Ka'ai, Ka'alokai, Manu, Ka'aio, Silas Kila, Kamaika'aloa, E. H. Mahuka, H. P. K. Malulani, Namahana, Moke Makaluhi, Kaona, Solomona, Sam 'Uilama, Kukaulali'i, Bill Perry, S. K. Pua, T. P. Spencer, K. Palau, Sam Kamake'e, Kahuakai, Kaona, Manuela, Nahinalau, Kalili Auwae, Naihe, A. K. Palekaluhi, David Ka'apa, Toma Hopa, Kamai, Walu, Kuaumoana, Makalo, Keawe, A. K. Kunuiakea, Chas. Clark, J. Sheldon, Geo. Ellis, Jack, D. W. Pua, W. H. Cummings and J. E. Bush.

In the afternoon of the day cited above, the Coroner's Office, under the direction of Mr. Chas. Creighton, met in session to consider the cause of death for Loika, Poni, S. Tucker, Keki, Kelelua and Kawaiwai. In a unanimous ruling they decreed that the deaths resulted from being shot by a gun while they were engaged in the revolution against the government on July 30, 1889.

As far as the gentlemen of the Coroner's Court are concerned, here as their names: Chas. Creighton, Geo. Lucas, Jr., Wm. H. Hoogs, John E Bidwell, Wm. B. Oleson, J. D. Tucker and D. Shepherd.

After Wilcox and his men had been jailed, much appreciation was extended to his true-blooded men for carrying out their course of action over a very short period of time (unlike those deeds committed by the haoles in 1887, which had taken almost a year).

Joyous *mele* were composed for him everywhere and the news of the extraordinary deeds of the Italian warrior hit the islands like a lightning bolt. Printing houses in this town of Honolulu published his pictures, and they were sold by the thousands throughout the island chain.

Wilcox remained imprisoned for over two months in Kalākaua Hale, and in the first week of October, he was brought before the High Court [Supreme Court] and jury in Ali'iolani Hale [the Government Building]. During the time before the court convened, the news spread like lightning

on all the streets: the warrior, who loved the land, with so much fearless bravery, was to be brought before a jury. The native people in great numbers went to Hale Aupuni [Government Building]. When an empty spot was discovered around Hale Aupuni, it was soon filled by natives, waiting with great yearning to see this fearless unique warrior who had brought terror to the government party and the missionary circles.

There was a great yearning among all the natives who waited on the street curbs, the intersections, and all the gathering places, and when they saw the face of the glorious warrior of Hawai'i, they bowed in love and respect, and called out his name and shouted beautiful endearments as he passed by. While the people were waiting in the streets leading to Hale Aupuni, the government became very afraid, and supposed wrongly that this would result in a riot. Therefore, the sheriff hired a rig and nimble horses to whisk Wilcox to Hale Aupuni. And on the street next to Hale Aupuni a line of policemen were stationed to block the native sons coming to show their aloha and to shake hands with the Angel of the Royal House, the Royal child, Wilikoki.

On the afternoon of the first of the days when the court was in session, this glorious warrior of Hawai'i was taken by coach, with several policemen, unable to receive the praise of the multitude.

## Chapter VI

### The Trial of Wilcox and His Men

On Monday, October 7, 1890, the court convened to hear the case of the greatly renowned warrior. Chief Justice A. F. Judd presided over the Court, Attorney General C. W. Akepoka [Ashford] represented the Government, and those fearless legal exponents<sup>1</sup> A. Rosa and J. W. Kalua were Wilcox's lawyers.

When the time came, the Attorney General rose and said before the Court that he was ready for the reading of the indictment of Alapaki [Albert] Loomens (the Belgian) for the crime of conspiracy.

While the Chief Justice was giving his instructions to the Court, native sons of all sorts and from far and wide filed in until the hall was full.

Loomens was called and he stood before the Court.

Court—"Do you have a lawyer?"

Loomens—"Yes, Mr. Rosa (Akoni) is my lawyer."

Mr. Rosa (Akoni)—"I note from the indictment of this session that Neumann and W. A. Whiting are his lawyers."

Mr. Neumann — I'm the lawyer for Loomens in the lower Court, not for this Court.

Mr. Rosa — I'm not the lawyer because he was being accused at this time.

The Court — Would you like, Loomens, for the Court to choose a lawyer for you?

Loomens — I would like to choose my own lawyer.

The Court — You had a long time if that was your idea, since July 31.

Loomens — I request here a delay of my case for four days to search for a lawyer.

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<sup>1</sup> In the Hawaiian language text Wilcox's lawyers are likened to the *'ahikananā*, a variety of the *'ahi* (tuna), a fish renowned for its fierce fighting ability.

The Court — I'll deny the request, since you had a long time to think about this matter.

Loomens — Then I request the agreement of the court for two days to seek a lawyer.

The Court — I'll allow you from now until 1:00 this afternoon.

The Crown vs. Gabriela. Crime inciting riot.

At the request of the Attorney General, this case is returned from the case list of the Hawaiian Jury to the case list of the haole Jury.

The defendant, a Frenchman, answered, and after the reading of the charges, he admitted his guilt.

“He was a man hired by Wilcox before the rebellion for 1 dollar a day. He helped Wilcox in land survey and in collecting guns. He was present at the meeting Wilcox conducted at Mrs. Dominis's house,<sup>2</sup> and he was ordered to join the armed group at the time Wilcox ordered the armed forces into action. Because of his ineptness in the Hawaiian language, and for various other reasons I (the Attorney General) am asking for a light penalty for the defendant. The Government does not wish to exact severe penalties for a charge of this nature.” The Court decided to rule on the charge submitted by handing down a decision. It was true that the defendant was uninformed, and as a result of this, had been led into this affair. The Court had no desire to hand down a severe penalty, and so delivered a sentence that called for Gabriel to be jailed for one month at hard labor.

The Crown against Alike [Alexander] Smith. Conspiracy in the first degree. Upon the defendant being questioned, he pleaded guilty. Since the prisoner had admitted his guilt, the Attorney General at once asked the Court to postpone setting his sentence until another time; meanwhile, he (the Attorney General) intended to call in the defendant to testify for the Government. The Court agreed to this request.

The Crown against Walu, Kauhikoa, Kukaulali‘i and Palekaluhi.

Crime of conspiracy in the first degree. They denied their guilt.

At this point the Court ruled that those who had been released on bail should all assemble at 10 o'clock in the morning.

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<sup>2</sup> Haole authorities, as in this passage quoting the Attorney General, were loath to acknowledge the appropriate titles of the Hawaiian royalty.

The Crown against S. E. Kaiue, Thos. P. Spencer and J. Kanoa. Charged with the crime of conspiracy in the first degree. They denied their guilt.

The Crown against Jack Kuamo‘o, Sam. K. Pua, Kahuakai and Kaona. Conspiracy, first degree. Mr. Aki [Achi] rose, acting as lawyer for Kuamo‘o, and asked to delay his plea until Tuesday. Mr. Rosa stood, acting as lawyer for Kaona and Pua, and asked the Court to delay his plea until Tuesday in as much as he wished to see the indictments, intending to place in evidence a certain document refuting the causes of the indictment. As a result of this motion, the Court suspended consideration of these cases until Tuesday.

The Crown Against Nahinalau, R. Palau, and S. Kila. Crime of rioting. Their plea postponed until Tuesday.

The Crown against Manu, Namahana, Kamaika‘aloha, Kahalehili and J. Keli‘i. Crime of rioting. Their pleas suspended until Tuesday.

The Crown against Hamaia, Kanikalio, Pamalo and E. H. Mahuka.

Crime of conspiracy, first degree. Their plea suspended until Tuesday

The Crown against Kaho‘omahela, Kalili, Ka‘aua, Kailianu and Kaili. Crime of conspiracy, first degree. Their plea suspended until Tuesday.

The Crown against Geo. Baker and Pupule. Crime of rioting. Their plea suspended until Tuesday.

The Crown against Wahineaua, Keoni Hapa, W. Peery and Kamai. Crime of rioting. Mr. Kaulukou acting as lawyer for Kamai requested to be heard and said that he wished that a separate bill of indictment be drawn up for him, and that he should be tried separately. Wahineaua denied his guilt, and some of those persons remaining postponed their plea until the following Tuesday.

The Crown against Naihe, Ho‘omanawanui, Auwae and Polikapu. Rioting, postponed until Tuesday.

The Crown against Kawehena, Keawe and Makolo. Rioting. Their plea delayed until Tuesday.

The Crown against Ka‘alokai, S. Leleo, Geo. Maxwell, Adam Kaeo and Jno. Ka‘ai.. Rioting. Leleo and Maxwell denied their guilt, and the others were to testify on Tuesday.

The Crown Against Kamake'e, Loheole, Makaluhi, J. Palau, Nakai and Kamaha. Rioting. Lohelohe and Nakai denied their guilt, and the others were set aside for Tuesday.

The Crown Against Ho Fon. Conspiracy. Mr. Neumann rose acting as his lawyer, and asked the Court to delay his case until Tuesday, and his request was granted.

This case having been completed, the Hawaiian jury was called, and following that, the names were called out one by one. The Court told them, "You can go wherever you wish and then you shall be ordered to come back." Two from the list of jurors were dismissed, one because of blindness, the other because he was a government official.

Mr. Rosa rose and told the Court that he was withdrawing from the case of the Crown against R. N. Boyd and Geo. Markham.

### **Recessing of the Court, 11:50**

At the hour of 1:30 the Court reconvened. The Attorney General rose and read the indictment against Albert Loomens (the Beregiuma [Belgian]) charging him with treason.

Mr. Rosa, the lawyer for the defendant, rose and asked to postpone the case against the accused since he had not had time to consider the indictment; therefore, it would not be in order to hurry the case along since it was such a serious one.

The Court opined that Mr. Rosa would have time to consider the document containing the indictment properly in the afternoon; if he had objections to the indictment document, he could present them to the Attorney General.

The Crown against Robert W. Wilcox. Treason. The indictment document was introduced by the Attorney General. Wilcox's case was postponed until another time mutually agreeable. A. Rosa and J. W. Kalua were the lawyers for Wilcox.

At the request of the Attorney General, the case of the Crown against David Ka'apa for the crime of rioting was added to the Court's docket.

### **Tuesday, October 8**

The Court reconvened at 10 in the morning, Chief Justice A. E. Judd presiding; once again the room was full of native Hawaiians.

The proceedings for the day opened once more with the case of the Crown against Kapa'a. Crime of rioting. He admitted his guilt. At the request of the Attorney General, his sentence was postponed until sometime later.

The Crown against Jim Kauhane. Conspiracy, first degree. He admitted his guilt. His sentence was delayed at the request of the Attorney General.

The Crown against A. Loomens. He denied his guilt, therefore, the hearing of his case was delayed until the hour of 1 p. m.

The Crown against Polikapu. Rioting. He denied his guilt.

The Crown against Jack Kuamo'o. Conspiracy, first degree. Rosa rose and said, "The defendant and others have all been charged with the same crime of conspiracy, and I wish to present a motion that the indictment document should be set aside. So as not to be prejudicial to certain people named in the indictment, I believe the proper course of action is for the Court to respond to this motion before the Court hears Kuamo'o's plea as to his charge."

The Attorney General rose and said, "I believe it would not be prejudicial for Kuamo'o to admit his guilt." The Court ruled that the case of each native should be acknowledged. The Court did not believe that for Kuamo'o to admit his guilt would be prejudicial to others named in the indictment documents. At the time Kuamo'o was taken prisoner he admitted in his confession that he was guilty. The Attorney General asked for the Court's sentence. But, before the Court pronounced its decision on the defendant, he wished to make a statement

The defendant had known of the meetings. He was a person who had joined in Wilcox's march into the Palace grounds, however, he had not fired a gun, and it seemed he regretted going there that day. He was a member of the [Royal Hawaiian] Band and Mr. Berger<sup>3</sup> had praised him. After the testimony of the Attorney General, he asked the Court to impose a light sentence on the defendant. The Court asked Kuamo'o a great many questions, and he answered the questions in this way: He had entered the Palace grounds between 5 and 6 in the morning; he had exited and returned once more inside, bearing a gun, and at the hour of 11 he had left his gun and had gone outside the Palace grounds after the two sides had fired at each other. He had been arrested by the police quite a few days later. After the Court had listened to Kuamo'o's testimony, the Court

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<sup>3</sup> Captain Henry Berger, the well known bandmaster of the Royal Hawaiian Band.

pronounced its sentence on the defendant: imprisonment for one month at hard labor with no fine. The carrying out of the sentence was postponed until the following Monday.

The Crown against Hamaia. Treason. Mr. Rosa rose and said that as lawyer for the defendant, he had a motion. He wanted to enter an objection to the indictment document on all the cases of treason being tried. After the response of the Attorney General, Mr. Rosa entered several pleas relating to the case of the Crown against Kahuakai, S. K. Pua, Kaona, and J. Kuamo'o. Mr. Rosa's motion objected to the indictment document because the criminal acts were not explained in the indictment, accordingly those charged should be released. Mr. Haki [Hatch] rose to state that the indictment document was in order. Mr. Numana [Neumann] rose to state that he had a motion opposing the indictment document for a certain case, delving into the law to assist his position.

After the Court had heard the positions of the two sides, the Court denied the motions of the lawyers for the defense, and explained the law in support of its position.

Mr. Rosa criticized the decision. Upon being questioned, Hamaia denied that he was guilty.

Following are those who denied being guilty of conspiracy:

Kahuakai, Kaona, S. K. Pua, E. H. Mahuka, Kailianu, Kaili, Kaneikalio, Ka'aua, Kalili, Pamalo, and Kaho'omahele.

The following denied being guilty of the crime of rioting: Ka'imimoku, Ka'alokai, John Ka'ai, A. Kaeo, Geo. Baker, Kahukula, W. Perry, Naihe, Ho'omanawanui, S. Kila, R. Palau, Nahinalau, Auwae, Makaluhi, Manu, Namahana, Kamakaloa, Kuaumoana, J. Keli'i, K. Palau, Kahalehili, Kawehena, Keawe, Makolo, Kamake'e, Kamaha, John Hapa and Kamai.

At the hour of 11:45 the Court recessed.

The Court reconvened at 1 p. m., the haole jury assembled again in the Courtroom, according to the summons.

The Crown against Albert Loomens. Treason. A. Rosa representing the defense. The Attorney General Ashford and F. M. Hatch on the side of the Government.

The names of the jurors were called as follows: C. A. Peacock, J. E. Brown, W. O. Atwater, N. J. Lawrey, W. Lanz, A. M. Mellis, C. T. Gulick, C. Bolte, J. E. Emmeluth, Hamilton Johnson, Thomas Lindsay and T. M. Starkey.

J. E. Brown and Lanz rose to say that they were under the care of the doctor for certain illnesses. The Court dismissed them substituting in their place Mr. E. M. Marshall and Chas. Crozier.

The Attorney General questioned the jury on their opinions.

C. T. Gulick rose to say, "I made up my mind earlier about what the accused did, and I cannot change my mind, if indeed there are those who are going to try to change what I had already decided."

After the jury had been selected by the two sides, a list of qualified jurors was drawn up, these being C. A. Peacock, H. M. Whitney, Jr., E. M. Marshall, Hamilton Johnson, M. N. Sanders, L. C. Abies, Thos. Lindsay, A. M. Mellis, C. Bolte, A. Ehlers, T. M. Starkey and McInerny.

At 3:10 p. m. the proceedings began.

The Attorney General opened the proceedings on behalf of the Government with an explanation of the crime of conspiracy committed by the defendants, saying, "The case of those charged is a grave one, and the only punishment for a crime of this kind is death. Therefore, gentlemen of the jury, the gravity of the case before you is one in which the lives of the accused hang in the balance before your judgment."

The first witness called for the Government was Robert N. Boyd,

After he had been sworn in, he spoke as follows: "I was born in Honolulu, and I am 26 years old now. Local people called me by the name Napunako, and that is my name from now on.

I was in Italy for five years. It has been two years since my return. I enrolled in the military naval academy at Leghorn, Italy. I was sent there by the Hawaiian Government. I am acquainted with R. W. Wilcox, and I knew him in Italy. He was trained at the army military academy. He returned before I did. I heard that he had sailed for Kapalakiko [San Francisco] with his wife. I was at Kohala at that time.

I saw him earlier in this year. I was working for Grimble as a construction engineer for the Hui Ho'oholo Ka'a Alahao [Railroad Company]. I was acquainted with the accused. His name is O. A. Loomens. I first met him at the time when the secret society was constituted.

I have no knowledge of the date. It was after the Kamehameha Rifle Association was founded.

A day that will stay in my memory for a long time happened during a certain week in June. That was when the meeting was first held in front of the Kawa Jailhouse mauka of H. Kaia's house.

I did not know the people living in the house. I was invited by R. W. Wilcox but he did not tell me the reason why he wanted me to go there. He had come in person to my house on the Alanui Pūowaina [Punchbowl Street], He just told me that there was to be a secret meeting held by them. He spoke to me in Italian, English, and Hawaiian. He made this request three days before the meeting. I went with Wilcox to the meeting. Evening was beginning to fall but it was not as yet dark. We left town for Iwilei at seven in the evening. When we arrived there, many people were crowding about outside, but I could not see their features, it being dark by that time. I entered the house with Wilcox. It was not a large room. I saw A. Loomens there. There were three sailors from the warship there and two other haoles. When they came inside I could tell who they were. The two were Italian, and one of the others was German.

We sat down, and Wilcox read from some constitution stating that the rights of the Hawaiian people and the King had been taken away. Wilcox wanted to restore these rights and to overthrow the Cabinet. All those assembled there were sworn in under the Constitution. The people were all sworn in by Wilcox in English. I promised to live up to my word while I was alive. Loomens took the oath. I do not remember the other words of the oath. I do not know the names of the Italian sailors. I spoke to the two of them in Italian.

I was introduced to Loomens by Wilcox. Not much else went on at the meeting, only the election of Wilcox as President and Loomens as Vice President.

Wilcox told me he was a man of action. The meeting probably took almost a full hour; it was determined that we would meet again on the next Sunday, on Pūowaina Hila [Punchbowl Hill], It was decided at our first meeting to obtain everything needed to carry out our intention, that is to say, to obtain money to buy arms to oppose this Government in power. The goal agreed upon was to oust these Ministers. We met on Pūowaina Hila the next Sunday; those who had attended the first meeting at Iwilei came. The meeting was conducted inside a house near the flag-pole. The point of the meeting was to decide where to obtain money. However, no sources were known from which cash could be obtained. We were at the meeting for half an hour until the meeting was adjourned. Loomens attended.

We did not go as a group to our meeting. After the meeting had been adjourned, I met with

Chan. Waila [Wilder] of the Hui Kinipopo Hōkū [Star Ball Team], and we talked about the ball game on the previous Saturday. There were other meetings attended by us. It was decided that we would return to Lili'uokalani's home in Pālama. This intention was carried out several days after Wilcox told me about it. The two of us went there between eight and nine in the evening. I entered Wilcox's room and met with the members of the group there. They arrived there between eight and nine in the evening. I do not recall those who first came. Those who came there were the ones from the meeting at Iwilei. Loomens was there.

We conducted the meeting in Lili'uokalani's dining room. The meeting did not last long, and we decided to meet again. One week later we had another meeting in the same place. This was the fourth of our meetings. All the members came once more, except for one of the Italian sailors who was sick. Loomens was there. Wilcox said this time he had secured the means needed to carry out his plan, but he did not explain in detail.

As for what Wilcox said that day, as I understood it, he was gratified by the sentiments of those assembled there. The meeting did not last very long. At the fifth meeting, numerous natives came. This meeting was held again in the dining room of Princess Lili'uokalani. I was asked by Wilcox to come to the fifth meeting. I arrived at eight and met with Wilcox. Present were Loomens, Lucca, three sailors from the man-of-war, Waiwai, Keki, J. M. Poepoe, G. Makamu [Markham], Thos. P. Spencer and D. Crowninberg. There were fifteen of us gathered there. Malulani and S. E. Kaiue were there. F. J. Testa and W. H. Cummings came in person to this meeting.

Those two did not participate in the fifth meeting however. There was also a Chinese man, Ho Fon, editor of the Chinese newspaper.<sup>4</sup> At this meeting Wilcox wanted to carry out the action that night. There were thirteen rifles there.

Wilcox said he could bring it off if a small number of people would join his force. The natives had been sworn in by Wilcox. This was the group that had been formed at Iwilei. The natives had taken the same oath as we had. I saw thirteen rifles. Wilcox had collected them in a room at his quarters, his bedroom being adjacent to the dining room. Wilcox had put on his Italian uniform that

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<sup>4</sup> Ho Fon emigrated to Hawai'i in 1876. He was an editor of the Chinese language newspaper *Tan Shan Hsin Pao*.

evening. Among the thirteen guns were Sharp, Winchester and Springfield rifles, and there was ammunition. The reason why they did not go ahead that night was that there were too few of them. What they wanted was to go into the Palace grounds and demand that the King sign this constitution. Wilcox wanted to proclaim martial law and dismiss the Ministers and have new Ministers appointed, and after that restore the power of the King. It was our intention to stand firm with arms to carry out this idea. The meetings were conducted with certain people standing guard outside, and they were supplied with ammunition. I was one of the guards, holding a rifle in my hand. George Makamu [Markham] was one of the guards. At the fifth meeting Loomens said that he thought what had happened to the Hawaiian people was not right, and he was sorry for them. He sat with Wilcox at that time. The meeting lasted a long time. J. T. Baker did not come to the fifth meeting. We met again on the evening of the following day at eight o'clock. J. T. Baker came there; it was two in the morning when he arrived. Alike [Alex] Smith came for the very first time and Wilcox and Loomens were there. Testa and Cummings were there. They did not agree to take the oath under the constitution, however the oath was administered to Baker by Wilcox. Poepoe discussed the way to carry out the plan when they went out that night. We had fifteen guns at that time. Five of the Chinese men were in disagreement. One of the Chinese men took the oath under the constitution. This was Papu. The deliberation of the matter concerning the entering of the Palace grounds was delayed until a later time. Keoni Baker said that he was going to Hilo for a few days and that he would return in a week to assist in this action. We saw fifteen guns. Ho Fun was in charge of those guns. It was a small room next to the dining room where the guns were stored.”

