

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 Hale¹ 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:

¹ 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.²

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

² 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 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 plunderers¹ have been restored.'

¹ 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 surrender. 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 epaulets 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 exponents¹ 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.

¹ 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 one 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,² 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.

² 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 1:00 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. Berger³ 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

³ 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, Kamakalua, 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.⁴ 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

⁴ 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. Alika [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 J. 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 Dog⁵ 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 troops 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

⁵ 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.⁶ 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

⁶ 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 Hale Ma'i Mō'i wahine [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 bombs were 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 cakes 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 could be heard clearly, '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 primers⁷ 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

⁷ 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 everything 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 someone 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,¹ 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

¹ 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.¹ 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!

¹ 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‘āina² 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.”

² 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.”

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.

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*¹ and the haoles' *Hui Limahana Lokahi*² 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

¹ *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.

² 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 Maunaloa 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'e³ [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

³ *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.⁴

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.

⁴ 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 Interior¹

“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

¹ 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 colonel² 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.

² 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 Finance³, 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

³ 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.¹ 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

¹ 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'ena² 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:

² 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, indeed³ 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.⁴

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

³ 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

⁴ 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.’⁵

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

⁵ 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 kānaka 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 kānaka who had in mind to seize him were dispersed. Enforcements were quickly increased, and guards posted everywhere, and a great number of kānaka 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.⁶ 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.

⁶ 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;¹ 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

¹ 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 75² 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:³

‘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.

² 88, 89, and 90 in original

³ 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 captain⁴ 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

⁴ see Translator's Introduction, p. i

assembling of the two houses of the Legislature under the constitution of Lua‘ehu⁵ 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

⁵ 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.