The Court adjourned until 9:30 the next day.

### **Wednesday, October 9, 1889**

The proceedings of the Court opened at 9:30 as was decreed at the past adjournment. Spectators pushed and shoved their way into the courtroom.

R. N. Boyd was called and began his testimony as follows: “When I reconsidered the things described yesterday, I knew that I erred in some things I said.

Our fifth meeting was on the 10th day of July and on the 11th the sixth of our meetings took place. J. T. Baker went to Hilo on the 12th. He came to our sixth meeting. In regard to W. H. Cummings and F. J. Testa, they came to our fifth meeting. The two of them absolutely refused to

take the oath under the constitution of the Hui [Association]. The meeting which T. T. Baker attended lasted until 3 in the morning. It was 2 in the morning when he came. The topic of whether to enter the Palace grounds that night was dropped.

We met again on July 29 and decided to carry out the action agreed upon on the 30th. I know Jim Kauhane. He was there on the meeting on the evening of the 11th. I was in the country on the 11th and 29th of July. There were no meetings held in between those days. I came back from the country on the 27th and went to stay with Wilcox at Pālama. The meeting began at 7 o'clock in the evening of the 29th. I saw A. Loomens on the 28th standing outside on a narrow lane near the place where Wilcox was staying. He was calling out that people should not appear in large groups with their friends. Ho Fon was there with Wilcox, and he came out and went to meet together with him. I said "Good morning" to him. He was there for perhaps a half hour, and from there went on to town. I saw him again on the evening of the 29th, it was perhaps 8 o'clock in the evening, and I gave him a Bull Dog<sup>5</sup> revolver." (At this time this gun was displayed to the witness and to the Court and the witness testified that this was the same gun given to the defendant.) "I gave this gun to Loomens inside Wilcox's bedroom. It was I who gave rounds of ammunition to Loomens. This gun was not loaded at the time I gave it to Loomens. It was Wilcox who ordered me to give red wool shirts, guns and hats to the men. At 10 o'clock of this evening I entered the dining room of the Princess and met with a large number of people, some 70 in number.

Poepoe, Wilcox, and I spoke before the people. I saw Loomens there before we went downtown. At the time we were getting ready to set out he had a torch in his hand. He went out after me. Our army formed under a tree. We had two [sic] companies, the first led by Captain Ka'aha and a lieutenant, and the second by Captain Alike Smith and his lieutenant, and the third company led by Captain Mahaulu. I set out with the first company and Loomens set out after me. The soldiers were supplied with rifles and ricebird guns, loaded with powder and ammunition. I loaded some of them, and Alike Smith others. Official hats were given to the soldiers and they were told when they were to proceed makai. The idea of loading the guns was to ward off those who would oppose them, and it was thought that this was the right way to do it.

The companies began to march out between 3 and 4 in the morning. We exited from the

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<sup>5</sup> The British Bull Dog was a popular type of solid-frame pocket revolver introduced by Philip Webley & Son of Birmingham, England in 1872 and subsequently copied by gunmakers in Continental Europe and the United States.

middle gate and and marched from there down the Alanui Ali‘i [King Street, on Alanui Ali‘i into Alanui Likelike, and from Alanui Likelike into the Alanui Palace Walk. I saw some policemen put into the marching troops. The first was on the Alanui Maunakea Street, where Wilcox was in command. Loomens was marching behind me. This policeman were put in front of me. Wilcox commandeered some other policemen after this. When we came to the gate of the Palace grounds, I did not catch sight of Loomens, the line being somewhat confused. The gate guard refused to open the gate. I saw a man jumping over the enclosure. The guard at first refused to open the gate but when he heard that Wilcox was outside, he left his post.

Wilcox gave orders to load the guns when standing at the gate, and the man who had jumped over the enclosure opened the gate and we marched inside. There were probably 70 or 80 of us marching together. We were equipped with revolvers and rifles. There were 36 rifles and 36 ricebird guns. When we entered the Palace grounds, we formed two lines behind the Palace. I saw Loomens talking to Wilcox just after we entered. I left them to go with Geo. Markham to the electric house.<sup>6</sup> While the men were standing in line, Wilcox called out to Robert Parker asking him who was in charge of the Palace.

The majority of the men had been standing in formation until dawn. It took us a long time to prepare all the guns for action right at their stations. I did not see Loomens. The last time I saw Loomens inside the Palace grounds was just before daylight. Wilcox had entered the Hale Koa [Barracks] a number of times to see Kahalewai. It was up to him to set up the cannons at their stations. The last time I saw Loomens was before the cannons were rolled out. I did not stay close by there but I went to the place where Geo. Markham was standing with his cannon turned to Alanui Likelike. This was a cannon of a different kind. Then I went to have a hunk of bread. The King did not come to the Palace grounds.

We heard a militant voice outside coming from some soldiers of the the Honolulu Rifles. Wilcox noted this, and at that time I heard the sound of a gun. I heard Wilcox order the men to go and seize the rifleman and return inside the enclosure, saying, "Seize that haole!"

I was standing in front of the Palace at the time he was brought inside. Schuman was the name of the haole. Wilcox went to speak with him. I then heard that we were surrounded by riflemen and

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<sup>6</sup> The generator for the Palace's electric system was located in the electric house.

I saw the riflemen peeping from the windows of the new Music Hall, the windows having been let down. At this time Wilcox called out to those people to close the windows at once, and if they were not closed, they would be fired on immediately.

I saw a [Royal] guard at the makai gate of the Palace grounds.

When Wilcox heard the sound of the gun from the Music Hall, Wilcox left me and ran under a tree. Right after that I was shot by a bullet in my foot. At the time we were fired on, we thought this was a signal for battle. But we could not talk any more while a multitude of bullets was raining down. I tied up my foot with my handkerchief. I tried again to shoot my gun, but it would not fire. A bullet grazed my head. I fell down, and lost consciousness for a while.

The bullet which hit my head came from Kawaiaha'o Church. I was somewhat weak after having been hit by the bullet since blood was flowing. I went beside the Palace and from there to Hale 'Ākala [the Bungalow].

I encountered a palace guard but he did not oppose me. While I was at my gun station, I did not know what some of our people were doing. A half hour before the fighting began, I saw Geo. Makamu [Markham] and the two of us met again at the Halemai Mo'iwahine [Queen's Hospital]. I heard the sound of the cannon but I could not tell where it was coming from. When I went into Hale 'Ākala, I was the very last person to leave my cannon. While I was in Hale 'Ākala Wilcox came and said he was sorry I had been hit by a bullet. He asked me to keep safe the picture of his wife and his first-born child. I told him I was a dead man. Wilcox was not hit by a bullet. I saw A. S. Mahaulu and Gabriel there. At this time I realized that Wilcox's features were weighted down in sorrow. I stayed there until being taken prisoner.

I was compelled to lie down. While I was at Hale 'Ākala I saw Wilcox running here and there, his hopes dashed. He had put on his military uniform, holding a rifle in his hand, and others were holding rifles. As evening fell, our situation at Hale 'Ākala became quite critical, since dynamite powder was thrown on top of the house and numerous bullets were raining down on us. Mahaulu and some others were dodging bullets. They did not fire their guns.

Then I heard Mahaulu's voice calling out, 'We surrender! We surrender!' He took out a white handkerchief, tied it onto a broom stick and as the pathetic tune goes:

At four in the evening

All our hope for victory vanished.

I saw a broom stick

With the white flag fluttering.

That was the last time I saw him. It was hard work getting the supplies for the cannon and we brought the supplies inside the electric house. There we obtained the supplies for war, and this is how we made our guns work.”

At that time the Attorney General concluded his questioning, and Mr. Rosa stood and questioned the witness. Below follows the answers of the witness:

"I was acquainted with Wilcox, and he trusted me and I him. My faith in him holds firm at this time. The reason I joined this action was this: I am a native Hawaiian who was sent to Italy to be educated and I graduated from school with my diploma. When I arrived here, I became a vagrant on the streets. I asked the Government for work and I was given a few menial jobs and this kind of thing became something that weighted heavily on my consciousness. I did not want to cause trouble for the King and the Government. Indeed I did not wish to expel the Ministers. We gathered at the Palace grounds. While we were there we obtained our war supplies. We knew that the cannons were inside.

Wilcox thought that he had instinctive knowledge of native Hawaiians. Thus he thought that what he wanted would succeed, and that was to restore the rights of the King and he wanted to take the power and to place the city under the protection of martial law. Wilcox did not attempt to take over the Palace. After I had stood with my gun, I entered the Palace without being turned away. I was not aware of any kind of opposition by the King's guard to my entering the Palace. I cannot swear that I saw Loomens when he came into the Palace grounds, however, I saw him talking to Wilcox at dawn. I knew that Loomens stood ready with deadly weapons, since I had given the gun to him at Kapālama.

I knew where he lived, on the Alanui Ali‘i [King Street] beside the store that sells plants. I cannot swear that Loomens was one of those who came along with us from Kapālama to the gate of the Palace grounds. We were in a state of confusion there and that is the end of what I know of him. A large contingent of policemen came along with us in the march.

I did not give guns to the policemen, and probably neither did Testa nor some of the others. I

said I would dare to enter the Palace grounds if there were fifteen native Hawaiians. The glory of dying in a battle is greater than taking the life of a native Hawaiian.

The reason I had a change of heart and testified for the Government was that I told myself that I was not just a coward. Our idea was to enter the Palace grounds and secure the Palace. I was instructed by my lawyer not to say anything at all. I was told if I would testify on behalf of the Government, then I would be released. I was instructed by the Attorney General on what to say. It was in the jailhouse that he told me these statement in the month of September. It was not my intention to go forth in opposition to the King, but I wanted to overthrow these Ministers. If we had succeeded in turning over the Palace to Wilcox, then martial law would have been instituted, and so forth. I tried to fire from the Palace grounds because we were fired upon from the Music Hall.

The first shot that was fired was my from my gun. The King was not in the Palace. Indeed he did not appear on this day. We had no conversations about overthrowing the King in our meetings. If we had gained a victory over the Ministers, there would not have been an army supporting them. We hoped to carry out fully our intention. If martial law had been instituted, then we would have tried to place the town under our protection. I heard Wilcox say that if the native Hawaiians would be able to follow his orders, he thought then perhaps there would not be any fighting.

As for our secret society, the constitution that was enacted will make it clear that we wanted to restore the rights of the common people and of the King; we often spoke in the meeting of dismissing the Ministers: this was the goal of our association. At our meeting held on Pūowaina Hila [Punchbowl] we considered where we were going to obtain money to buy weapons. Loomens was at this next meeting and also at the following ones. At the fifth meeting Loomens said that he was very sorry for the Hawaiian people. He was vice president of the hui [association] at that time. The hui did not have a name. This was not the Rifle Association. At the meeting on the 29th, I did not level a revolver at Loomens, and indeed I did not hear his conversation, and indeed I did not hear him saying that he was tired and that he wanted to go to the Palace grounds.

As we marched I did not have any other weapon, only the revolver. I had no intention of holding a gun in my hand to shoot those deserting from the ranks. It had been advertised in the newspapers of this town that I was the first lieutenant for Wilcox. The only time I saw Loomens inside the Palace grounds was when he was talking with Wilcox. I did not see him go outside.

I saw when the food was taken inside the Palace grounds by a Chinese man, Papu, and I saw

the watermelon and the poi bowl. I did not go to the Halekoa [Barracks]. Wilcox went there with some soldiers. I heard the sound of guns but I did not see the men who did the firing. I did not swear any oaths at the time this court case is concerned with, and I did not swear any oaths in connection with a ministry of the Government. I had worked for the government for two months, and had left it because I could not take care of my family for only fifty dollars a month. After that I worked with Mr. Grimble. The guard at the makai gate of the Palace grounds was one of Wilcox's men.

The court's questioning reveals that Wilcox spoke to Robert Parker, at the south side of the Palace, saying that the only way to get rid of the Ministers was to carry out some action beyond the authority of the King to enable him to oust these Ministers.

Then, the testimony of Robert Boyd having ended, Geo. Makamu [Markham] was called, and the oath administered to him. The Attorney General questioned him and he answered as follows:

“Wai‘ehu is the land of my birth. I am now twenty seven years old. I have lived in Honolulu for the past six years. I served as chief government officer at the custom house. I am acquainted with the defendant. Albert Loomens is his name. My first meeting with him was on the tenth of July, on the grounds of Princess Lili‘uokalani's house. Wilcox asked me to come to a *pā‘ina lu‘au* [supper], and I went there between the hour of seven and eight in the evening. I saw Wilcox, Loomens, Lucca and some other haoles there, and Kaiue, Malulani, Testa, Cummins, Poepoe and Waiwai who was killed on the thirtieth, and there was another of a different complexion there who was killed. I remember I saw Ho Fun, as well as Boyd, Thomas Spenser, and David Crowningberg who were there. They stayed inside the dining room. I did not see a *lu‘au* there. I saw some different things to eat on the table, and there was a bottle of Madeira wine. We were asked to have a drink. It was Wilcox who conducted the meeting in the dining room. Loomens was there. it was Wilcox who opened the proceedings of the meeting that had been called, and it was he who read the constitution from within some book, intending to abolish this Cabinet and enact a new constitution for the country.

One thing he did was to make the members swear that they would vow that under no circumstances would they tell anyone at all about these matters, on pain of death for those who talked. Loomens sat at Wilcox's side. I went outside to do guard duty with a Springfield rifle in my hand. I had been given this gun inside Wilcox's room. Boyd also was standing guard. I heard Testa

refuse to agree to the oath. He said if he had known before what the meeting was about, he would not have come.

He had organized a group two years earlier and had failed. 'Uilama Kamaki refused because he had a family. I saw guns in the house and they were given to various people one apiece. Wilcox said that he was the president and that Loomens was his vice president. I heard Loomens say that he was very sorry for the bad things enacted against the Hawaiian people and that they had no voice in government policy. The meeting was called for nine in the evening and I was there until two in the morning. During the evening Wilcox ordered me to fetch Spencer and Crowningberg. When they arrived we considered invading the Palace grounds and the Hale Koa [Barracks]. We would enter Hale Koa and take the cannons inside the Palace grounds.

The reason we wanted to seize power by force was that we wanted to expel the Cabinet and enact a new constitution. We intended to oppose the enemies with these cannons. This meeting was suspended because Keoni Baker did not agree. It was thought if Keoni Baker would join in, this would be a great help to us in obtaining the cannons from Hale Koa.

We met again one evening at the same place. When I came, I met with Wilcox, Lumana [Loomens], Boyd, Kaiue, Malulani, Poepoe, Spencer, Alike, Beka [Baker], Waiwai, Papu, Ho Fon, Monting, Ah Lo and Crowningberg. Testa and Uilama did not come that night. The meeting began at eight. Kauhane was there, and Beka [Baker] came late at night. We had perhaps fourteen or fifteen rifles, Springfield, Sharp, and Winchester; the weapons were obtained for the purpose of carrying out Wilcox's intention, this being to expel the Cabinet by force of arms. I stood watch that night, as did Boyd.

We considered setting out that night and carrying out our plan, but we did not carry out this intention because of the small number of the membership. Keoni Baker spoke for a long time at the meeting; his speech went on for perhaps a half hour. He did not want to proceed that night. He said he was going to Hilo on the following Friday, and that he would return ten days later, and that upon his return, he would meet again. Baker took the oath that night. We did not have the ricebird guns that night.

We stored our rifles in a room next to the dining room. The meeting closed around two or three in the morning, and we met again on the evening of the 29th. We did not have any meetings between the 11th and the 27th. We met again on the evening of the 29th at Princess Lili'uokalani's

house. I arrived there at seven in the evening, and met with those who had come to the first meeting. I met Lumana [Loomens] on Alanui Ali'i [King Street] at 8:45 that night on the 'Ewa corner of the grounds of Princess Lili'uokalani, and this was the small lane that leads into the grounds of the ali'i.

It was on the small lane that the members of the group would come forth. I had been sent on a secret mission by Wilcox, which took about an hour. I saw once again that Loomens was present in Wilcox's bedroom that night. Many people came there that night, Boyd, Mahaulu, indeed myself, and various others, and they were the ones who issued guns to the *kānaka* [native Hawaiians]. Loomens was walking around, but he was not armed then, and I saw him again before we went out. We were talking in the room; Wilcox, Boyd, Ka'aha, Kahananu, Spencer and Mahaulu were there. I can not remember if Loomens was there then. At two or three perhaps in the early morning, the central topic of the conversation was whether we should go to the Palace grounds or to Honuakaha. The reason we wanted to go to Honuakaha was that we had heard that the King was there and we wanted to fetch him and take him to the Palace for protection. We decided to enter the Palace. We marched out at three in the early morning. I was in Mahaulu's company; there were perhaps 70 to 100 men supplied with guns. I had a Springfield rifle. We went noiselessly, and we tried to keep the lines in step. Wilcox was the leader of the battalion. My last sight of Loomens was when he was standing in line in back of Princess Lili'uokalani's house, perhaps half an hour after we had set out. I asked him to keep some of my cigars. He talked for a long time about setting out then. I saw him again inside the Palace grounds, between eight and nine talking to Wilcox. The cannons were being set up at the designated places. They [Loomens and Wilcox] stood at a distance of perhaps ten feet from the cannon placed on the side facing the Alanui Likelike [Likelike Street].

When we arrived at the entrance to the Palace grounds, I heard Wilcox calling to the guard to open the gates. A soldier asked, 'Who is that?' Wilcox answered in a very clear voice saying which it was good to heed, 'I am Wilikoki!' I did not hear the reply of the guard after that. I saw some of our forces climbing over the enclosure, and they opened the gate and the squad marched inside the Palace grounds. Upon being ordered by Wilcox, we first loaded our .guns while we were talking outside the gate. We lined up mauka of the the Palace grounds, and Wilcox went up and questioned the officer of the day. I heard Parker's voice, and something as if the triggers of the guns of Parker's men were being clicked. I saw Wilcox and Parker talking, and then Parker left the place where they had been standing and went up to the Palace. Again I saw a cannon being dragged from the electric

house. It was broad daylight by this time. The mouths of the cannons were aimed at the entrance gates of the Palace grounds. We procured powder from the powder house. I helped open the door. I was ordered to be in charge of the cannon trained on the Alanui Likelike. I stayed inside the Palace grounds until the time when Wilcox was taken prisoner, and I saw Schumann being taken by the men inside the grounds. I talked to the men telling them not to treat him badly. Wilcox spoke with him but I could not hear their conversation, because I was positioned at my cannon. I saw Wilcox near Boyd. Wilcox wore his military uniform. The others did not have on uniforms. Thirty or more of the people had on red shirts. When the revolt began, the mouth of my cannon being turned on Alanui Likelike, I immediately turned my cannon around to aim it at the Music Hall.

The mouth of my cannon was trained directly on the glass windows on the 'Ewa side. At this time I was struck by a bullet, the men with me ran off, I reached for my rifle and fired two rounds at the Music Hall. I tried again to fire but could not, because I was rather weak at this point. I left my station and went to the electric house to lie down, and I lay there until I was taken prisoner." At this time the Attorney General completed his questioning, and turned the proceeding over to the lawyer for the defense, Akoni Rosa, for questioning. And Makamu [Markham] answered as follows:

"The reason I fired my gun was that I had been hit by a bullet. I had not received an order to fire. Our intention in firing was to prevent enemies from coming inside. The intent of the oath we took was to expel the Ministers, and to enact a new constitution. That was what we had in mind.

Some things were said about getting the soldiers of the Palace grounds to join with us, those who guarded the King. We were not hindered by the soldiers in the Palace, and indeed there was no order to block us from going outside. I saw Wilcox going to the barracks with a squad. He did not have on a Hawaiian military uniform.

The primers<sup>7</sup> for the guns were not found in the the electric house. Wilcox knew that the primers for the guns were kept in the barracks. The King's soldiers were going out and coming in from the grounds during that morning. I did not see Wilcox holding the primers. The King was not at the Palace that day. The Palace could have been taken over by us when we obtained the primers

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<sup>7</sup> The Hawaiian term used here for "primer" is an especially vivid one: *kukae o Pele*, literally, Pele's dung.

for the guns. I did not hear the Palace guards saying 'We are one with you.' Parker did not call out to us that we should retreat in the name of the King.

Parker could have been taken prisoner by Wilcox if he had wished to do so, and if he [the former] had yielded to become a captive. We had orders from Wilcox not to shoot anyone. The Palace soldiers were aware at the time that the weapons were taken from the powder house. It was our intention to go there to take the Palace under our control, and to protect the King, without hurting him. When we enacted a new constitution, then we would enforce the constitution by force of arms. The first shots that were fired came from the Music Hall.

We were not summoned by those outside to surrender as prisoners, neither were we by the King's guards. I heard everyone praying for the Ministers to be expelled. We said nothing at the meeting about overthrowing the Throne of the Ali'i. Nothing was said about the King helping us in this action. I knew at the time we entered the Palace that the King was not inside. Loomens did not say anything bad about anyone at the meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were conducted in English and in Hawaiian. I was standing watch then.

Loomens spoke for a short time the first night of the meeting. I said little at the meeting. I did not threaten anyone with a gun who would not agree to take the oath. I did not see Loomens at the gate of the Palace grounds, but I saw him inside the Palace grounds. I met to discuss my testimony with the Attorney General at 12 today.

There was nothing about expelling the Ministers by force of arms, rather this was just what the Attorney General said to me. He thought I did not testify in accordance with the testimony I had given to him earlier. The reason I testified for the Government was that I heard that those arrested were testifying for the Government. My lawyer told me to shut my mouth. He told me if I came out on the side of the Government then I would not be jailed. It was not worry about being locked up that caused me to agree to testify on the side of the Government.

The name of the association was the Liberal Patriotic Association. I did not sign my name on any document. We would not have fired our guns if we had not been fired on from the outside first.

At the request of Mr. Hatch, one of the lawyers on the Government side, the witness testified as follows: "I did not hear Sam. M. Damon calling for us to give ourselves up as prisoners at that time."

Response to the Court.— “We intended to ask for the Palace to be handed over to us. We did not try to take the Palace under our command. Wilcox gave no orders for us to do this.”

Rosa's question.— “Orders came to Wilcox not to take the Palace or go inside. That is what I heard.”

It was thought that there were three key testimonies at this trial, that of Boyd, Makamu [Markam], and Wilcox. The latter gave the first testimony for the defense, and it will follow in the next chapter.

## Chapter VII

### The Testimony for the Defense

R. W. Wilcox, having been sworn in: “I am acquainted with Loomens. I had known him for two months. I know Geo. Makamu [Markham] and R. N. Boyd. I recall the meeting held at Iwilei, a meeting having to do with governmental policy at which I revealed certain plans, plans relating’ to political affairs.

It was clear to me that some native Hawaiians had no faith in the Government now in power, and that they were in agreement that all powers had been taken away from the King. I said that perhaps we should organize ourselves into a society right away. It was called the “Ahahui Kulai Aupuni Lokomaika’i” [Liberal Political Association of Good Will]. I was elected president. Someone put forth the name of Loomens as vice president. Since he was a newcomer, I told him that he should hold office only as honorary vice president. We took the oath.

Our political objective was to secure the *kuleana* [rightful place] of the native Hawaiian people in the Legislature, or if not that, by some other way based on righteousness. There were various other meetings, one at Pūowaina [Punchbowl]. We talked about ways and means during that meeting. We held other meetings at Kapālama. The Kamehameha Rifle Association had been organized and had met at my business office. There were no meetings of the Kamehameha Rifle Association at Kapālama.

Loomens had come to the meeting at Kapālama at my request. I recall that this was a meeting in July but I do not recall the date.

At the last three meetings it was agreed that the *kānaka maoli* [native Hawaiians] should join. I opened the proceedings at the meeting. At the first meeting I had considered the attitudes of the native Hawaiians, how long they would be able to keep the meetings secret. They had agreed happily to join the association because of their concern for their King and accordingly they agreed to swear the oath. I told them during the meeting that the intent of the constitution was to care for the rights of the King as well as for those of the Hawaiian people and the haoles.

The last meeting was the most important one. It was an attempt to sound out how much aloha ‘āina, how much love for their land, the people had. Loomens spoke a little at the last meeting, but he was the only one. There was nothing about overthrowing the King from the Throne.

We wanted a new constitution and we wanted to oust the Ministers. I had a new constitution in my hand all prepared. We wished the King to sign and to negate the existing one. It was our intent to obtain our new constitution in a legal manner. I had assurances that every thing would succeed before I went out to the Palace grounds on the morning of the 30th.

I had no intention of using force against anyone. I had an assurance that the Ali'i would sign the constitution that had been prepared. I emphasize that I did not see the King before we marched out to enter the Palace grounds. I had a message saying this from someone whose name I am unwilling to mention.

I had gone to see the Ali'i, the King, at the Palace on the Saturday before the 30th. I saw the Queen. I walked around the Palace grounds and saw the cannons and the place where the ammunition was kept. I saw Loomens on the Palace grounds on the 30th, and he came in to meet me. I sent him down to where the King was staying with a document written on one side of my visiting cards.

I had sent three messages earlier asking the King to return to the Palace grounds in view of the issues at hand. I had a military force with his royal coach but he did not come at all. He said he would wait for the right time. That was the first message I had from him. I had another message from him telling me to stand firm on all matters with my men at the Palace.

Loomens did not engage in the least way in the action at the Palace grounds. I did not hear Loomens asking Mahaulu anything about provisions. Loomens knew of our intention to secure a new constitution. He did not meet with us at all about issuing uniforms and weapons for the men. The natives acted with meekness in his presence.

When I pounded on the gate of the Palace grounds the guard said, 'Who is it?' I answered, 'This is Wilikoki!' He said if this was so then this was for the good of us all, and then they all ran off heading for the Palace grounds.

No one stood in our way. I called out to Robert Parker, the officer standing watch. I told him that here I was with my force of *kānaka*, native Hawaiians, to secure the rights of the King and the lāhui, the nation. His men and mine together stood watch for a while. There was no resistance from the Halekoa, the Barracks. I asked the captain for some primers. He was evasive for a time and said that they were with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I told him I knew that was not the truth.

Then he gave me the primers. The native Hawaiians at the Barracks were on my side. I could tell that from the expressions on their faces. Captain Kahalewai spoke respectfully in front of his men. He told them I was an educated man, and that I would seek to secure their rights for them.

Kahalewai was captain of the King's own guards. We stood watch at the Palace waiting for the King. The cannons were put there just for the sake of appearances. We did not go there to fight or to wage war. We went there to safeguard our King's sanctity and for our constitution. Mr. Damon was not seen that day. Some other day while I was in prison I heard that he had made a demand. I had earlier given orders not to allow anyone from that party to enter without my being first informed.

I think I knew Mr. Schumann. He was brought inside the Palace grounds by the men outside. I ordered my men to release him. From the paper I know that seven of my men were killed.

I saw Loika dead inside the Palace grounds. If I had wanted to I could have seized the Palace. I had orders to guard the sanctity of the Palace and to leave Parker and his men inside there. The message was brought to me in the same manner as was related with respect to the first message. By no means did I tell anyone that I could proclaim martial law. That was just street talk. The one thing I wanted was to obtain a new constitution. I had a message from this one source advising as to who were the right people with whom I should join forces and who were the wrong sort to join.

I should put some distance between myself and a certain party that was attempting to form. On the Sunday before the 30th I was inside the Palace grounds. On the morning of the 29th Po'omaikelani was inside Hale 'Ākala, and later went to Waikīkī. I do not recall knowing if the princes were there.”

Questioning. — “I returned from America last April, having stayed there for more than seven months. I was here during November and December of 1887 with my wife and we left in January of 1888.

When I returned with my wife, we had just come back from Italy, where I had been sent by the Hawaiian Government. I returned in April because this is my *'āina hānau*, the land of my birth. I left because I was not able to work and I was not treated right by the Government. I had promises from the earlier administration. I was recalled without proper regard for my educational situation. I returned. I did not return with my wife on this trip because she did not like this place.

When I returned, I stayed at the house called Arlington, and after that, I returned to the home of the Crown Princess. I did not return with the intention of opposing the Government. Included in my plans was a new constitution, something like that of Kamehameha. V perhaps. Eight or more people came to that meeting at Iwilei. What the *kānaka* and *kama'āina* [old-timers] had in mind was just to talk things over. The majority of those who came to that meeting are not around any more and have gone to other places.

Mr. Loomens was one of those present at my invitation, and I had also invited Boyd. It is a lie to say that if the secrets were to be revealed, it was promised that death would be the penalty. We returned to Pūowaina [Punchbowl] on Sunday afternoon. We talked some more and we did not talk very much about the cannons and rifles to assist us in our goal.

July 10th was the first time when *kānaka* came to the meeting. Testa, Cummings and probably Crowningberg, I think, did not take the oath. We had guns there then which I had bought from a place in town, and they belonged to me. I divided up some of the guns for the Hui Kamehameha, and some for carrying out our plans and to prevent unnecessary bloodshed. I had in mind supplying my forces with guns, and at the time we set out on our march it was thought that these were ricebird guns. I thought there would be opposition and there would be a battle attack by those opposed to us. My decision was to oust the Ministers from their posts.

I had with me the new constitution I had prepared on the morning of the 30th. I have since torn it to bits. I spoke with the Queen one day when I had gone to the Palace to see the King. I had very little to say to her. I said it was nothing against the Royal Family. We had a meeting on July 11th. J. T. Baker from Hilo was among those present at this meeting. He had assured me that he would come there. I did not intend to deploy the cannons to any extent. If I had so intended, I would have set them in position, there having been ample time. If the King had signed the constitution and expelled the Ministers, then I would have fought on the King's side. I did not see the King personally. I first knew Loomens in town. He was introduced to me and he wanted to find work.

Later on I met him often and as a result he came personally to the meetings. I knew everything that was going on, and he often came to my office. We spoke very little outside the meetings. He came to the meeting in the early hours of the morning. The first evening at which the weapons were revealed was at the meeting when Keoni Beka [Baker] came.

We talked about it being better to wait to obtain more men and guns. We had no meeting

between July 11th and 29th. The reason there were no meetings was that I wanted to get more men and guns. It was up to me to set the time of the very last meeting, and I told Boyd in Italian over the telephone to come over from Kailua. At our very last meeting we had thirty rifles and perhaps thirty ricebird guns. It was I who paid for the guns.

It is no one's business whether I had money or did not have money. I saw the King at Honuakaha. There was another man there but I am not going to reveal his name. I received three verbal messages from the King, delivered by one of his staff. I thought he had revealed the truth to me. I trusted him and he me in turn. Colonel Hoapili Baker was the messenger. It was Captain Ka'aha who first took my message on the morning of the 30th. He took the royal coach, and when he returned he told me he had seen the King at Honuakaha. I wanted the King to come to the Palace and sign the new constitution. The constitution had not been ratified at the meetings, I myself and some personal friends passed it. Judge Pahia was one and he approved it with some comments. Testa also read it and thought it was good. In his opinion the King would change for the better if he were to regain his rights. I showed it to some others, but not to the haoles.

I told Colonel Baker the intent of the constitution and he decided to inform the King. I spoke to various other kama'āina [old-timers] about this important topic.

Ka'aha stated upon his return that the King would not come right away. Colonel Baker took the second of the messages to the King after six o'clock in the morning. It was not long until he returned and said that he had met with the King, and had explained my thinking, and that the King had said that he would come at the proper time. The King also told Baker that all the guns and supplies inside the Palace were with me.

I thought that I had to obtain a large number of *kānaka* to put down the opposition of those on the Government side. I sent Loomens to the King with this thought. I wrote in Hawaiian and explained that I was awaiting the King. Loomens did not return, and I next saw him at the jail. I heard it said that the Ministers had gone to see the King at his boathouse.

The Queen slept at Waikīkī on the night of the 29th of July and the Princess was there too. I did not know at first that they were not going to come to the Palace. I did not obtain the primers for the cannons inside the powder house and I went to the Barracks to get them. I wanted to prepare the cannons, since I had heard that there was opposition mounting outside. I did not know that I was wrong at the time I assembled my men inside the Palace grounds. We were waiting for the King.

I prepared to oppose wrongful attempts by Government partisans to rout us out. I experimented with a fuse, but was unsuccessful. What I had to do was to get the primers from the Barracks. Captain Kahalewai gave me the primers which were within a small opening over the entrance gate to the Barracks. I did not threaten him. After having been evasive for a little while, he willingly gave me the things. On the 29th of July I received a message from the King concerning the matters that had been brought up earlier.

The message instructed me that the Ministers were going to take the cannons and that they had earlier taken the Gatling guns. I kept these messages from the King secret. The messages were given to me near my office. I think that this was in the morning and that they were told to me verbally. I did not know Mr. Damon was at the gate. I did not consider sending a message to the Ministers of my intention to march to the Palace grounds.

The notion has been circulated that I was going to become the leader of the Government since the King was weak. I remember saying something to Peterson. I do not recall saying to him that the King did not know these things at all. I did not wish to speak of these things then. At the time I asked Parker to hand over the Palace, he told me that I should go to Kahalewai. Loomens went along with us half of the way. He had on a big gray coat. We seized several policemen and brought them into the ranks so that they would not take the news to the police station.

Loomens saw my efforts with the fuse and told me it would only make a noise and as a result frighten the men. The first words I had from the King concerned my calling up the Kamehameha Rifles. The King knew of my *aloha 'āina* and he trusted me. He told me it was a good thing to teach the natives to shoot well. He also told me that the town was full of talk about this thing, and that it was a good thing.”

At 7:30 the court recessed until 9:30 on Friday morning.

### **Friday, October 10**

The court convened at 9:30 a. m. The questioning of R. W. Wilcox continued as follows:

“While I was talking with Loomens inside the Palace grounds I had a roll of paper under my arm. It was a plan of the city that had been drawn up. I opened it to look at it but I think Loomens was not there just then. I did not give any explanation to Loomens about the streets that ran down to the sea and the Boathouse. He knew where the Boathouse was. He had been taken to be

introduced to the King by Charlie Wilson.

The major topic of our conversation at Pūowaina [Punchbowl] had to do with how we were going to carry out the action that we had in mind. In my opinion you absolutely have no right to ask me whether or not I had any money at that time. As time passed we obtained the means of obtaining ammunition and the uniforms to carry out our intent. It is no one's business where I obtained the money. Loomens came to the meeting but he did not give me a cent. He did not go around to raise money and moreover he did not know where to get it from. It took a long time to obtain supplies.

I did not tell Loomens where the guns came from. It was up to me to get these things. The guns were brought in by some one for appearances. We had plenty of guns, and they were loaded prior to our setting out. They were loaded so that we could shoot those who would fire on us like sitting ducks in the Palace grounds. I was the one who gave the command to get ready upon our arrival at the Palace gate. The rifles were loaded there.”

Response to Mr. Rosa's questioning: At the time we were talking about where to get ammunition, Loomens did not have anything to say, and at all the meetings he did not have anything to say, just his expressions of aloha for the Hawaiian people. Most of the meetings were conducted in Hawaiian and Loomens did not understand that language. The ricebird guns were loaded at Kapālama. Just after I had looked at the street map inside the Palace grounds, I saw Loomens. I cannot say whether or not we entered the Palace grounds together with Loomens.

After I had come from Robert Parker, I saw my native forces but not Loomens. Between the hours of six and eight I saw him again. That was the time when I gave him my note to take to the King as follows:

My dear Lord, my King.— I am here at the Palace grounds with the forces gathered to await Your Majesty's return. Yours truly with thanks.

Robert William Wilcox

Commander-in-Chief, Royal Kamehameha Armed Forces

The first message sent by Captain Ka‘aha was only a verbal one and I waited for an immediate answer. Later I received an answer from one of the staff official saying that I should respect the

*kapu* and the sanctity of the Palace. Colonel Baker told me that he had seen the King. I was in front of the Palace at the time the very first shot was fired, and it was fired from the new Music Hall. When the firing intensified by these cowardly haoles hiding inside the Opera House,<sup>1</sup> that was the time when I at once assumed a defensive posture, and ordered my men to fire their guns. We had enough guns and ammunition to take the Palace; if we had what we needed to fortify the cannons, we could have taken the town under our good protection, without any mishaps, until the wishes of the people had been carried out. My greatest wish was to abolish the constitution and establish a new constitution and to have the Ministers be appointed to their Ministries.

I had a message brought to me on the 29th to the effect that this was the right time to set this action into motion, since the King had had trouble with the Cabinet about the cannons.”

Response to the court. “I remember that when they began to fire on us from outside, I thought that the King was not going to come.”

Response to Mr. Rosa. “Prior to that time, I thought that he was going to come. I had heard the Ministers wanted me to be shot in order to end the battle. I had not heard that martial law had been proclaimed, the only thing I knew about was the proclamation of armed warfare. I was fired on all day long, like a chicken, from Kawaiaha‘o, from the Music Hall, from the office of the postmaster, and from various other places, but I was not hit at all. It is indeed strange that the Ministers did not restrain the haole soldiers, they they did not initiate a written exchange in order to learn about the demands we brought forth. I did not want bloodshed, but since they were glad to kill my dear friends, they were very wrong in thinking they would have it their own way.”

Response to the Attorney General: “If I had seen Mr. Damon, and the King had not come, I would not have surrendered, because I am for the King and his *lāhui kānaka* [nation of native Hawaiians]. Thus I intended to stand firm until my very last man as has always been accepted under the rules of civilization.”

These were the very last words of Robert Wilcox's testimony in the case of Albert Loomens.

Other testimonies were given after this but most of them were similar to those given earlier. In

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<sup>1</sup> The comments on the “cowardly haoles hiding” do not appear in the news accounts of the trial proceedings.

the opinion of the jury, he was guilty of the crime with which he had been charged.

On Friday he was brought before the Court for sentencing, and when he appeared before the Court, the Chief Justice asked him if he had something to say. His lawyer A. Rosa rose and said he did not believe that he was guilty. Then the Court issued the sentence in the following words:

“Albert Loomens, you have been found guilty by the jury of this Court of the crime of treason. The penalty for this crime being death, this is the penalty that this Court sets for you. On the very first Monday of this coming December, inside the grounds of the Honolulu Jailhouse, between the hours of eight in the morning and twelve noon, you will be hanged by the neck until you are dead.”

The court room was hushed in silence, and the one who was sentenced was solemn indeed.

At noon the next Saturday the Privy Council sat to consider the verdict and it was decided that the Court's sentence would be set aside and that it would be changed to one year of imprisonment at hard labor, and that at the end of that time, he would be banished from this country, and that if he returned, the Court's initial sentence would be imposed.

During the month of April the King and his Privy Council enacted a decree to pardon him, and there were more than 1,700 signatures on the decree. The King presented the petition to his Ministers but they did not accord it the slightest attention until they were dismissed by the Legislature of that session.

## Chapter VIII

### The Trial of Hon. R. W. Wilcox

Wilcox's trial was first conducted on Monday, October 20, but because of certain questions of one distinguished member of the jury, the entire juror was dismissed.<sup>1</sup> The trying of this case was suspended by the Court until Monday, October 27, and on that day the Court sat to hear the case. Wilcox appeared once more before the court with the bearing of a soldier, one whose heart was consecrated by love for his fellow Hawaiians, the star set like a diamond for the lāhui, the morning star of East Maui, and because of the great acclaim for Wilcox during those days, he is honored with this chant:

#### I Hail Thee

In the year of our Lord 1889,  
On the 30th of July, at Honolulu,  
I saw a star set like a diamond,  
Flashing in the heaven above,  
Lovely flowers blossomed,  
A fragrance borne by a gentle breeze,  
Perfumed by united love,  
On the faces of the Hawaiian people.  
Rising above the dark days,  
Rolls of thunder reverberate,  
Lightening fire shines, blazes,  
Illuminating the heavens above the earth.  
An earthquake is imminent, cracking open the foundation of the mountains.  
I glance to the north, there is beauty.  
I scan the east, there is a vision.  
I look with half-closed eyes to the west, there is wonder.  
I look to the south — Wilikoki!

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<sup>1</sup> The juror who spoke out of turn, necessitating a new jury, was J. W. Bipikane, well known for his outspoken rhetoric.

Wilcox sat down at the side of his lawyer, A. Rosa. Then the jury was called and they were questioned by the Deputy Attorney General as to whether or not they could hear this case. They were called as follows:

E. Harbottle explained that he was one of the jurors who had sat at Wilcox's first trial, and that the jurors had been dismissed.

The Deputy Attorney General objected that it was not proper for earlier jurors to sit on this case.

Mr. Rosa did not agree on this issue.

The Court ruled that the jurors who had sat on the earlier case for three days had heard most of the testimony, and that it was not proper that they should sit again, therefore, they were disqualified. This was true of A. N. Gilman, W. R. Holt, G. 'Ainoa, C. Mahoe, J. Bright, Kawaihoa, and Kaluhila'au. They were the only people who had sat at Wilcox's first trial.

Kaikuahine was called, and was disqualified, because he was a school teacher in the government service.

D. P. Kellett testified that he had made up his mind earlier and would not be able to change it. He was excused.

The Court secretary testified that he had exhausted the list of jurors' names to be called, and the Court ordered the marshal to fetch substitute jurors; they were fetched, and here are the people who were questioned as follows;

C. B. Maile. He was released because he guaranteed a bond. One of his friends had been jailed for provoking riot.

John Ena. He had made up his mind, and nothing could be said by the witness to change it. He was released.

C. K. Kapaiali'i. He held to his opinions formed at the time of the first trial in this case, to wit, in his opinion those charged were not guilty. He was released.

M. P. Robinson. He continued to hold his earlier opinion. He was released.

J. Mai'i. He was released as a result of his incorrect responses to questioning.

D. Ka‘ahunui. He was released because of doubt that he could change his mind as a result of legalities and testimonies.

John Gililana. He had made up his mind earlier and he was firm in his opinion which could not be changed through testimony.

At twelve noon, the Court recessed until 1:30 p.m., and at that time resumed once again selecting jurors by questioning them, as follows:

J. B. Lohelani. Response: “I live at Moanalua. I am a farmer. I was at home on July 30 and I heard about the things that had happened that day. I did not talk with anyone about these events after that. I read the newspapers. I am a subscriber and a news editor. I have not made up my mind about what I have read. I am a member of Hui Kalai‘āina<sup>2</sup> and was appointed head by Mr. D. Laiana.”

The Deputy Attorney General asked whether one of the responsibilities of the jury was to overthrow the Government by force.

Response of the court: “A man might believe that it is permissible to take action by force, knowing this is against the law, and nevertheless be free to do this. The Court can understand that some members of the jury believe in truth and goodness, and perhaps have helped their leaders in these actions but nevertheless can render statements about justice and truth.”

Response of the Deputy Attorney General. “I will rephrase the question posed. Do you think it is against the law to take up arms to change the government in power?”

Mr. Rosa objected to the questioning as a matter of principle.

The Court explained: “Acts of conspiracy are those which have been carried out unsuccessfully. If the conspiracy is successful, it is not understood as conspiracy, because if it is successful, there is no Government to arrest, try, and punish. I am of the opinion that in this matter the question should be set before the jury.”

Response of Lohelani: “In this case, I will be guided by the law and the testimonies of the witnesses as the basis of my decision.”

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<sup>2</sup> A Hawaiian political organization.

Response of Lohelani to the Attorney General: "I will heed the wisdom of the Court concerning the law, just as much as I will be guided by my conscience regarding the testimony."

Lohelani's response to Mr. Rosa: "My mind is not made up. I do not have fond opinions of the accused. I did not assist those who broke the law."

Lohelani's response to the Deputy Attorney General: "All those in the court will work to uphold the law; I will be led by this, and I will be guided by the witnesses approved by the Court."

The Court decided that Lohelani was suitable to serve as a juror in this case.

Napahuelua: "I work as a harness maker. I subscribe to *'Elele*, *'Oia 'i'o*, and *Leo o ka Lahui*. As for the dismissal of the jurors in this case, I have not made up my mind, I do not have a firm opinion about this matter. I was involved in the action of July 30th, and I have an opinion about that day that will not change as a result of testimony. In my opinion I should not sit on this case."

Sam. Kamaka: "Concerning the actions of July 30th, I take a newspaper, but I have not decided whether or not Wilcox is guilty. I have not been asked to help with Wilcox's legal defense. I have not talked over this case. In one of the issues of the newspaper *Pae 'āina* it was published that everyone involved in this revolt would be hanged. I am temporarily a policeman, and have strong opinions about being chosen as a member of the police." He was excused.

G. W. C. Jones, the younger: "There is no reason to think that I am not eligible to sit on this case. I can render a verdict according to the law and to the evidence." He was nineteen years old. He was excused by the Court because he was not old enough.

Nakamu: "I have made clear my opinion on the 30th of July, depending on some of the testimonies, it may be that my opinion will change if I know enough about what I am doing; my judgment will await the instruction of the Court, and I will make up my mind as a result of the testimonies."

J. K. Kaoliko. "I have no relation to anyone involved in the actions of July 30th. I have read the opinions of *Ka Leo o ka Lāhui*, *'Oia 'i'o*, *Ka 'Elele*, and *Ka Pae 'āina*. I have no knowledge of the crime for which Wilcox is charged. I will be guided by what is said and by the witnesses.

Kahakauwila: "I work at Hollister's place. On July 30th, I had finished work when the fighting began, and I went straight home. I read *Ka Leo o ka Lāhui* and *Ka 'Oia 'i'o*. I have not made up my mind. I can render a verdict based on the testimony and the law."

J. Pōmaika'i: He works at Kahakauwila. He has not made public his opinions about the events of July 30th. He was home that night. He will make a decision based on the law and the testimony.

S. H. Me'ekapu: He is a tailor. He has not contributed in aiding Wilcox. He knows what happened on July 30th. "I read the newspapers, and am in accord with the published opinions, however this is not the overriding factor in my opinion."

Alonza Kuhia: "I am a typesetter. I have already made up my mind." He is excused.

Kalaehao: He has not made up his mind. He subscribes to the newspaper. He is here because of the court order. "I was walking around on the street when I was called by a policeman to come as a juror."

Huesto de la Cruz: He does not think it is proper for him to sit as a juror. He does not wish to have placed on him the responsibility of deciding on a verdict. He is somewhat undecided in his opinion, and has talked it over with many people. He is excused.

Mr. Pendergast: He has talked over this case a great deal, and has a firm opinion. He is released.

Nui: "I have not made up my mind. I can render a fair verdict. I know Wilcox."

J. Ailau: He has not made up his mind. His conscience does not hurt him.

S. K. Aki: His position is the same as J. Ailau's.

Then Sam. Kamaka was disqualified and Moses Palau was chosen. Lohelani was also disqualified and Manuel Silva was chosen. S. H. Me'ekapu was disqualified, and J. Mana was chosen. Kaoliko was disqualified and J. Ailau was chosen.

The selection and questioning of the jurors was concluded at 5:18. The jurors were sworn in to hear the case of R. W. Wilcox. Here are their names:

S. C. Dwight, J. K. Ailau, Manuel Silva, S. K. Aki, C. K. Nui, M. Palau, W. K. Kalaehao, J. Pomaikai, J. B. Nakumu, J. M. Kahakauila, John Mana and J. Aiu.

The Court instructed the jurors not to talk with any one other than themselves about this case so that they would not perhaps tell about the case, and the Court was recessed until the hour of 10 in the morning on Tuesday October 29.

Before the proceedings of the Court were closed that day, W. H. Cummings and Heil Kapu deposited a bail certificate in the sum of two thousand dollars. when the Court adjourned, many came up to shake Wilcox's hand happily, and that evening many native Hawaiians came to visit him at the home of D. W. Pua.

On the following Tuesday the Court reconvened to hear the case, and the testimony that was first presented in the trial of Loomens was presented once again, and little else was done. The Court heard this testimony and the brief testimony of the secretary until the evening arrived. When the positions of the lawyers on the two sides were established, the lights were put on.

After the Court's instructions to the jury, they went out to consider their verdict. They deliberated for perhaps an hour or so. They came out again with their verdict, releasing Wilcox.

Because of this, there was great joy among the many people waiting patiently outside the courthouse, yearning to hear the verdict of the jury. They shouted until they were hoarse with much joy for the amazing victory of the royal son of war, and his brave dodging of bullets fired by the Government of Hawai'i.

## Chapter IX

Because of this amazing acquittal of Wilcox, his fame spread all over the land, and from this day on he became the most important man of his time in the land. Many tributes were offered to him, and congratulations came from his native friends of the ‘āina. They were inspired once more to set their hearts on the right words to honor him, and they called him, "Prince Wilcox" — a prince half Hawaiian, half Italian.

### His Plans to Run on the Ballot

At this time, admired and cherished by his native friends, Wilcox decided to place his name on the ballot before his native friends as a candidate for election. The news spread immediately like lightning, and enthusiastic native Hawaiians had set their hearts set on electing this *Koa Aloha ‘Āina* [warrior with love for the land] as their representative.

Several days after his acquittal, the news spread from Hawai‘i to Kaua‘i that he was going to run on the ballot for the Legislature in the land of his birth as a candidate for the *‘Ao‘ao Lāhui* [National Party], in opposition to the policies of the *Po‘e Ho‘ohui ‘Āina* [Annexation Party]. His native friends were greatly pleased to hear of this intent of the princely man with the heart of a soldier.

Admiration for him spread far and wide throughout his country and his native Hawaiian friends fervently wanted him as a candidate for the lāhui [the nation of native people]. Discussion meetings were convened by election officials. There was some contention among the five precincts in the district of Kona, Honolulu, about Wilcox, because each of the various precincts wanted to be the first to place Wilcox's name on the ballot and make him their candidate.

So that there would not be a great deal of divisiveness in the election precincts of Honolulu, the chief officials of *Hui Kalai ‘āina*<sup>1</sup> and the haoles' *Hui Limahana Lokahi*<sup>2</sup> immediately joined on behalf of the royal son. The nominating committees of these unions appointed suitable candidates for all election districts, and when Wilcox's district was asked about their choice of a representative, he revealed that he wanted to run on the ballot in district 5 because he lived in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Hui Kalai ‘āina* was founded November 22, 1888. John E. Bush was elected as its first president. Its goal was the restoration of the constitutional system existing before 1887.

<sup>2</sup> The official name of this group was the Mechanics' and Workingmen's Protective Union, organized September 1889.

coconut-frond winds of Kapālama in those days, and so he agreed happily to be a candidate for district 5.

After the district wherein he was to run was determined, meetings of the people in his district were convened. At the meeting at Mr. Pua's house, he issued his very first speech as a candidate, most of which appears below:

“My fellow citizens, I have never before wanted anything so much as to join with your determination and support to elect me as a delegate for your party to go and speak out in the Legislature of our Kingdom. I will give all my energy to seeking out the nooks and crannies and all the places where these government officials have carried out their swindling activities, and to bear witness and make clear before the people just how they have administered the affairs in our beloved country. Because of these filthy deeds of the government officials, my dear fellow citizens, indeed I cannot delay and just wait for the time to come to an end of these actions my conscience cannot endure.

My fellow Hawaiians born on these sands, while I ponder how to carry out my plan, some friends have made it clear that they are ready to help in everything I want, to assist and support me, and my friends and I have made it clear to those government officials that I do not like what they have done, and that I feel strongly that the affairs of our ‘āina aloha, our beloved land, were interfered with by the hands of *malihini*, foreigners, while we, the people to whom the ‘āina belongs, are treated with great contempt.

Forgive me my friends, perhaps these people will tell you that they are people with aloha ‘āina, people who love the land; these words are bait so that they can butter you up and gain control of you. My fellow citizens, I ask you, as the fruit of the tree, so you should look at them, that is to say, consider what they have done, those who are my opponents in the election. I tell you that these are the people called the ‘Black Livers’, they are people who have been purchased with sums of tainted dollars to betray our ‘āina aloha. I beseech you, stand firm for our rights, because standing behind my opponents are the wealthy people of the country with their bags of bloody money overflowing to put into place everything they want. For this reason, take care.

My fellow citizens, I am telling you humbly, the rich people of the country are not behind me, but I tell you with truthfulness, behind me and right above me are the great resources inside our hearts — Aloha ‘Āina, love for the land; Aloha Lāhui, love for the nation, and Aloha Mō‘ī, love for

the King. This, friends, is our one mother, our source of nourishment. I will be most happy if you choose the right candidates for the National Party, to assist me in the work for our 'āina aloha, our beloved land. And what I want most of all is to pass on the heritage of the chiefs made as one under the same language, because when justice is done, the heavens will fall.

When Wilcox ended this short speech, there was great appreciation among his native Hawaiian friends, and they were resolved in their minds to support him as candidate for the National Party. The meeting was a large one, and there were many assembled to listen. Later he was called by the people of the election districts of Maunalua and Maunaloa to visit their citizens' meetings and to speak before them. He traveled through the 'āpana, the district, to speak on his wishes for the people, the country and the King, and also to set forth the issues he would fight for in the legislature.

What he wanted most of all to do in the Legislature was to gather strength to negate the untrustworthy decisions made by the Ministers, to set right governmental affairs of that time, and he was determined to overthrow the Ministers, and to install a new roster of Ministers. A full explanation of their dismissal will be revealed shortly.

There were two parties on the ballot, the 'Ao'ao Lāhui [National Party] and the 'Ao'ao Ho'oma'ema'e<sup>3</sup> [Reform Party] . Wilcox was supported by the National Party. He made a great show of strength in the party, and through his speeches, stirred the souls of the true *kānaka Hawai'i*, the true Hawaiian people, and they decided on a united vote for him and the people behind him asked for a vote for him.

Before election day the Reform Party chose Mr. W. C. Achi as a candidate for their party to run on the ballot against Wilcox. The members of the Reform Party came out strongly in favor of Kale, [Kale Achi] but the party was defeated because the minds of native Hawaiians were inflamed by Prince Wilcox's speeches. On election day, Wilcox mounted a bay horse and rode in a graceful prance on the sidewalks of Kapālama making a fine appearance. There was no doubt about the outcome and in the evening when the ballots were counted, Wilcox came out ahead at the ballot box, with 366 votes, Kale Achi having only 116. All the candidates for the National Party came out

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<sup>3</sup> *Ho'oma'ema'e* literally means "to cleanse."

ahead, except for John E. Bush, and there was a great deal of sympathy for him.

During the month of April, perhaps, Wilcox was greatly encouraged because of the release of the Belgian Loomens. He had put together a petition for the King and the privy council with 1,700 signatures attached to this petition. This was presented to the King who referred it to his Ministers, but these Cabinet members gave absolutely no consideration to this request of the people, until they were ousted by the Legislature, with a vote of no confidence in them.

Voting for the two parties was somewhat balanced since the Reform Party was very strong in the islands, but it was thought that some of the people who had come out for this party would support the National Party.

When the Legislature met, it was apparent that the National Party was victorious, electing the President, the Secretary and the Marshal of the House, and the Reform Party was indeed defeated. But, the members of that party made a great effort, hoping to be victorious.

Most of the Legislature was given over to the many issues having to do with the Cabinet, and one of the most important questions was the Attorney General's pressing into service armed guards at the jailhouse. Several days later Attorney General Akepoka [Ashford] explained the reason for keeping guards at the jailhouse, and denied that the action was his own, but instead that of his fellow Cabinet members.

The response of the Attorney General was based on a defense claiming that he had opposed his fellow Cabinet members in their move to take the authority of the office of the Attorney General into their own hands, that is, taking over power to guard the jailhouse. Suddenly and without reason, the majority of the Cabinet was afraid of Wilcox and V. V. Ashford and they thought that the Attorney General [C. W. Ashford] had joined forces with these two, it being rumored that Wilcox and V. V. Ashford were inciting rebellion.

The Attorney General denied these things and said they were not true. The Cabinet was in a state of contention because the Attorney General had not agreed to enact a new commercial treaty with America. Because of this, the Attorney General had instructed the King not to sign this treaty. There was a great deal of dissent on this matter in the Cabinet and the quarreling among themselves indeed increased.

Because of the Attorney General's explanation of the questions presented before the House,

Minister of the Interior Thurston rose to respond to this statement of the Attorney General. The gist of his statement was that he censured the Attorney General, and that he called Wilcox a rebel, and that he said that Wilcox and V. V. Ashford were the ones who were thought to be responsible for inciting an internal rebellion, and that it was believed that the Attorney General had assisted in certain actions these two engaged in, and for this reason, a majority of the cabinet had taken over the authority of setting up guards at the jail house, and so on.<sup>4</sup>

When the Interior Minister Kakina's [Thurston's] statement was concluded, the Attorney General rose again to respond on behalf of his brother, that is, V. V. Ashford. He said that since he did not have the right to respond inside the House himself, he was placing his response with Wilcox, who was a member of the House, and had a right to respond for his party. Most of his statement follows:

“It was indeed Minister Kakina [Thurston] who was responsible for the treachery in the islands. The Attorney General, V. V. Ashford, and I have not engaged in disturbing the peace of this town. What the majority of the Ministers have done is against the law, that is, they have set themselves above the office of the Attorney General. To call Wilcox a rebel is to hide their own treachery. This is not right at all. Not to join in their actions is to cleanse and purify.

It is true, we all took part in this action. and this is made clear from that day of June 30, 1887. There was a conspiracy to overthrow the King from his Throne and so on.” Because it was out of order, this reply could not be entered in the record. The distinguished members of the Legislature were much astonished at what the Cabinet had done, and it was declared that the Cabinet should be dismissed, because of the bad feeling and division within the house. A government broken into factions cannot endure, according to the words of the Great Book.

Below follows the speech of the Hon. R. W. Wilcox, and this speech reveals the true colors of this hero.

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<sup>4</sup> This speech is available in printed form as: "Speech of Minister of Interior Thurston in reply to imputations of Attorney General Ashford, Hawaiian Legislative Assembly, June 5, 1890." Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Steam Print, 1890

## Chapter X

### **The Speech of the Hon. R. W. Wilcox before the Legislature, June 9, 1890, in response to the Speech of the Minister of the Interior<sup>1</sup>**

“Mr. President, I make bold to stand on the floor at the time granted to me, and ask the indulgence of this noble house in allowing me to respond to the kind of things spoken against me by the Minister of the Interior in his defense of himself from the condemning words of his fellow Minister, the distinguished Attorney General.

According to the various admissions of the Minister of the Interior of his guilt in breaking the 1888 law by an outright takeover of the authority and discrete privileges of the government police offices and turning the government marshal into a little suckling puppy, and according to his great effort to prop up his defense by citing street talk and loose rumors that through lies implicated me to be understood as the cause, he acted for the good of the populace, and secured the peace of the land, also implying that I had joined V. V. Ashford in order to overthrow the established government, also implicating His Majesty the King, and daring to try to usurp the authority of his colleague the Attorney General, and by taking upon his haughty self to set up guards around the jail house, foreign haole guards hired for this work.

He assumes as his defense of what cannot be excused a tangled bewilderment, and he signs his name to this, and in his revelation above having to do with his trespassing on the rights of his fellow minister and breaking the law, he blithely explains that he is anxious and fearful of V. V. Ashford and myself.

The first defense that a murderer puts forth is that he has committed the crime of murder as a result of insanity, and the Minister of the Interior would have more right to say that he had acted as he did as a result of a spell of insanity which has befallen him, and it would have been better to try to explain certain matters by saying that he was somewhat unbalanced. In this respect, it would

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<sup>1</sup> Available in printed version as “Speech of Hon. R. W. Wilcox before the Hawaiian Legislative Assembly, June 10, 1890.” Honolulu: Gazette Steam Print, 1890.

have been better, and the public might have excused him, instead of his trying to defend himself by implicating me, as he has contended, with collusion with V. V. Ashford in breaking the peace by rebellious actions.

In order to clear my name of these untruthful machinations, and to clarify fully my actions after my recall from my studies in Italy, there must be a brief recital of the circumstances in which I was placed after I was recalled to my native land by this group exercising their power over the government at this time.

Because of their orders I returned home to the sands of my birth without properly completing the last term of my educational program, which, had I taken it as I should, would have set me up in the engineering profession in the department of war with the rank of lieutenant in the artillery corps in one of the very highest and most rigorous military divisions in Europe, and would have empowered me to take my place among the ranks of educated and wise men. At the time I left the preparatory school, the Commanding General of the school issued to me my marks in my diploma, and I will read them to you:

‘The undersigned certifies that Signor Robert William Wilcox, a native of the Hawaiian Islands, entered the military school on May 25th, authorized by the Minister of War in dispatch number 3850 written on April 26th, and graduated from the military school on September 1st, 1885, to enter the School of Training for Artillery and Engineering Officers. While in his school, he took the following courses. In terms of a maximum mark of 20 in the courses, he received the following marks:

Examinations, Preparatory School, June 1882. Italian language, 10. Algebra, geometry and trigonometry, 18. History and geography, 15. Physics, 11. Military science, 14. Conduct, 20.

Examinations, First Year Class, June 1883. Spherical trigonometry, 3. Geometry and advanced algebra, 14.33. Science and surveying, 14.33. Draftsmanship, 14.33. French language, 10. Italian language, 10. Military administration, 15. Surveying, 18. Military instruction, 14. Conduct, 20.

Examinations, Second Year Class, June 1884. Advanced geometry, 11.33. Advanced geometry (first part), 10.67. Military science (first part), 13.33. Military history (first part), 17. Scientific foundations, 12. Military draftsmanship, 14. Military instruction, 16. Conduct, 19.

Examinations, Third year Class, June 1885. Mechanics, 10.33. Advanced geometry, 10. Ground fortifications, 12. Military science, 11. Military history, 11.67. Military geography, 12.67. Foundations of iron, steel, and various other metals, 10. Architecture, 12.67. Military science, 17. Conduct, 19.

(Signed) E. Olivero

Major General, Advanced School

#### School of Training for Artillery and Engineering Officers

Acting under the authority received from the Minister of War in his dispatch no. 2850, headquarters of artillery, section 1, September 3, 1887, the undersigned certifies that Signor Robert William Wilcox, a student in the first year of this school during the years 1885-6 and 7, passed the examination to enter the second and very last year of his educational course. With respect to the marks he received in his various courses, he had an average of 11.61, placing him 46th among the 73 students in his artillery class the first year. Here are the marks in his courses:

Mechanics, 10. Courses in constructing fortifications, 11. Artillery supplies (first section), 10. Courses in riflemanship and handguns, 12. Advanced land surveying, 10.33. Military science, 12.70. Conduct, 19.

(Signed) L. Pelloux

Major General of the School

Turin, August 5th, 1887

Courses in the second year training class of the school,  
which is also the final class

1. Courses in steam mechanics. 2. Employment of artillery in war. 3. Various scientific subjects. 4. Use of cannons. 5. Gunpowder. 6. Instructions in military arts.

These credentials were presented to the Office of Foreign Affairs in power at this time, but, as is usually the case when Hawaiians are concerned, when this cabinet considered the situations of

those without money, I was tossed out by the sacred Office of Foreign Affairs in a cold and indifferent manner, as was the case in various other offices of governmental departments. I had hoped to receive cordial treatment by officials in my native country since I was accustomed to nothing else in Italy, nor in the places in Europe.

I returned here as a godchild of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, ready and resolved to work for the good of my country, using the knowledge and preparation that I had accumulated, but I was not at all offered employment of any kind by the government.

When the Ali‘i, the King, understood my situation, that I had married a certain high-born European lady, His Majesty and his royal sister made strenuous efforts to obtain a proper position for me. The Ali‘i the King at one time offered me the rank of major of the regular guards, and then I heard that I was refused this position by the Ministers, by these very people in the Cabinet, who boast of their aloha and commitment to the Hawaiians.

Because of his aloha for my wife, F. A. Schaefer, the Italian Consul, asked Prof. Alekanedero [Alexander], if he could get employment for me, and having received a favorable reply, I spoke with Schaefer about Mr. Alexander's idea of getting together to discuss this matter with him. I went with my wife to meet him. The gentleman first asked about my stance on political affairs, and what I thought about the present governmental leadership. There were no inquiries at all about my qualifications for employment in his office (although I had earlier put into his hands my credentials from the high ranking general in charge of my school). After a short conversation, he offered me a vague position at a salary that would not suffice to keep a cat alive. Then he told me to go to the Minister of the Interior, and I went to see him along with my wife.

The truth of the matter is that Mr. Kukina [Thurston] received me cordially. What went on with that gentleman was very similar to the earlier encounter, except for this: he thought that it would be better for us to return to broad-minded Italy, since this would be better for the disposition of my wife and since she would have more peace of mind on the sands of her birth. In truth, I could very well understand what the Minister had in mind, that is, he thought perhaps that I would be uneasy in my own homeland, would be ridiculed by the *malihini*, the foreigners, and so he thought that the very best thing would be to send me away, or perhaps banish me from this ‘āina, this land. I was told again to meet with Mr. C. R. Bihopa [Bishop], he who had a heart overflowing with aloha for the kānaka, the one who, as I had heard, had so much solicitude for my situation. I saw

him, and talked with him, and guided by his great generosity he gave me the advice that I should abandon the drilling of soldiers, and take some glorious appointment as a schoolteacher out in the *kua'āina*, the country, at a salary that would suffice for poi and salmon, a salary he considered suitable for Hawaiian teachers like the ones he had known.

With this, he said that it would be necessary that I first to be examined on whether or not I was qualified for a for a position as schoolteacher in arithmetic and geography on the lower school level. I told him that I had mastered these before I left for my educational program in Italy, and that I was educated in calculus, a more advanced form of arithmetic, and in mechanics, an advanced course in the professional aspects of working with metals, and in body mechanics and the mechanics of power. The renowned banker seemed somewhat puzzled about my response, and told me such great knowledge was ordinarily not considered to be of value in this country.

I was amazed at the lack of knowledge of mathematical matters on the part of the President of the Board of Education. Because of this, I left him, nauseated at the hypocrisy of a person chosen to serve in such a high educational position.

After this, I sailed for Kapalakiko [San Francisco] where I obtained a position working under Mr. Hermann Schussler, of one of the boards of water supply for Kaleponi [California]. I received three times over the salary I was offered here. I remained at this position for one year and my employer thought well of me. On my own volition I asked to be released from my service and returned with the thought of bettering the conditions in my 'āina kulaīwi, my native land, among my native friends, who had been so downtrodden.

When I returned, I opened an office as engineer and surveyor, and I obtained work from my own people. When it became known to certain young people who had gone around saying that they were the true friends of Hawaii how well my enterprise was progressing, these people began to block my way. One of these was a young Bible-thumping hypocrite on the Alanui Mō'ī wahine, Queen Street.

Mr. President, after these actions taken by people who professed to be Christians, I began to turn over in my mind how to change the situation and circumstance running rampant in the country. There arose in my mind thoughts of those I had studied in my education as a military officer, and I recalled the history of some famous men placed in a similar position to my own as is seen in the history of the world, that is, Garibaldi and Cavour, Kossuth, Mazzini, Parnell and others who

struggled for their rights and for the preservation of the welfare of their native lands.

When I recalled the history of my own country, I saw that there was an example right here of how the form of government could be changed in a short time without bloodshed, that is to say, a “bloodless revolution” fostered by the missionaries, who had settled down and assumed prerogatives until they had achieved their victory.

I met and conversed with my native friends who were distressed with the policies of the Government in the hands of people who boasted that they were reformers. The Hawaiian people had come to understand the actions of these people who had overthrown the Government, saying that it was decayed, but setting up in its place an even more worthless government.

At our very first meeting for our beloved country, a traitor came into our midst to spy on us for the Ministers, something unknown to us at that time. His Excellency the Head of the Water Works was chosen colonel<sup>2</sup> and I was subordinated to him with the rank of major. The intent of this meeting was to consider means of restoring the rights that had been taken away from the King by force of arms and to enact a new constitution which we intended to take before the King for his signature. This constitution would make clear the composition of the Cabinet, that is to say, that there would be two native Hawaiians in it.

At the beginning of our meetings we created a pledge to be signed by every member to assist and support the King and his Throne, and to fight, if necessary, for his protection and our rights. The Minister of the Interior was most aggrieved about this document signed by us.

The document was entrusted to our colonel, His Excellency the Head of the Water Works, and he took it to His Excellency the Minister of the Interior, the confidant of the colonel, it seems.

After finding out that one of us was going around revealing the private affairs having to do with the association, having no suspicion that it was His Excellency the Head of the Water Works who was going around talking, I went to see him in his capacity as my superior. I told him that we should carry out our intent at once. He told me coldly and hypocritically to get everything ready quickly that night with Lieutenant Parker, and when ready, we would begin the battle at once, and if necessary force the King from his Throne.

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<sup>2</sup> Charles B. Wilson

I understand from what others have told me things concerning some hui, some group outside of ours, that this was a group that had been formed to force the King from his Throne. It was thought that the reasons for these moves against the King were that he had not agreed to sign the bill to force out the governors, the military bill, and various other bills. I am ready to testify under oath before a committee chosen by this house to investigate everything having to do with all this, if this is desired. This conspiracy of theirs originated at the house of the postmaster. At the second meeting Mr. Thurston and another cabinet member arrived there. At this meeting, as is usual for the Minister of the Interior, he took charge of this meeting and from this time on at all times to follow. At this meeting, His Excellency the Head of the Water Works appeared at the door of the room where the conspirators were holding forth, but because of the suspicious thoughts about him among the members, he was not invited inside the room.

After the proceedings of this meeting had been adjourned, the Minister of the Interior sent Mr. W. R. Castle as a delegate from the Government and the Reform Cabinet to go and meet with Her Highness the Heir Apparent to ask her to assume the Throne of the Kingdom. They believed that they could invalidate her royal powers by applying the same measures taken before on June 30, 1887. Two days later, several native Hawaiians led astray by the leadership of Rev. Waiamau tried to persuade the Heir Apparent to take the Throne, without knowing in the least what the Cabinet Ministers and the President of the Legislature had done.

Later His Excellency the Head of the Water Works appeared in person before the Heir Apparent for this same purpose, playing the same game of checkers. The Heir Apparent said that there were no legitimate means known by her supporters for her to transgress against her much loved brother.

The Cabinet partisans let it be known that their reforms were to be carried out by our colonel, who would act to dethrone the King, not, as we had agreed, that is, to restore the rights taken away by the new constitution and to elect a new Cabinet which would include two native Hawaiians.

The person who got all excited about this was none other than our colonel, the Chief of the Water Works, spying for the Ministers as we understand it, and informing on all our private matters that had taken place.

It is true that we went to see the King, the colonel (the spy for the Ministers), Major Nowlein and myself. A constitution was not read before the King, but the our colonel made this statement:

‘We have come to ask You to step down from the Throne, since as You know, the people have scant regard for You, instead they wish to place Your Sister on the Throne.’

After this speech was concluded the King replied in a joyless manner, ‘I will consider this request.’ The King asked for my thoughts on this but I did not render an opinion. Major Nowlein was surprised at what was asked of this King, since this was the first time he had heard of the idea of asking the King to step down from his Throne and he knew that this was solely an idea put forth by the spy for the Ministers. I left and the major asked me what was going on. I told him that in truth I did not understand this matter thrust before the King.

Mr. President, I say before this house now, it was not at all my intention to remove the King from his Throne. My greatest desire was to restore the rights taken away from the King and indeed from his people. The attempt to overthrow the King, and to *kill* him -- this conspiracy! — happened a long time before I was ordered to return. It originated at a time when they were undergoing a crisis.

This same Minister Kukina [Thurston], Judge Dole, and others in that holy circle with the Chief Justice and the latter calmly looking on upon these events. These were the ones who danced on the Hawaiian flag, stamping on it, dreaming of founding the Republic of Hawai‘i, setting up Daniel Foster as the first president, Mr. J. Kauhane as vice president, these two to be eventually replaced as heads of the administration by members of the Judd family.

Indeed, Minister Kukina [Thurston] said: ‘The intent was direct and simple: to make the King leave his Throne.’ Yes, those were the words of the Water Works head, indeed of our colonel, before the King, something that greatly astonished us, in view of his situation at the time — acting in a high-handed way with us, but not being truthful, since everything he said was the idea of Minister Kukina and the people who engaged in the conspiracy of that rebellion in 1887.

Every one knows about the testimony at my trial. I attempted to carry out my main goal, which was to restore the powers taken away from the King, so that once these had been restored to him, this would be the basis for him to obtain what is good for his own people. It should be clear that this was not a new idea for the King and I thought that he would confirm this intent when we we joined at the Palace on that unforgettable Tuesday of July 30, 1887, to place the wishes of the people before him. But our plans were defeated, and we were fired on, and some were killed by the

partisans of the government in power, that is to say, the holy party, those who boasted that they had fired from behind a rock wall after they had heard from Robert Parker that our forces had no ammunition, just a very few rifles in the hands of people who did not know how to shoot, and some guns, some shotguns indeed capable of scaring off birds eating rice which were not considered to be able to hurt anyone.

I was abused for having killed my native Hawaiian friends, seven of them holding out at their posts after they had been hit by bullets many times, indeed after their very last breath had flown away up — this is what was done by those who professed their Christian nature and aloha for Hawaii Nei. I name him, Mr. Kakina, Mr. Thurston, him and his circle, as murderers of the Hawaiian people.

It was they who shot first, since they tried to shoot the Minister of Finance<sup>3</sup>, the only one who displayed a truly Christian attitude — by having to leave the Palace gate during his mission to find out the wishes of the Hawaiian people, indeed he had to save himself so that he would not be hit by bullets. Yes, Mr. Kakina, with your heart full of love for the people and the country, in this place where you and your parents are living, I am telling you that it is you and people like you who are widely recognized as the murderers.

Without reading the Riot Act, without taking any such action other than that of the Minister of Finance who wanted to investigate, those who were not instructed by the police force nor the military were shooting at native Hawaiians. It is true that they fired their guns illegally and without being ordered to do so.

Two of them are members of the Justice Department, one is the head of the tax office, and another, if I am not mistaken, is someone who secretly brings in opium into the ‘āina, the land, and two of those who call themselves true Hawaiians were among those firing from the office of the postmaster.

These murderers and the blood of those who were shot should be charged to those who fired without rightful cause on those native Hawaiian who were appearing before the King for a hearing before him of their problems.

I now take the liberty to speak of my wife. It may or may not be true that she went to the

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<sup>3</sup> Samuel M. Damon

Minister of the Interior — I have great doubts about this, since as everyone knows, he is the very last person one would ask for loving assistance. For myself I can say that by no means did I go to the Minister to tell him what I was doing, since I had nothing to be afraid of except my unknowingly being done away with by people like Bishop, Olsen, Hyde, Wilson, and others like those people who cried out in loud voices for me to be strung up after I was taken prisoner by Colonel V. V. Akepoka [Ashford].

Since my release, I have gone to all the country districts electioneering, and I have tried hard to unite the native Hawaiian at the ballot box. I can say that the government party stirred up opposition to each issue. Nothing was too bad to be said about me, right or wrong.

My speeches were nothing to be feared or give cause for arrest. There are gentlemen in this house who had heard my speeches in Hawaiian and can say that I did not speak in the slightest way of overturning the peace of the community. In truth there was nothing to be gained by that, for it was obvious to me that I would be victorious at the polls in all the places where I conducted meetings among the native Hawaiians.

Rumors were circulated to deter me from going around the islands speaking to native Hawaiians. And indeed, our true friend, Mr. Rosa, advised me not to go, lest I be done away with. But I smiled at these anxieties, and set behind me the advice of my friend, since I thought he had settled on an idea falsely given to him, the real intent of which was to cause him to advise me about going out to speak on issues in support of the national cause.

I can state fairly and truthfully, more so than His Excellency the Minister of the Interior, that I have no weapons at all, since my sword and my military uniform were taken away from me, my personal property that I would not part with for any amount of money. But, on account of these things the three Ministers were much afraid. The Minister of Foreign Affairs decided to send my uniform to the Italian Consul, where he thought I could not obtain it, so that their fear of me would come to an end.

In justice to Col. V. V. Akepoka [Ashford], I deny absolutely that I spoke with him, I had absolutely no conversations with him, until after I was taken prisoner by him. He knew nothing at all about my plans from me, nor I about his from him. Talk like this is just gossip, thoughts from a deadly sick mind. My acquaintance with him began after I had been taken prisoner by him, with his kind treatment of me and his brave stance before those calling out resoundingly to shoot me

and hang me. The soldierly conduct exemplified under Colonel Ashford is something that has made me very happy.

But our mutual ideas and fellowship never went beyond this point. I will not address myself to gossip, and probably Colonel Akepoka is not at all concerned about this. This conversation said to be the basis of the fears of the Ministers and their underlings, that is to say, the conversation between myself and Mr. Rosa, was just something I had overheard flaunted as truth that had been done by people opposed to Colonel Ashford and myself.

When these deceits were published in the newspaper about my friend, for the reasons given, I gave him a document explaining the untruthfulness of this matter.

In reply to the things said by His Excellency and someone else who had this notion about a conversation with a man in front of the post office, I tell you, this is not true, and in my opinion, His Excellency himself probably does not think it is true; it is childish to choose to believe that there is truth in that statement.

I greatly regret that the Minister of the Interior has tried to defend himself against treating his fellow Ministers with contempt by creating confusion in the minds of the populace, through his attempts to destroy the peace of the community, as he explains in his reply. I know for a fact that on the night of the 17th of April, a hundred haoles were assembled at the jailhouse that night, not, as he has said, just a few, three or four perhaps, and there were no fewer than twenty stationed at the jailhouse after that night.

These guards were maintained until the last days of this past month, when, there being not the slightest reason for fear, the guards were dismissed.

But, I ask you, Minister, why do Castle and Cooke and Hall and Son and various other merchants continue to import and make available in their stores weapons for this country, without paying any regard for the rightful use of these weapons, as they had done earlier for the good of the party now in power — with you being one of them?

What are the reasons for the massive importation of weapons and the hasty selling of them to all kinds of people, without your opposition? Is it not very embarrassing for you, a child of some soldiers of the cross trying to follow and teach about Christ, He who was put on the cross, to try to import guns and bullets into this ‘āina, this country for your own good, only to try to place the

blame on the Hawaiian people?

What kind of nonsense is this! My friend, I am sorry to say that as I stand here, for the reasons made clear, the responsibility for the disturbance in which I am entangled, has been placed with you.

As for my discontent to which His Excellency has referred, because the members of the National Party do not wish me to become a member of the Cabinet, I say on my behalf the truth, namely that I am a citizen loyal to the Royal Wish and to the law and that the idea of opposing His choosing whom he pleases for his Cabinet is not proper, and that I understand fully that I have no right to dictate to the King, as is customary for Minister Kakina [Thurston], even to the point of using un-gentlemanlike language.

If I were in the position of knowing for myself that I was not liked by the King nor by the populace for good reason, as the Minister of the Interior knows to be the case with him, I would have long ago left my seat in the Cabinet.

But such is the nature of the aloha of these holy people who are after wealth and power, that he is loathe to leave his office, something his associates have known for a long time, but for reasons of misconduct, wickedness, pride and arrogance — such seem to be part of his nature — he should not stay in this office. I do not believe that any member of the National Party can go before the Minister to explain the position of the National Party.

For my part, I would like to see a committee chosen by this House to investigate the reason for the sudden fears that have arisen in the Cabinet. As for myself, I am not afraid, but I do not see the reason why they should escape this charge, which they have tried to foist on others. I request that a committee be chosen to investigate what these Ministers have been doing.”

## Chapter XI

While Wilcox was speaking the people were stamping their feet and then crowding around, with the greatest gratitude and most joyful feelings for this brave man whose heart overflowed with aloha ‘āina, love for the land.

Wilcox had made a short speech before this oration, and the gist of what he had said is the following:

“It is true, after having heard the explanation of the Attorney General, the seditious crimes of the Cabinet against the King are now very well understood. Therefore, they should be tried under martial law and shot along with those who had joined with them in these actions.”

At this point the writer must be forgiven, because there are some matters concerning Wilcox's men that have not been mentioned, to wit, their unconditional release.

During the month of April of this year a great many of Wilcox's men were taken out of custody under a bill enacted by the Legislature, and at the request of Attorney General C. W. Ashford, they were all released unconditionally. Of those men who had admitted their guilt, some were sentenced to hard labor, some were fined, and some were released unconditionally for agreeing to testify for the Government.

Let us return to those matters clarified by the Attorney General concerning the conspiracy in which they had engaged and to those things which without a doubt they had done, it is necessary to bring up some ideas published in one of the American newspapers by one of the ranking officers, that is to say of the Honolulu Rifle Association, and here they are:

In the period following the insurrection of June 30, 1887, conducted at Manamana, Honolulu, there appeared in the *New York Times* a certain story about this revolution.<sup>1</sup> It was said that it was W. W. Hall who had written the story, and it was published in the newspaper on September 12, 1887. Here is what it said:

Matters came to a head during the last nine months, and a great deal of time was expended by everyone with total understanding preparing for the confrontation. Several peace keeping associations were founded, and all those who

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<sup>1</sup> This was the coup launched by the "Hawaiian League" through their arm the "Honolulu Rifles" which led to the "Bayonet Constitution" forced upon King Kalākaua

joined these associations took oaths, and guns were brought into the Kingdom and given to all the members. Plans were drawn up by talking over what best would succeed.

The only troublesome aspect of setting up these actions was that there were not very many well-off men interested in joining this undertaking. As a result various means were tried to obtain money. Planning for this I bought land and took a wife, and so on. Aside from this, it was a true revolution, inasmuch as we planned to overthrow the Government and bring it under our own control, and establish a republic. This was our real intention, but the undertaking faltered somewhat.

Since there were just a few of us meeting in difficult circumstances and in the dark and on the top floors of houses, it is true that some became fearful and uncertain. Indeed it was said that we were not strong enough to carry out this action successfully. Some, after they had understood what was going on, deserted, their conscience not allowing this thing.

But later, the courage of this one and that one increased. Therefore, all the members deemed it fitting that they should be armed. It was thought that one should equip oneself with a good rifle, and various kinds of rifles should be procured. I myself equipped most of the members with Springfield rifles and bullets. Also my store supplied gunpowder and other deadly weapons. With these implements revolutionary actions could be carried out if the King did not agree to what we wanted.

When the public meeting was conducted a great many of the natives did not assemble for the meeting and they were perhaps displeased by this, but we did not take note of this. Most of the people at the meeting were haoles. A Committee of 13 was elected from the well-off membership. Most of the proceedings that day revolved around the Honolulu Rifles. A detachment of these was sent to look after Hale Aupuni, the Government Building, because it was feared that a misfortune would occur, and some of them participated in the meeting.

The Committee of 13 went inside the Palace to meet with the King.

We went bravely to the Palace and located the King in his office at the Palace. When he saw us he turned pale from fright, and indeed was shaking. He asked us to be seated. Our leader refused and said: 'We have a document for you, Your Majesty, take it to read and reply within twenty four hours, and if you have not replied, it will be considered as a denial.' We left the document and departed, not any of us at all afraid.

Just a few days after Wilcox's speech, a motion of no confidence in the Cabinet was brought before the Legislature by a National Party noble, Hon. H. A. Wilimana [Widemann]. It appears below:

#### Motion of No Confidence

Whereas the constitutional leadership of the Ali'i the King is painfully aware of the dissension

one with another and

Whereas as there seems no way to resolve these opposing factions, for the good of the Kingdom, the only remedy is to terminate the Cabinet, this being the only proper thing left to be done by those who have aloha 'āina for the country.

Therefore, be it resolved, that in the unanimous opinion of this House, because of the situation which is apparent, there is no confidence in the Cabinet.

As a result of the motion of no confidence in the Cabinet, the Expert, the fierce fighter for government policy for the Reform Party rose and read an amendment to save most of the Cabinet, and to issue a vote of no confidence for just the Attorney General.

Because of this amendment, much debate arose in the House, and upon a roll call, the amendment failed, and the vote of no confidence stood, as brought up by Noble Wilimana.

Before the roll call of the ayes and the nays, the president proclaimed that those in favor of opposing by amending the resolution should vote aye, and that those in favor of the resolution should vote nay.

#### THE AYES; THOSE OPPOSING THE LĀHUI, THE NATION

Nobles: J. Kauhane, J. M. Horner, R.R. Hind, S. Parker, J. Marsden, H. P. Baldwin, W. U. Horner, W. H. Cornwell, R. D. Waldbridge, J. Anderson, L. Von Tempsky, G. N. Wilcox, P. P. Kanoa and Paul Isenberg.

Representatives: C. Brown, A. Rosa; A. Horner, W. W. Halstead, J. H. Waipuilani, W. H. Rickard, O. K. Apiki, V. Knudsen, W. H. Rice and A. S. Wilcox. Total: 24.

#### THE NAYS; THOSE WHO HAVE ALOHA FOR THE LĀHUI, THE NATION

Nobles: H. A. Widemann, J. A. Cummins, J. S Walker, E. C. Macfarlane, E. Muller, D. W. Pua, C. J. McCarthy, John Philip, H. G. Crabbe and E. A. Burchardt.

Representatives: W. H. Cummings, A. Marques, T. R. Lucas, R. W. Wilcox, J. E. Bush, A. Kauhi, J. Nāwahī, J. T. Baker, J. K. Kaho'okano, A. P. Kapaehaole, Wm. White, L. W. P. Kaneali'i, J. W. Kalua and P. Kamai. Total: 24.

With this vote, the amendment resolution fell, that of the mahimahi of the sea of Pua'ena<sup>2</sup> Kikila Balaunu [Cecil Brown], and at that time the Minister of the Interior rose, and in an exhausted tone of voice for the very last time resigned, along with two of his fellow Cabinet members. This was his last speech on the floor of this esteemed house, the place where their government policies causes one to shudder.

"I resign my Cabinet seat, and so do my two fellow Cabinet members. I am weighted down in sorrow that the amendment was not passed." And he went on in this fashion at great length.

The Attorney General rose and said he was most happy in seeing the good work of his fellow Cabinet members, their having stepped down from their positions, and that he was very happy too with the leadership of this house.

The two sides argued back and forth about the vote, that is, 24 to 24, and according to the rules of the House, it fell to the president to decide. Since the president was in the National Party, he rendered his decision: to support the resolution of no confidence in the Ministers, and thus, victory was secured for the resolution of the National Party.

When the people standing watch outside and inside the house heard that the resolution of no confidence in the Ministers had passed, they cried out in a a loud voice on account of happiness, haoles as well as Hawaiians.

At that time the hands of the of big clock on the building of the Legislature stood exactly at eleven o'clock; it was an evening never to be forgotten.

The House did not convene the following Saturday because the seats of the Ministers remained vacant. From that time on, there was great anticipation among native Hawaiians that Wilcox would be chosen as a member of the Cabinet, but there were some obvious reasons that he could not be placed in this position, since some of the members of the National Party, the party that had been returned to power, were not at all of like mind.

At the hour of ten on the next Tuesday morning the King's messenger arrived at the Legislature with a document from the King's Chamberlain, which read as follows:

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<sup>2</sup> Pua'ena is an ancient surfing area, Waialua Bay, O'ahu.

‘Iolani Palace, Honolulu, June 17, 1890

To the President, the Nobles and the Representatives of the Legislature of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i:

By command of the Ali‘i, the King, I am informing the House of Noble that it is the pleasure of the King to appoint these gentlemen listed below as members of the Cabinet to the Kingdom:

HON. JOHN ADAMS CUMMINS, Minister of Foreign Affairs GODFREY BROWN ESQ.,  
Minister of Finance CHARLES N. SPENCER, ESQ., Minister of the Interior ARTHUR P.  
PETERSON, ESQ., Attorney General

Respectfully yours,

G. W. Macfarlane

Chamberlain to the King

The elevation of Keoni Kamuki [John Cummins] to the Cabinet created a vacancy for his seat, and so it was decided to suspend the sitting of the House until June 30. During these days much talk circulated about the choice of the Cabinet members. It was said that two native Hawaiian; should have been chosen, and two haoles, but the disturbance of the people about this matter blew over. Candidates to run as nobles were chosen for the two parties, that is to say, C. O. Berger, Esquire, for the National Party, and Hon. A. Young for the Reform Party, and it was the candidate for the National Party who was most acclaimed by those who understood the two positions.

On Monday, June 30, the House sat in the accustomed way and among the measures transacted the most important one was the consideration of the salary bill. It was decided that the King's salary would be \$40,000, that of the Heir Apparent, \$10,000, and that of Princess Ka‘iulani \$4,80 for the two years until March 31, 1892.

Since it is the opinion of the publishers of this book that everything pertaining to the rebellion of July 30, 1889, should be made clear, for the benefit of the thousands of readers of this history of this famous son, the Ahikinana, this descendent of the Paniwai of Iao, this grandson of the Ho‘oukakaua of Nu‘uanu, the child and the sprout of native Hawai‘i, your blood, the Ama‘u, the

Palai, the Kalo Naulu, indeed<sup>3</sup> Thus, since this is so, therefore, some important themes are here revealed, taken from the report of Colonel V. V. Ashford, the commander-in-chief chosen by the Cabinet to lead the Honolulu Rifle Association on that July 30, and here they are:

Headquarters

Hawaiian Volunteers

Honolulu, August 13th, 1889

To His Excellency, Jonathan Austin, His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs.<sup>4</sup>

Aloha 'oe: On the morning of Tuesday July 30th, I was given the authority by the Cabinet of the King through S. M. Damon to proceed to assemble forces to oppose the rebels armed with guns while they were inside the Palace grounds. That rebellion was put down that day, but at that time and during the time following, because of the great confusion, I delayed in forwarding my report on the things that happened that day.

On August 2nd however, I sent my report to the Cabinet (addressed to the name of Hon. Mr. Damon), this being a short report for the most part; and reports of the commanding officers of the two battalions were also deposited. The disturbances are over and the situation is again as it used to be, and the charge of my commission of the 30th day of July has been terminated, by command of the Cabinet, as has indeed my authority over the militia and all matters related to that office as ordered by His Excellency. And I have thus the honor of reporting to you the full account of matters concerning my authorization, as I understand these matters. On the morning of Tuesday, July 30th, (shortly after the hour of 3 a. m., according to reports) there was seen a certain force advancing under the leadership of Robert W. Wilikoki, a former member of the Legislature, and for the past several years a student at the military school of Italy, and this force set out from the home of the Heir Apparent in Kapālama, where several revolutionary secret meetings had been conducted during the past months. Indeed I had reported to your office on these activities from

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<sup>3</sup> There are several groups of allusions in this passage. Wilcox is first linked to the ahikinana, a famous fighting fish. There follow reference associating Wilcox with two epic battles in Hawaiian history. Kamehameha I defeated the forces of Maui at Iao Valley in a battle known as the Kapaniwai, the damming of the waters, so called because the many slaughtered dead blocked the streams of the valley. Five years later Kamehameha defeated O'ahu's warriors at the Nu'uuanu Pali, the Ho'oukakaua o Nu'uuanu, waging of the battle of Nu'uuanu. In contrast to these warlike allusions, Nakanaela then compares Wilcox's character to the beauty of Hawaiian natural elements: to the ama'u and palai ferns, and then to the Hawaiian kalo (taro), a symbol of the continuity of life

<sup>4</sup> The original English text of this document (see Appendix) is in the Archives of Hawai'i, Army and Navy file. The Nakanaela text of the original letter varies significantly.

time to time.

The organization of the proceedings was according to military procedure, since the majority of those who engaged in this action were in the militia, and they came down divided into three companies outfitted appropriately with guns; in addition to the officers and their subordinates, the total number reported by various people who saw them being 125 men. The force marched along the Alanui Mō‘ī [King Street] to Palace Square, up the Alanui Rikeke [Richards Street] until they reached Palace Walk, and from there they came to the mauka gate of the Palace grounds and they entered the grounds of the Palace. The gate sentry left the gate, the King's own guard, and ran inside the Palace without offering any opposition to Wilikoki, this being between the hours of 3 and 4 in the morning.

While the Kamehameha Sharpshooters were marching along, very shortly this force who loved the land passed by the Police Station, and here picked up several policemen guarding their station, and took them prisoner.

The force moved along through the town mindful of the rules of the profession, that is to say, along the outskirts, being very careful of frightening people. Certain qualified persons were positioned in advance of the main body, and were designated the advance guard group, and similarly so, the rear guard. Seven policemen were taken without being harmed or frightened; and inside at the Palace grounds these police officers were released by order of the commander of the Kamehameha force Robert William Wilcox, and this is what he said with great nobility:

‘My dear countrymen, born of the same loins, the guardians of peace of the ‘āina, we have arrived at the final destination of our march, and at my order, you were taken into the ranks, so that you would not immediately alert the office of the sheriff of the Kingdom. I know that according to my plan my uppermost responsibility is to arrest people without harming in the least those taken. You, my friends, are the first members of the country's armed forces to be involved in this rebellion. So, it has not been without reason that I have not released you. My march is an attempt to bring enlightenment. So it is now, my friends of the ‘āina ‘ōiwi, the native land, that I am releasing you to return to your guard stations, and carry on with your work, one by one.’<sup>5</sup>

Of these activities the public and the authorities knew absolutely nothing until in broad

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<sup>5</sup> This speech does not appear in Ashford's original letter.

daylight it was established that there were men supplied with arms outside the Palace, and also at the Hale Aupuni [Government Building]. I myself heard about it for the very first time while I was sleeping in my bed at the Hawai'i Hotel, as a result of having been called by telephone from the home of the Postmaster General on the Alanui Rikeke [Richards Street] facing the Palace grounds.

Major Hebbard of the Honolulu Rifle Association arrived just before I did, and to my questions about everything relating to our force and their appearance, he answered me in this way: He had first heard of this activity only short minutes earlier, but he had talked to the leaders of the companies and the soldiers were assembling at that time, however, they were totally lacking in ammunition for the guns, that is to say, rounds of bullets, this shortcoming had earlier been reported to the head of the War Office, and the blame for this will not be placed on Major Hebbard. Hacks were at once sent to every part of the city in search of round of ammunition, and enough ammunition was found to supply the companies or the battalions, and they appeared one by one from the Hale Paikau [Armory] and took up their positions, but the government soldiers had much difficulty since the rounds of bullets to be fired were not suitable, being not in the least the right size to fill the rifles of the soldiers

The misfortune would have been much greater if ammunition had not been rushed out from the warship *Adamu* [Adams] in the afternoon, and the number of rounds of ammunition that was rushed out was ten thousand rounds. Immediately after this messenger had appeared before me as explained above, and because I could not speak with the commander in charge of the 2nd Battalion on account of the telephone wires having been cut, I went in person to the Postmaster General's place, and after finding him, we went together to inspect the enemy's position. When we arrived there, we saw a detachment of these rebels being marched from the Palace grounds to the Hale Aupuni [Government House], to fill in as soldiers at their numerous guard positions wherever there was a vacancy in the ranks. In appraising the situation of the rebels, it was evident that they were going about their work in an organized way and that they were skilled in handling guns, and for this reason the thought arose in me that a large unit of soldiers had to have joined the 2nd Battalion and this idea of mine was confirmed to a large extent later when I joined Captain Wond, the commander of the Battalion at that time, in place of Major Nowlein, who had sailed for foreign lands; it was he who explained these matters to me while I was at the Police Station where we went just after our survey of the enemy's position. The main reason we went there was that we had heard that the Ministers were meeting there.

We could not completely appraise the position of the enemy at the Palace grounds because of the heavy growth of trees, but it was evident that there were numerous men going about from one side to another. The cannons had been set up in their positions, ready to be fired from the three sides of the Palace, as it could be seen.

The natives were standing ready at the sides of the various cannons on alert for the voice of command being given to fire. There was also seen a man dressed in a soldier's uniform going from gun to gun, giving orders and checking carefully if things worked right when the time came for the fuse to ignite the fire for the powder.

Probably the rebels at first did not think they were going to be attacked, and evidently they had no thought of doing so themselves. If you understand this, reader, you will think it is all a bad dream, because when you understand what went on at the Palace, you will know the destruction that followed.

Because they did not think they were going to be attacked, they had not divided into defensive positions and the cannons were placed off by themselves with the unprotected natives resting by the cannons. After this time, reports were again received that their numbers had increased to three hundred.

These matters were confirmed completely by Wilcox at the Loomens trial, but nevertheless when the people saw the preparations going on outside, most of them ran away, and when the fighting took place only about half their number were left inside the Palace grounds.

As stated above, as soon as sufficient numbers of the Rifle Association could be assembled, they were posted at once in positions so as to enable a defense against damage, and to guard closely blocking the people outside from going into the Palace grounds.

This indeed seemed uppermost among the troubles arising from these people, from the beginning of the battle until the end. And indeed looking at the faces of the natives it was very clear from their expressions that they had in mind to support the activities of the rebels.

A great number of those who had been on the Palace grounds that morning had run through the town, anticipating that they could rise up anew from the outside. Some of them were arrested and locked up at the Police Station that day, and because of this ever-present consideration members of the Honolulu Rifles Association were assembled and posted at guard everywhere in

town to defend against opponents in the Palace grounds and from outside.

Because of the great incompetence obvious on the side of the Government, it was evident that a great effort had to be made by various people to place the soldiers of the Rifle Association in a position so as to achieve a victory in this action. The Cabinet had spoken with the consuls of foreign countries, and a message had been sent for the rebels to come and meet at the request of the foreign consuls, and it was after ten o'clock when I first received an order to take action against the rebels.

The plan of attack against the rebels decided upon earlier, after surveying the position of the enemy, was to shut them up inside the Palace grounds and for the riflemen to keep a close watch on those manning the cannons, and to attempt to seize the soldiers guarding Hale Aupuni [Government Building], and to take control of this Hale as a protected area for new soldiers on our side.

Plans were underway to ward off the people willing to come to oppose from all sides and to reduce the number of the enemy by continuously firing at them so as not to cause a misfortune to the natives on our side. But the result of these plans became obvious. It would have been possible to seize the supporters of the enemy very quickly by advancing and firing on them, but if that had been done, much harm would have come to the enemy, and also to the men on our side.

There has been much loose talk as to the side that fired first, but only moments after the firing of the guns, the rapid gunfire from our side was answered by the rifles and the brass cannons set up on the makai and 'Ewa sides of the Palace.

From the beginning of the battle, it was obvious as to the calmness and determination of the men on our side. Soon those in command of the cannons were blown away into little pieces, and there were some deaths and injuries of some of their natives.

From that time on, they could not dare to regain their positions at the cannons, and the only weapons they had to fire then were small guns, from amongst the greenery and from the building outside the Palace, that is to say, the Home 'Aimoku [also called the Bungalow].

From the time the two sides began firing, those stationed as guards in the Hale Aupuni [Government House] were active in firing their guns, but they were decimated by the riflemen stationed inside the New Music Hall and those from Hopper's house and also the Kawaiaha'o

tower.

They ran inside the Hale Aupuni, leaving behind one man dead, and another died later from the injuries received from six bullets shot into his body. Soon after this, Captain McCarthy occupied without opposition Kapuaiwa Hale, and immediately thereafter took over the Hale Aupuni by order, but although it had been believed before entering the Hale Aupuni that there were guards inside, when the riflemen entered, it was apparent that there was no one inside.

Of those who fled, some hid their arms and ran off to hide in town, and some of them are still at large, but some were later captured.

When the Hale Aupuni had fallen into our own control, all the high places of the Hale Aupuni were secured by the soldiers for concentrating their fire on the Home 'Aimoku [the Bungalow], inside of which it was thought Wilcox and his men had taken shelter. Therefore, an action was planned to set Home 'Aimoku on fire if throwing the dynamite bomb did not work. Careful thought was given to carrying out this idea, and the closest place to throw from was Palace Walk and throwing was the only way this undertaking could be considered to be carried out.

Messrs. Hay Wodehouse, a son of the British Commissioner, and Arthur Turton, a son of Hale o Lahina dared to carry out this action, that is to say, to pitch a dynamite bomb onto Hale 'Aimoku. The first pitch did not succeed, and with several later pitches, these bombs really exploded,

As a result of the explosion of these bombs on Hale 'Aimoku half of the house above and below was shattered into little pieces and the damage to most of the house from the particles inside the bombs was very heavy. During these actions on our side, gunfire sounded from the upper windows of Home 'Aimoku. At this time Turton said he heard voices calling from inside the enclosure saying that they were going to give up. At the time the call was heard, I went with Major Hebbard to Palace Walk.

When we arrived at the street it was dark and natives were seen inside the royal grounds jumping out to Likelike Street and some people were emerging from the gates to the grounds running wildly here and there, and jumping over the hedges at the sides of the Palace grounds. The men on our side ran to stand on Likelike street at the gates of the Palace grounds.

I sent Major Hebbard at that time to bring the soldiers gathered at the Hawai'i Hotel. He met them running along under the leadership of Lieutenant Robertson, and they entered the Palace

grounds through the mauka gate to stop those running out the gate. The firing had completely ceased at that time. Just after I had run from the carriage house of the hotel to the Alanui Likelike the soldiers entered the Palace grounds.

It was by this time totally dark. Some men were seen running to the cannons, but they proved to be our men from the new Music Hall and the Hale Aupuni.

When we entered further inside, we met numerous men from our side crowded around the site of the cannons 'Ewa of the Hale Ali'i [Palace]. One of them called out in a loud voice that he wished to see the commander in charge of the force; the one calling out was Wilikoki and he wanted to surrender to me. This was the very first time to my knowledge that I ever had seen him. I saw that he wore a military uniform with a sash and sword, a revolver and cartridge belt. He gave me his weapons and put himself under my authority according to the rules of those taken captive and he carried out the regulations in good order. He told me that some of his men had been wounded and should have medical attention right away; perhaps such would save the lives of some of them, and he asked again that they be placed under the care of a doctor. He reported on everything concerning his soldiers, the guns and ammunition, and what he said proved true when I later on received these things.

At the time Wilikoki was taken prisoner, the military division of the Honolulu Rifle company had been discharged totally inside the Palace grounds along with numerous others. I put Wilikoki under the authority of Major Hebbard who took him to the Halewai [Police Station] accompanied by the military divisions, and while Wilikoki was led off to the Halewai, native Hawaiians of all kinds came filling the streets and up above people from their house were looking down to see.

The soldiers of Wilikoki were hunted down, and some of them were taken while they were running off, and some were found hiding in the Palace grounds, and others ran on off. Twenty five men were found, some holding their guns, others having thrown their arms away, and eight of them had been shot by a bullet, with very deep wounds, and others could not walk without help. All the weapons found were taken inside the Palace grounds, and the guns, the cannons and all the ammunition located there, that is to say, the bombs, steel bullets, all defensive ammunition, and so on, and the Honolulu Rifle force was ordered to take all the guns to the Hale Aupuni [Government House] where these guns were stored and guarded by soldiers day and night.

Because of the unprepared state of the militia that day of July 30 the Government was nearly

overthrown. If the rebels had been careful about their activities, the very least thing these people should have known to do to carry out their action was to secure the armory of the Rifle association. Their not going earlier in the day to arrest the commanders of the Rifle association, their real failure later to take control, their setting forth without being properly supplied, half of them not properly experienced in military matters, and not knowing that they could gain a victory, were fatal mistakes. If careful attention had been paid to all their endeavors, if they had kept strong, then attempts to oppose them with small trifling supplies would have been to no avail, and a very bad result from these errors would have been seen later.

Early in the day the marines from the U. S. ship of war *Adamu* [Adams] came ashore, and marched sharply with the American flag waving to the seat of the American Minister Resident, where they remained all day and all night.

As a result of their landing it was hoped that this would suppress the people from rising up to revolt. Just before dark about a hundred armed men again were landed, and quartered at the old armory on the Alanui Mō‘ī wahine [Queen Street], and this was their principal place all night until daylight. These men were prepared to protect against the populace rising up in revolt or perhaps destroying property by fire, and in addition to them, a large force of the Honolulu Rifle Association along with police were called up again to go about the town, and also the Honolulu Fire fighters joined them at their water stations one at a time ready with their water carriage to rush out if a fire was seen. In the late morning of the 31st day of July the soldiers of the battleship *Adams* went back. On the morning of the 30th of July one of the soldiers of the Honolulu Rifle Association, Schumann, was captured at the corner of the Alanui Likelike and Mō‘ī [King] and his gun was taken from him and he was led inside the Palace grounds, but after he had spoken with Wilikoki, he was released and he spent the rest of the day on guard with his company. There was an attempt by the kākāka to seize Greig, one of the soldiers of the company, but he was strong enough to defend himself, and during the struggle the point of his gun was twisted. However the kākāka who had in mind to seize him were dispersed. Enforcements were quickly increased, and guards posted everywhere, and a great number of kākāka were blocked from their efforts to go to prohibited places, and they wanted to enter the Palace grounds from east and west running along the Alanui Mō‘ī [King Street], but a little later guns sounded and the people scattered into little groups here and there.

Before closing this report, I consider it appropriate to take care to guard against, if possible, revolts like this arising later on.

The single most important cause of this uprising was the policy of the Government, and for this reason I cannot report on my opinion about this matter except as it relates to activities having to do with the subject of the military profession. But from an understanding of the rules of military policy, similarly perhaps from those matters evident on June 30, it would have been proper for the Government to have taken away the weapons that could have fallen under the control of the enemy, and indeed they were known to those people who had participated in the revolution of 1887, and because the government had no comprehension of these matters, so it was that the enemy was encouraged to come and take the weapons under their own power free to do as they pleased with these weapons.<sup>6</sup> These rebels of 1887 returned and they were just sleeping on their weapons in town, and in truth, as for these actions, they lacked understanding, and this encouraged the enemy to revolt and start a quarrel and take the weapons under their control until they would overcome the party in power.

The many errors on the part of the Government caused the revolt to arise.

A certain action of this kind was carried out during November and December 1887, when there arose a conspiracy to overthrow the King from his Throne by force of arms, and if not actually to kill the King, then to place His Royal Sister on the Throne. For a certain reason this conspiracy became known just before the time it was thought that it was to be carried out.

The majority of those engaged in this conspiracy were holding positions in government offices at this time, but the policies and administration of the military office at this time as with the previous administration was wrong, and a great effort was made in those days to reduce and calm the spreading of this action, similar to stifling a hog among ourselves and also to [prevent] publicity in foreign countries.

All those engaged in the conspiracy returned to their positions, and some of these were those heading the highest offices of the Government, and the truth of this report of mine that I set before you cannot be refuted.

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<sup>6</sup> Here, Ashford looks back to the Revolution of 1887 when a haole contingent led by Lorrin A. Thurston pushed through a new constitution sharply limiting the powers of the Hawaiian monarchy. Nakanaela has condensed the Ashford letter, which appears in its original form in the Appendix accompanying this translation.

As a result of the matters explained above, there truly resulted a weakening of the military force of the haoles and of those known to have been in the conspiracy; there was not one of them who did not escape the consequences of having been deeply involved in this action.

For months conspiratorial meetings were conducted in Kapālama before the 30th of July, guarded by soldiers, at the home of the Heir Apparent, and they continued to be so held until the night of the rebellion. At the time these meeting were held, they were reported to the Government, but there was no comprehension as the numbers easily grew in strength. The leaders of the conspirators knew this, but there can be no understanding of why their action did not succeed before the sun set on that day of the 30th.

Before I close this report I wish to express my gratitude to the Cabinet for the matters reported on above, and also to Your Excellency.

I am your obedient Servant, Your Excellency

Volney V. Ashford

Colonel.

## Chapter XII

On Tuesday July 1, the Legislature convened again as usual, and the most important piece of business that day was the report of the Committee on Military Affairs having to do with drilling one of the units of the Honolulu Rifle Association in another place;<sup>1</sup> the position taken on this matter was that this was not up to the Government, and that this change was subject to the approval of the Cabinet and the officers of the company.

When Wilcox heard this report, he rose to deliver a very forceful speech before the House, asking the members to vote unanimously to table this report. Here is his speech:

‘Mr. President, I rise to give you my thoughts on this matter. I have heard the report of the Committee, approval is not in order, and I ask that it be retired from the docket, or if not that, returned to the committee for revision.

The reason is that the committee has not done its work completely and correctly. When the forces go to another place to drill, they take along the military equipment of the Government. This action will incite another rebellion, and will cause encouragement among certain people to stir up their forces in a revolt.

Then, when it is so desired, a riot can be staged by these people that will raze the town to dust, and will drive the King from his Throne, and set in his place an offspring of the planters on the Royal Throne of Hawai’i -- the truth is that the leaders of these people think they can accomplish this. (Applause and foot-stamping.)

True, it is widely known that there are no operational procedures for the military forces of this Kingdom; look at the Honolulu Rifle Association: it is broken into companies, one taken independently to another place, the other companies left in the agreed quarters.

As for Company B, this company has been taken above the McInerny store, where they have been quartered under the direction of a wealthy man of this town, Charles R. Bishop. The remaining forces, Companies A and C, are not at their usual place, supporting the side of the public; as for the company supported by the missionaries, I have heard that the Bishops at the bank are paying the expenses of Company B, those who have in mind stirring up a riot again to establish

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<sup>1</sup> The issue in this affair had to do with allowing the Honolulu Rifle Association to operate outside their assigned quarters at the Armory. ed.

a missionary king on the throne, and to drive the King from his Throne. (Foot-stamping.)

It is true that those within this company have spoken of overthrowing the King from his Throne, and that this company is being supported with money collected by people within the Government. The control of these forces has been placed in the hands of incompetent people, ignorant of the practices of the military profession (foot-stamping) and high-sounding titles of military rank have been assigned to these people, such as colonel, major, and so on.

It is an embarrassment and a great humiliation to the Hawaiian government that these high-sounding titles of military rank have been assigned to these incompetent people who are totally ignorant of military matters. (Foot-stamping.)

This great blunder is a matter to be noted by the warships anchored in our harbors. If these people want to set up a protectorate, and increase their armed forces everywhere in the town, then these people will be encouraged to stir up the company for their own good, for myself, I have volunteered to raise up a force of some two hundred if this is the kind of leadership needed to go forward. (Applause.)

These people who have been assigned high-sounding titles of military rank are uneducated in military affairs and have no credentials as to their training or their preparation. I was sent to be educated in military schools for the past ten years and I only achieved the rank of Lutanela [Lieutenant] — as for these people who have been assigned high-ranking military titles, where were they educated in military affairs? (Applause and foot-stamping by the members.)

Therefore, Mr. President, Nobles and Representatives, let us all consider this report and let us decide unanimously that we should table this report for the reasons that it is not proper, as has been shown.’

In the debate, that which Wilcox wanted so much came to pass, that is to say, the Legislature decided to table the report.

“Imposing is the leadership of Wilcox,  
In military affairs.  
He has swayed the hearts  
Of the Ministers and the elected Representatives.

The walls reverberate  
Of the Hale Kaukanawai o Kalani,  
In voices of aloha for the lāhui and for the beloved ‘āina,  
His Excellency, R. W. Wilikoki.”

**Credentials from the Teachers and from the Courses of Study  
of Hon. R. W. Wilcox Educated in the Military School in Italy**

On pages 74 and 75<sup>2</sup> of this book can be seen the credentials and the courses of study in Wilcox's Italian military school, and the courses taken, translated into the Hawaiian language. After careful consideration, it is believed that one should set down in the English language these credentials and courses of Wilcox's for the benefit of the young people of Hawai'i enrolled in English language schools around the Islands . This appears below:<sup>3</sup>

‘The undersigned certifies that Signor Robert William Wilcox, a native of the Sandwich Islands, who entered this Military Academy on the 25th of May, 1881, by authorization of the Minister of War, in dispatch number 3850 of April 26, 1881, graduated September 1st, 1885, to enter the School of Application for Artillery and Engineer Officers. While he was in the Academy he studied the following, receiving in the examination the following percentage of merit (Maximum 20) :

Examination, Preparatory Course, 1882. Italian Language, 10; Algebra, Geometry and Plane Trigonometry, 18; History and Geography, 15; Physics, 11; Military Instructions, 14; Conduct, 20.

Examination, First Year's Course, June 1883: Spherical Trigonometry, Analytical Trigonometry and High School Algebra, 14.33; Topography, 14.33; French Language, 10; Italian Language, 10; Military Administration, Legislation and Regulations, 15; Topographical Drawing, 18; Military Instructions, 15; Conduct, 20.

Examination, Second Year's Course, June 1884: Differential and Integral Calculus, 11.33; Geometry, descriptive (1st part), 10.67; Military Art (1st part) 13.33; Military History, (1st part), 17; Chemistry, 12; Field Drawing, 14; Military Instructions, 16; Conduct, 19.

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<sup>2</sup> 88, 89, and 90 in original

<sup>3</sup> The following passage repeating the credentials appears in English in the original text.

Examination, Third Year's Course, June and August 1885: Rational Mechanics, 10.33; Geometry (descriptive), 10; Field Fortifications,

12; Military Art, 11. Military Geography, 12.67; Metallurgy, 10; Architecture, 12.67; Military Instructions, 17; Conduct, 19.

(Signed)

E. Olivero

Major-General Commanding

("Military Instructions" consist of Drilling, Fencing, Gymnastics, Equitation, Small Arms and Cannon.)

### **SCHOOL OF APPLICATION FOR ARTILLERY AND ENGINEER OFFICERS**

By an authorization from the Minister of War in dispatch 2850, general direction of Artillery, personnel division, Section 1st, of September 3, 1887, the undersigned certifies that the sub-lieutenant of Artillery, Signor Robert Wilcox, who attended the first year's course of this School in the scholastic years 1885-6 and 1886-7 passed the examination to enter the second year's course, with a percentage in the different studies indicated below, of 11.61-20 (maximum 20), and standing forty-sixth in the artillery class of seventy-three pupils.

Applied Mechanics, 10; Permanent Fortifications, 11; Material of Artillery (1st part) 10; Small Arms, 12; Geodesy, 10.33; Practical Military Instructions and Regulations, 12.70; Conduct 19.

Signed

L. Pelloux,

Major-General Commanding

Turin, August 5th, 1887.

Studies of the Last Course: 1. Machinery; 2. Employment of Artillery in War; 3. Various Scientific Application; 4. Ballistic; 5. Gunpowder; 3. Practical Military Instructions.

**The Wilcox Family**

Because certain important matters have been neglected concerning the family described in the earlier pages of this book, the author believes that he should make completely clear these matters for the understanding of the readers:

Wilcox's father was born at Newport, Rhode Ailana, Amerika Huipu'ia [Rhode Island, United States of America], He first came to Hawai'i in the year 1850, as the captain<sup>4</sup> of a commercial vessel, and while he was in Hawai'i, he took a fancy to living on these shores.

In the year 1851 he met L. L. Torbert, Esq., (Hulipahu), who has since died, at Honua'ula and joined with him in the business of raising livestock. He was the master of a little schooner famous in those days under the name "Hukonahua." In 1853 he joined in the holy covenant of marriage with the firstborn daughter of Kalanihiapo (male) and Houpo (female), Kalua, and they had several children:

Hon. R. W. Wilcox was the firstborn, he whose history is here given, there followed Carrie, Richard, Edward, Charles, and Nancy Wilcox. Four of these married and had children, and between them had many grandchildren who survive; as for R. W. Wilcox's child, she was called to live among the angels of the Lord who said: "Suffer the little children to come to me, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven."

Charles Wilcox served for a long time as a schoolteacher, and when the members of our Legislature assembled, he was chosen as Secretary of the House, and in discharging the transactions of this office, he received the gratitude of the public for his accuracy and skill in carefully setting down the proceedings of this high institution of the Government.

There is widespread recognition of the contributions of this young Hawaiian youth, and it is true that it is fitting that he should take up and carry on governmental work rather than give these positions to men who do not understand and have no knowledge of foreign affairs. We recognize this Hawaiian for his merit in carrying on the work of our 'Āina Makuahine, our Motherland. The Lāhui Hawai'i, the Hawaiian people, have joined us to link hands in appreciation for this young Hawaiian.

The ordinary person is not very well acquainted with memories from the time of the first

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<sup>4</sup> see Translator's Introduction, p. i

assembling of the two houses of the Legislature under the constitution of Lua‘ehu<sup>5</sup> up to the time of the Reform Government. Not much is known of the histories of these legislative sessions. When a native Hawaiian came to serve as Secretary, only at the legislative session of 1890, the session when Charles Wilcox served as Secretary, for the very first time the people began to reform the disgusting conduct of earlier government officials. These are days which the Lāhui Hawai‘i should cherish and never forget.

### **Conclusion**

At this time, we come to the end of this remarkable saga, and the most important thing I have to relay to the beloved Lāhui is to ask that the memory of the deeds of the one whose history this is burn brightly in our hearts, and to carry on ourselves the principles for which he stood so firmly, guided and led by this above all: a yearning for the independence of the ‘āina, aloha for the Mō‘ī, and aloha for the Lāhui. That which stands above all is this, from the great Book: ‘Remember the things that I have done in the days of my youth.’

Long live the Mō‘ī, long live the Lāhui Hawai‘i under God,

Your obedient servant,

Thos. K. Nakanaela

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<sup>5</sup> Lua'ehu is a subsection of Lahaina, Maui, noted as the site of the convening of the first representative Legislature of Hawai‘i. The Constitution of 1840 provided that elected officials would augment the Council of Chiefs.

## The Chants<sup>1</sup>

### Deep Affection for R. W. Wilikoki Composed by D. M. Keahi o Kuili

This is a name chant for Wilikoki  
Feroocious lion of the Pacific  
It was he who braced the steering paddle  
True helmsman of the Government  
One for the Crown  
Which is held fast in the hands of the enemy  
The voices of the evil-hearted shout out  
Snatched up and confined  
The bitterness of the mouth rests quietly  
The evil spirits of the press  
Your voice was severed by the Serpent  
By the scorpion of the Government  
How much gossip there was  
Like iron prying into the heart  
Don't you speak lest the wind  
Cause the tail feathers to rise up  
It is for you to ponder  
For there is life in the blowing of the wind  
One great rebel you heard  
At the great meeting of Manamana  
It was he who first incited the insurrection  
With the report of rifles  
It was he who stirred the mind  
With aloha for the homeland  
The stakes of the Hawaiians are raised.  
Shooting here, shooting there, we shoot  
Two ultimate warriors are known to me  
In the face of a spray of bullets  
Kamehameha the Great of Mililani  
And Wilikoki of 'Iolani Palace.  
Listen to me, Kahalewai  
The Major who stands in distress  
You are blinded by the harsh glare  
Of the sticky glue which flows forth  
You are deceived by flattering words  
Of the flocks of birds from abroad  
Until your time to be sacrificed arrives  
Because of the energetic one of Italy

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<sup>1</sup>Note: The first seven chants were translated by Carol Silva, the remainder by Nancy Morris. The assistance and editorial work of Niklaus Schweizer is gratefully acknowledged.

You are superior, John Hapa,  
As a great warrior and an intellectual  
Child of mine from Nu‘uanu  
The Uakea rain of the Ko‘olau is dimly visible  
One explosion, turn and retreat  
Left motionless, lying at ease  
You excel at deceit  
In the daylight does the wise warrior sleep  
At 4 o'clock in the afternoon  
My hopes of victory vanished  
A plumed staff I saw  
With a white flag waving  
The one without aloha has taken control into his own hands  
Living in the room of Painful Thoughts.  
The birds with fair skin run helter-skelter.  
Here are the warriors, steadfast.  
Call out your name  
Ferocious lion of the Pacific.

**A Song of Deep Affection**  
**By Mrs. J. Hapa**

Listen to me, Mikiwai Flower  
Caught in a trap at Kuapapanui  
At the Government's place of detention  
There we met and saw everywhere  
Handshakes and aloha given  
Asking and being asked  
What should we do  
Ake Mahaulu responded  
He is a great person in my estimation  
Then I saw  
While I was weak in body  
The one in my thoughts  
Who excites the heart  
Wilikoki remains in good spirits  
Above me in all things  
Easing your distress  
Do not be anxious staying  
In this inhospitable house  
Only one friend resides here  
The desire of the heart  
To whom all the aspects of death are as nothing  
Forward-moving is Wilikoki's company  
Beautiful and majestic to the islands  
To the famous land of Keawe

All of the islands have heard  
Of us, the famed warriors  
Who turn to the native rights of the lahui, the nation  
There is nothing to fret over  
The cherished life of the spirit  
Three weeks of dwelling  
In the tiny rooms of Kuapapanui  
We had one great task  
That was to beseech the all-powerful Lord  
The all-mighty Father to be praised  
in the highest levels of heaven  
The refrain is told, so that it is heard  
Of Wilikoki, the spirited one of Hawai‘i.

Listen to me, Olive Blossom  
Downward draped at Kapalama  
A place much desired for dwelling  
I wish to witness  
The words of the great warrior  
The great warrior of the State  
Wilikoki it is -- the spirited one  
Words composed with aloha  
As those which were spoken  
O Hawai‘i Nui, island of Keawe  
The refrain is told so that it is heard  
Wilikoki -- the half Italian.

Listen to me, Marigold Flower  
My stately lei of the chilly night  
This cold is nothing to us  
There is pelting of a light rain  
In the midnight hours  
The crow of a cock sounds out  
We think of the morning  
Preparing our work  
As soon as it is time  
Wilikoki will call  
We must be silent, friends,  
There at the burial grounds at ‘Iolani Palace  
The beautiful and sacred home  
And a heavenly and sacred kapu it is  
Belonging to you, Royal Heavenly One.  
Awake Hawai‘i and Kaua‘i  
The refrain is told so that it is heard  
Of the spirited ‘Ukiu wind  
You are Wilikoki -- answer me.

**A Song of Deep Affection for R. W. Wilikoki**  
**Composed by Miss Lilian Holmes**

Famous and well-known to us is Wilikoki  
You are supported by the multitudes  
Who seek justice for the King  
And just rights for the lahui, the nation  
I saw the diamond knife  
Gleaming as it was touched by light  
When Wilikoki arrived at the royal grounds  
The words were repeated, Who is outside?  
It is I, Wilikoki  
A heart open to the lahui, the nation  
The messenger meets  
With the brave chief of this time  
The news will be told  
Here is Wilikoki outside  
It is a heart of aloha  
In the land of my *kupuna*, my forefathers  
Majestic Wilikoki sits above  
It is you who consents to the restrictions of Parker  
Standing firm in great righteousness  
A few lesser rights were refused  
You two arrived to secure  
Your two hearts against wickedness  
Evil are the deeds of the Whites  
Blood flows from the dark-skinned  
Who will win against  
The spirited one of Italy  
There is no fear that  
The numerous explosions of the bullets  
Before and behind will make us waver  
With the sound of the cannon  
Wilikoki does not worry  
About the provoking of the white-skinned ones  
He is like an angel to my eyes  
Standing majestically in the Palace Grounds  
Wilikoki glorious and dignified, standing  
In the glistening Italian uniform  
You glance quickly to the side  
Your regalia resembles yellow birds  
You are superior in my estimation  
Constantly dodging the bullets  
Reforming the famous government  
The terror settles in  
By whom will be taken  
The spirited one of the Pacific

Lord Nelson belonged to the British as  
Wilikoki belongs to Hawai'i Nei  
News is spread in Italy  
Here is Wilikoki, a captive  
Caught by the hands of the government  
With the companions in hardship  
Wilikoki enters Halewai, the jail  
And looks upon the stone walls  
I glance quickly at the companions  
With the movement the wooden pail  
Is overturned and an iron knife is seen  
The turnkey is loose-fitting  
The refrain is told  
of the spirited one of Italy.

**A Song of Honor for R. W. Wilikoki  
composed by J. M. K. Kuwili Ka'a-ahi**

**Part I**

Wilikoki is unsurpassed  
A charismatic heart throbbing  
The Patriot of the Fearless  
And a heart with aloha for the lahui, the nation  
Striving steadfastly to the very essence of his being  
Believing implicitly in the King  
You are mistreated throughout your entire body  
Together with your comrades who seek justice  
O Kamehameha the Conqueror  
Look to your descendants  
Those of yours who continue to rehabilitate the land  
The seedling flowers of Hawai'i  
Hawai'i shall live forever  
Through the remarkable courage of Wilikoki  
You are able to lie down at night  
But it is not so with Wilikoki  
When news arrives  
And is heard in town  
Wilikoki is at 'Iolani  
It is he who proudly patrols the grounds  
Bullets of the evil-hearted are dodged  
Raining down, fortress-like  
But it is nothing to the bright one  
A plan is executed by the intelligent one  
There is a station fore and aft  
To guard on foot that which was gained

Deftly obtained with the stroke of a knife  
As though it were a sweetheart turned aside  
Brilliant is your body with a fire inside  
You are an awesome eagle in the skies  
Soaring high in glory  
Your Italian clothes are becoming to you  
Enhancing the beauty of your body  
Your superiors and subordinates know this  
And you are a famous and brave leader  
Watch the tight-fisted ones ripple the water  
Bile rises in the fair-skinned ones  
How many incomprehensible things  
Heartsick and heart-rending  
Not caring for the wounded  
Who can believe  
That the supplies carried by the mule wagon  
Were treated as though they were rubbish  
The fair-skinned ones were disturbed  
All came out into the street  
At ten o'clock, it was finished and so they returned  
To their homes to slumber peacefully  
Supposing perhaps that it was over  
Concealed in *mamane* leaves  
The refrain is told Tuesday gone awry  
The 30th of July.

## Part II

Brilliantly shines Wilikoki  
The most fearless one of Hawai'i  
The news spread, it was heard throughout the proud islands  
And over the sea was heard in America  
The news spread and was heard in Europe  
There is Hawai'i in the midst of turmoil  
A civil war rages in Honolulu  
The fair-skinned and dark-skinned  
The *ailua* of Wahie are inciting trouble  
The rifles sound doubly loud  
Shooting here, shooting there, shooting in unison  
Eighty dark-skinned ones remain  
It is a cemetery of the fair-skinned  
Eleven or twelve fair-skinned ones  
Concealing rubbish, the view disappears  
It is a smell that is hidden and then reveals itself overpoweringly  
By the animated Robert Boyd  
The fire-kindler stirs the wind  
Whirling in its descent

What is going on at the Music Hall!  
Pushed aside and trampled  
Are the crowds in the city  
Bundles of belongings going in the street  
Resembling flocks of little birds  
The flight into the street  
Carrying many many things  
The only thought in one's mind: how crowded it is  
The hoe bird cries as it ascends the cliff  
Fiery hot it is in June  
The primary reason for this enterprise  
Has to do with he who was invited in  
Awake and arise, Italy  
Pacific star of the ocean  
It is he who seeks knowledge intently  
The man-eater sharks swim past  
The eagle from America  
The ferocious lion of England  
The white anchor-like fleur-de-lis of France  
The great lords of the sea  
Linger around the entrance to Mamala  
There is an inner yearning that this will be accomplished  
Equal rights for the lahui, the nation  
My prayer that is constantly uttered  
I yearn to bring it about  
So that Hawai'i will live forever  
And that bright light will always be present  
This is a name chant for Wilikoki  
For the white breasted dove  
Eight heavens of Hawai'i  
Woven rose lei of the lahui, the nation  
Made one in majesty  
Caught in the hands of the enemy  
Living in the castle of Huelowili  
With iron are barred the gates lacking in aloha.

**A Song for Wilikoki**  
**Composed by Mrs. Annie K. Kaanoioikal**

Renowned is Wilikoki  
The fearless warrior of the entire world  
He is like the *'olena* plant to behold  
Standing tall at the Palace  
There is no bullet to halt him  
No information given out  
The son of Hawai'i in the face of turmoil

In the mouth of the gun roaring  
Waipa remains a comrade in battle  
Evil-hearted and without aloha  
You are for Hawai‘i, and I also am Hawaiian  
A single ancestor, Kakuihewa  
You fail to recognize us  
I am your blood-relative  
I speak out for justice to Kahalewai  
To the lieutenant who ranks first  
The first time I heard and witnessed  
The civil war in Hawai‘i  
The news was spread and heard in England  
My wife is an Italian  
What about this, Lord of the Government  
Your people in Halewai, the jail  
Released magnanimously  
Go free, Wilikoki, unshackled  
The refrain is told  
Wilikoki has aloha for the lahui, the nation  
On the 30th of July  
There was a terrible war at Honolulu  
The civil war of Wilikoki  
A man of strength who is fearless  
In the face of guns firing  
Logging the firing reports  
Dodging forward, to the side, backward  
Wilikoki had no injuries  
He is made of strong bones  
The intelligent son of Italy  
Wait, you of the lahui, the nation  
The great government of Kelekiela  
Wake, Uli, for here am I  
It is I, your seedling  
O Uli, look at me  
Uli, wrong — Uli right  
Listen to the voice calling out for help  
Go free, Wilikoki, unshackled  
The refrain is told and made known  
of the aloha for the lahui, the nation of Wilikoki.

**An Appeal to the Heavenly Ones  
Composed by L. K. Kahelemauna**

A interceding voice to the Heavenly Powers  
To the highest Trinity  
Look with favor upon our calling out for help

Through your tremendous powers, render aid to us  
Long live Wilikoki in victory  
Together with your assistance, Hawai‘i  
Let the life of Hawai‘i be perpetuated in righteousness  
Let the Royal Standard wave proudly.  
Let the enemies dwindle into nothingness  
The fair-skinned evil-deeded ones  
Hiding with cunning  
Their covetousness for you, o Hawai‘i  
Arise, Hawai‘i of the many ridges  
The four corners of the ‘aina, the land,  
The deaf turn and go with humility  
The eyes face upward  
To the enabling powerful Trinity  
Our great victory  
In this our greatest constant desire  
May His Heavenly Power grant  
A glad day for you, o Hawai‘i  
May your Government live through the Heavenly One  
The warrior Wilikoki shall be victorious.

**An Adornment for Wilikoki**  
**Composed by Mrs. M. Magdelina**

Renowned is Wilikoki as he holds out  
At the capital of Honolulu  
Against the great abuse of the *kolea*  
That bird that sings in the evening  
Sitting on the protruding rocky point  
A poor flock, featherless  
Hawai‘i has no joy  
There is no sign of laughter, no small smile  
The coolness descends from the pali  
Hawai‘i is a looking glass for the white people  
Coveted by the *pakali*  
Seized by the hands of robbers  
Kahiki goes about as a beggar  
There is nothing in the storehouse  
Do not flatter with a deceiving voice.  
A nurturing new moon  
Cunning in the ways of the fox  
A quick-turning wheel in the presence of the chiefs  
Slippery as oil  
Overturning the island districts  
Seeking out means of profit  
The evils of usury appear

Settling deeply in prominent places  
It is not for me to rise up in arms  
On June 30th  
A law was imposed in an angry tone  
Refuse and your life was over  
The hours quickly turned from night to day  
No time remained for the heeding  
The heart of the chief was distressed  
For the evil deeds enacted  
By the flock of ravens of the government  
Lonely is the voice of the sacred gathering of chief  
No heart beats  
Tell the refrain, long live Wilikoki  
Wilikoki encircled by the islands.

**A Name Song for Wilikoki  
Composed by Waiohohia**

In the internal rebellion  
The white-skins were as nothing  
For your learned wisdom  
You are famous, o Wilikoki

Chorus: Answer, Wilikoki  
    To your name song  
    None can compare  
    To the spirited one of Italy.

Pleasant was the way of life of the Dark-skinned  
Moving along unruffled  
There is one great one for the people  
O Wilikoki, Wilikoki.

Chorus: Answer, Wilikoki  
Exceedingly beautiful in my sight  
Is the hero of Hawai'i  
There is the one so cherished  
O Wilikoki, answer.

**Adornment for Candidate Wilikoki  
Composed by Mrs. M. Magdelina**

Leis of roses to adorn Wilikoki  
Answer to your name song permeated with fragrance  
Sweetly rising, borne by the wind  
The Hawaiian rose excels above all others

Sent for an education  
Appointed as a citizen of Italy  
Islands permeated with fragrance  
Warm is the heart of Kaunuohua  
Close to the heart of the multitudes  
You are a lei of aloha for the lahui, the nation  
Divided are the islands of Keawe  
From east to west  
Victorious north and south  
Stirring the heart of Hawai'i  
From grown men to small  
From senior to seniorita  
We have faith in you forever  
Nothing is left in the heart  
The fragrance of the rose lei answers  
Send out the message, answer to your name song Wilikoki.

Nothing matches the fragrance of the Hawaiian rose  
Child born of East Maui  
Prosperous, sweet Rose Ranch  
The hibiscus and the many pine trees of Ke'eke'ehia Hill  
Beloved son of multitudes  
Fragrance borne inland by the mist  
Of that famed huge mountain  
Haleakala standing in majesty  
The summit of the mountains reaching high into the sky  
A place visited by the learned ones  
The newcomers arrive with aloha  
Greeted lovingly by the old-timers  
Beloved by Hawaiian hearts  
Of the Hawai'i of Keawe and great O'ahu  
Exceeding for all time  
The limits beyond all reckoning  
Tell the refrain of the rose lei  
Wilikoki, answer to the name song from the heart

The cool, soft fragrance is softly wafted  
My flower stirred by the mist of Malama.  
Perhaps he who approaches has come from you  
The one I yearn to see  
Paramount in aloha, growing warmer  
The house was open for my lei  
My aloha reaches for the cool summit  
The lei above, awestruck, overcome with fearful reverence  
My life is sacrificed for Nalaiaehu  
For the sacred slab of Liloa  
And the Hawaiian nation under the sun

With the encircling islands  
To drink of the water is good enough for the dark-skinned ones  
On the 30th day of disturbed July  
Called the month of the fierce lion  
Fifty years ago  
The child born for posterity  
First saw the terrible day  
The day when the rifles claimed lives  
Send out the message that Poni had passed on  
Intelligent child snared by the bird catcher  
Constantly thinking of the sacred chiefs: this is the *kaona*, the hidden meaning  
The hands of the enemy are gathered hastily  
You are for the true children of Hawai'i, o Heavenly One  
Let Hawai'i live through the famous candidate  
Wilikoki, the spokesman of the lahui, the nation.

**An Adornment for Wilikoki**  
**Composed by Naniolaokalani**

Be still, my darling  
The clock has struck ten  
We two will return, dearest one  
To the room of Painful Thoughts.

Chorus: There's a light in the room  
    There's a sweet face waits for me  
    You are my love  
    Lei of the nation.

Lovely indeed is your reply  
Sweet words to me  
Tell me that  
You are mine forever.

I love so much  
The drenching rain drops  
Drenching you, drenching me  
Thoroughly drenched by the water of Naulu.

Cherishing the rain of the pali  
The dense dark inland forest  
A fragrance come from there  
The fragrance of pikake  
    Answer to your name song  
    Wilikoki, the aloha of the lahui, the nation.

**A Name Song for Wilikoki**  
**Composed by Mrs. C. B. Maile**

A prayer for the Savior  
For Wilikoki, so cherished here  
Beloved son of the lahui, the nation  
He is like the Morning Star  
Child of the early dawn  
Revealing fully its beauty  
A light penetrating farthest  
At the capital at Honolulu  
One heart beating in unity  
So that Hawai'i may live forever  
The Messiah with a voice full of pity  
Dressed properly as a native son  
Rightfully taking his place in the hearts and minds of generations  
Holding fast to the thoughts of the lahui, the people  
One in heart for the emergence of victory  
Wilikoki secures the ballot  
Foremost in nobility  
He is the source of the water of life  
Extending throughout the nation  
From the east to the west  
At the majestic and sacred home of Lili'ulani  
There the wise action took place  
Famed in enlightenment  
There at the Palace cemetery  
The evil deeds were made known  
The blood of seven soaked the earth  
Forgiven are the sins of the trespassers  
The tribes of Jacob appear  
The great ancestors of Israel  
    The refrain is told  
    For Wilikoki, cherished lei.  
Forever at the face of the pali  
Majestic stands Wilikoki  
Dodging between the forward and rear stations  
And all the rifles put together  
Are nothing compared to the bird-guns  
Majestic is Wilikoki in my eyes  
Finely dressed in front of 'Iolani Palace  
Attractive are the eyes of Wilikoki  
Glowing hotly before me  
I saw lightning  
Smoking rounds of powder  
The sounds of guns I heard  
Truly, voices without aloha

We could not go there  
Being obstructed by the enemy  
The telephone wire, it is heard,  
Is taken out by lightning  
Wilikoki is the lightning for Hawai'i  
A light shining in the night  
Something new is heard  
The ship *Adams* is on hand  
This has not escaped  
The sniffing nose of the Admiral  
From the cold circles of the south  
    The refrain is told  
    Of the Burning-Star of the Pacific.

An Expression of Affection for Wilikoki

Let the beauty return to the Palace  
Sacred home of the chiefs  
The sacred slab of Liloa  
Activities of the enemy are forbidden  
Peace is the way of life in the 'aina, the land  
The one greatest in Hawai'i  
He is foremost in the nation  
The government of the King is held firmly  
Neither Kane nor Kanaloa  
Here truly I am your offspring  
I am the seventh one of the heavens  
I am a descendent of Liawahine  
A seer of our times  
Who announces troubles  
He purified five times  
Long live David and may he live forever  
    The refrain is told  
    Wilikoki, the soldier who restores life to Hawai'i

**A Song for Wilikoki**  
**Composed by Mrs. Kauakipu'upu'u**

There in the beauty of Muolaulani  
In the lofty uplands of Kapalama  
There unfold the events never to be forgotten  
Famed in the age of enlightenment.

Wilikoki stands regally  
In the uniform of an Italian warrior

With the sword of steel glittering  
Speaking words so famous.

Where are you, the flowers  
The descendants of Kamehameha I  
The progeny of Pu'uwaikoa  
Who united the island chain.

Have aloha for the King  
Have aloha also for the 'aina, the land  
Forever may its beauty continue  
The life of the land in righteousness.

Here is my motto extended to all  
Heard from Hawai'i to Ni'ihau  
Kaulilua remains on the Throne  
Lili'uokalani is the heir.

Long live the two of you forever  
As the stillness kisses the mamane flower  
Here is cherished beauty  
Wilikoki, the soldier-of-life for Hawai'i.

**An Adornment for Wilikoki  
Composed by J. H. Helemauna**

The fame of Wilikoki is reaching us  
The news is sounded throughout the islands  
Publicized by the newspaper  
Famous voice of the lahui, the nation  
Telling the public  
There is a civil war at Honolulu  
It is heard from east to west  
Where the sun sets at Lehua  
Two streams flow together  
The Rifles and the *Adams*  
Foremost is Wilikoki at 'Iolani Palace.

**An Expression of Affection for Wilikoki  
Composed by W. H. Leikinihene**

Something new at Honolulu  
The rebellion of Wilikoki  
The message is sent out  
Heard through the islands

The sudden engagement of the dark-skinned  
 With the white-skinned from America  
 Foremost above all in my eyes  
 Is the spirited one of Italy  
 He has no fear within him  
 For the bullets raining down  
 In front and in back the earth shakes  
 At the thunder of the exploding guns  
 And the fire is hot  
 In the shedding of blood perpetrated by the white-skinned  
 Glorious indeed is Wilikoki standing  
 In the splendid Italian finery  
 You stand out with your braided trim  
 Yellow as the feathers of the 'o'o  
 Garbed finely in the glory of your *kupuna*, your ancestors  
 It is the feathered cape of Kamehameha  
 "Ua meha ua lai," the lonely stillness: this is *kaona*, the hidden meaning  
 When the revolt was ended  
 There remained Wilikoki  
 With his companions in distress  
 They were caught  
 And placed under the control of the government  
 This is a question and an inquiry  
 From the beginning to the end of Pape Poe  
 Send out the message  
 He is quick at the task  
 O setting up the cannon  
 Straightaway as soon as they entered  
 The new Music Hall vibrates  
 There is something new at the Palace grounds  
 Markham is shot  
 He is hit in the shoulder  
 Just above the heart  
 Who is it who cannot stand by you  
 We are overcome by the *muhe'e*, the deceitful cuttlefish  
 A fish well known to our ancestors  
 The fish swimming in two ways in the sea.

**A Heart of Love for Wilikoki**  
**Composed by Mrs. C. B. Maile**

Famed is Wilikoki in the east  
 His name is cherished in the west  
 I am the Star of the Pacific  
 I was sent by the lahui, the people  
 To enlightened governments

I have done everything possible all over the earth  
Helped by the Trinity  
I carry as a burden his glory  
This is my shield, my guidance,  
This is my defense, my source of knowledge  
My hand is guided in wisdom  
So that my native land shall live  
Hawai'i is borne aloft by his glory  
Maui is carried by his righteousness  
O'ahu is borne in glory  
Kaua'i is founded in glory  
One-in-heart with aloha  
This is righteousness and wisdom  
A throne for David  
A servant heeded by the Lord  
Enemies dwindle into nothingness  
Listen to me, O my people  
Turn from disobedience on earth  
Let your eyes look on the blue vault of heaven  
So that you are victorious forever  
Independence is yours through aloha  
Ask the Lord Most Powerful  
That your righteousness may endure, O Hawai'i  
In the path of the chiefs who have gone before  
Safeguard the peace  
This is the age of Belshazzar  
The message came to Italy  
And a letter with no aloha  
The heart cannot function  
My aloha increases ten-fold  
For my kingdom to whom it is owed  
I repay with my life  
So that my sins may be forgiven  
That the 'aina that gave me birth may live  
And the dawn of enlightenment appears  
Surpassing in aloha indeed is the Savior  
And Wilikoki shall emerge victorious  
    The refrain is told  
    Wilikoki, the candidate who shall give life to Hawai'i.

**A Glad Song for Wilikoki**  
**Composed by Mrs. Leipoahiohaile**

Proud aloha for Wilikoki  
Amidst the bullets of July  
The royal awesome stillness at the Palace  
Nurtured in the aloha of Italy  
The Kingdom where he was educated  
Powder smelling of acid is smoking  
Consulting with the lahui, the people  
To obtain the rights of the government  
The existence of the crown is secured  
Lili'uokalani is acknowledged  
The voice of aloha for the lahui, the nation  
This is his to cherish  
And a voice of aloha for Wilikoki  
Suffering painfully in prison  
Your wisdom is acknowledged  
The barbed spear whistles in the air  
A draught of cool water for Wilikoki  
The confident, spirited one of Italy.

**A Song for Wilikoki**  
**Composed by Miss Keaomakani**

Renowned to us is Wilikoki  
The magic one of Hawai'i  
Who incited war  
In opposition to the government party  
A blessing for the lahui, the people  
From Hawai'i to Kaua'i  
How is it, o people of Hawai'i  
It was decided unanimously  
That you were the one wanted for the ballot  
Fearless warrior of Italy  
This is my story to tell  
Wilikoki, the candidate who makes Hawai'i live  
Renowned to us is Wilikoki  
Fearless-hearted warrior  
Dressed finely in your best  
In the uniform of an Italian warrior  
Walking about so handsomely  
Renowned in glory and elegance  
You were mistreated bodily  
Setting right the Hawaiian Kingdom  
Let Hawai'i live forever

Set in the age of enlightenment  
This is my refrain  
Wilikoki, the candidate who makes Hawai'i live.

**Honor for Wilikoki on the Ballot**  
**Composed by Mrs. R. N. M. Kaukahoku**

Wilikoki is majestic in my eyes  
Renowned warrior of Hawai'i Nei  
The message is spread to the islands  
Of the brave deed of Wilikoki  
He is as an angel to behold  
Standing regally at the Palace  
Answer me with a voice of aloha  
Go forward Hawai'i to victory  
Placed on the ballot  
Wilikoki emerges victorious  
Seeking your rights, o Majesty  
So that the government be solid  
Do not be deceived by flattering words  
By the lawless deeds of the fox  
The Star and the Morning Star are in view  
To guide Kaulilua  
The royal lei of Hawai'i Nei  
The government rests with you  
Tell the refrain  
Wilikoki, the warrior who makes Hawai'i live.

**A Name Song for Wilikoki**  
**Composed by Keapolilipo Keahioeno**

Here is Wilikoki, the foremost warrior of the islands  
The war leader of the Hawaiian Government  
The traveler who sailed off for Italy  
To become the hero of the 'aina, the land  
Living under the sacred protection of that government  
Wilikoki returned to his native land  
To the sands beloved by his *kupuna*, the ancestors  
Snared in a net by the voice  
A voice from the evil ones with no aloha  
Beloved are the children of the Conqueror of the Nation  
Laid waste by the foreign flocks of *kolea*  
The foreign newspapers of the area are shameless  
In taking the side of the Hawaiian government  
Wilikoki is foremost in majestic power  
Quick to engage the cannon

Resembling the yellow-backed crab  
There is no avoiding the birthmark of Pupuakea  
The barbed spear of Kamehameha the First  
I am a *niuhi*, a large, grey man-eating shark swimming in the deep sea  
I am a strong-armed one from East Maui  
A medicine to wash out the yellow mud  
A cluster of *auhuhu* flowers for he who swims in the sea as a *aholehole*  
A crowbar for him to pry open the government  
A dark red cock for him to attack the white cocks  
You are prominent ones in the view of the *malihini*, the newcomers  
The purging force of Hawai'i  
I am the slow growth reaching to the very foundations  
A '*ali*' standing strong not to be moved by the *kona* wind  
Long the Hawai'i of Keawe live forever  
Until the dawn of enlightenment comes.

## Who was Thomas K. Nakanaela?

by Nancy Morris

Born in mid nineteenth-century, Native Hawaiian Thomas Kaiaikawaha Nathaniel was the son of Kaiaikawaha Nathaniel, a road supervisor. The family lived most of the time in Waialua, O‘ahu. Thomas preferred the Hawaiian spelling of his name, Nakanaela.

As a young man, he served as a clerk in the Hawai‘i Supreme Court. He cultivated an educated, flowery writing style and put it to good use as part-time owner and editor of the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Hawaii Holomua* from 1891-92. Politically he was a staunch royalist and this led to the publication of his best-known work, *Ka Buke Mo ‘olelo o Hon. Robert William Wilcox* (1890.) The art of the biographer is most apparent in the portraits of Wilcox’s youth: as a feisty child, portending the revolutionary hero he was to become, and later, as a dashing Italian cadet romancing the belles of Turin. The history of the 1889 revolt is told mostly using lightly edited news reports, still, Wilcox comes through as a noble rebel, confident that he is on the right side of history. As a poet, Nakanaela’s best know mele is his kanikau for Princess Likelike.

Nakanaela led an active social life and was a member of King Kalākaua’s Singing Club. He was a prominent man-about-town, known in particular for an eccentric manner of dress. One of his favorite costumes was a full-on hunting suit.

His life was to darken. In 1888 Nakanaela’s daughter was stricken with Hansen’s disease and sent to Kalaupapa. She died there in 1892. One year later Nakanaela himself was diagnosed with the disease and he too was exiled to Kalaupapa. There he would become a leader and advocate for the people of the settlement. He barraged the Board of Health with petitions, one asking that patients be allowed to use ‘awa for comfort of their afflictions, another asking for continuation of the Goto baths, a

Japanese therapy that offered some temporary comfort, if not a cure. He asked that his name not be attached to the petitions, fearing that the republican Board of Health would ignore petitions from a royalist.

For some time, Nakanaela had suffered from the miseries of bad teeth. He was allowed to travel to Kalihi on O‘ahu for treatment and he brought back some tools for self-treatment. In May of 1904, he had a tooth extracted. An infection developed, resulting in his death. Reports of the day said his funeral was the best-attended ever.

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