CRIMINAL REPORT NO. 22-0001

The Insurgency of 1893 and Attainder of Treason

THE ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY:

Investigating War Crimes and Human Rights Violations Committed

in the Hawaiian Kingdom

Dr. David Keanu Sai, Ph.D. HEAD, ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

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HAWAIIAN KINGDOM

CRIMINAL REPORT No. 22-0001

Lemuel Clark Ables; W.C. Achi; H.L. Achilles; H.L. Adams; W.Y. **GUILTY OF TREASON:** Afong; L. Ahlborn; H.J. Ahu; P.J. Aiken; W.O. Aiken; E.P. Aikue; Thomas Aiu; D. Alawa; Sister M. Albina; E.H. Allen; George L. Allen; William Fessenden Allen; W.D. Alexander; L.F. Alvarez; T.K.R. Amalu; H.K. Anahu; Dickson Anderson; James Anderson; J. Anderson; J.F. Anderson; L.A. Andrews; R.W. Andrews; G. Armstrong; William N. Armstrong; S.W.K. Apua; F.K. Archer; William George Ashley; Joseph B. Atherton; R.H. Atkins; A.L.C. Atkinson; A.T. Atkinson; B.C. Atkinson; L.S. Aungst; H.C. Austin; H.L. Austin; H.Z. Austin; J.H. Babcock; E.H. Bailey; E.D. Baldwin; Henry Perrin Baldwin; L.M. Baldwin; Manuel Jose Barbosa; J.H. Barenaba; E.W. Barnard; Robert James Barney; Sister M. Benedicta; Dwight Benton; Richard Frederick Bickerton; E. Biesterfeld; Charles Reed Bishop; C.H. Bishop; Charles Blake; J. Blanpain; Ernest de Boissac; Crister Bolte; Sister M. Bonaventure; E.C. Bond; F.A. Bonet; Geo. M. Boote; C. Borchgrevink; P.J. Bouwman; J. Bovey; W.A. Bowen; Edward S. Boyd; J.H. Boyd; T. Brandt; A.L. Bresler; James Bright; Cecil Robert Broad; H.H. Broadie; M. Bronc; A. Brown; A.B. Brown; Andrew Brown; A.M. Brown; Cecil Brown; B. Brown; B.H. Brown; H.H. Brown; Henry Brown; J.F. Brown; Robert H. Bruce; E.G.J. Bryant; A. Buckholtz; K. Buchholtz; Sterns Buck; J.K. Burkett; P.H. Burnette; John E. Bush; John Bush; George A. Cadell; Joseph M. Camara; J.M. Camara, Jr.; D. Campbell; J.T. Campbell; Victor J. Capron; J. Carden; A.W. Carter; F.W. Carter; Charles Lunt Carter; John H. Carter; V.A. Carvalho; James B. Castle; William Richards Castle; David Center; A. Chalmers; W. Chamberlain; Jules Chavasse; Li Cheung; S.F. Chillingworth; Byron O. Clark; G. Clark; J.F. Clay; Ed. F. Clements; J.C. Cluney; J. Coerper; George Collins; Wm. B. Colville; E.E. Conant; J.H. Coney; Charles M. Cooke; Henry Ernest Cooper; Audley Coote; E. Coppieters; Andrew Cox; H.G. Crabbe; Allan O. Crookshank; F.L. Crosby; Charles Crozier; W.H. Cummings; F.I. Cutter; Sister M. Cyrilla; F.B. Damon; Samuel M. Damon; A. da Silva Moreira; Miss Rose Davidson; James Davis; Robert H. Davis; G.A. Davis; Henry Davis; Chas. Davison; George B. Dawson; F.R. Day; Bernardo Machado de Faria Maia; E. de Harrie; Antonio C. de las Casas; Raphael de Luchi; F.T. de Navarra; A.F. de Serpa; H. Deacon; W.E.H. Deverill; George L. Desha; H.

Dickenson; Mrs. A.E. Dickey; C.H. Dickey; Lyle A. Dickey; Mrs. B.F. Dillingham; W.F. Dillingham; Frank S. Dodge; E.P. Dole; Sanford Ballard Dole; H.M. Dow; C.A. Doyle; G.H. Dunn; J.E. Eldarts; J.S. Emerson; N.B. Emerson; John Emmeluth; John Ena; W.S. Endings; G.H. Fairchild; Charles J. Falk; J.K. Farley; W.J. Feary; W.P. Fennell; Wm. Fennell; Antonio Fernandes; N. Fernandez; Narciso T.M. Ferro; J.T. Figueredo; Joseph Henry Fisher; Wm. Fisher; Captain Fitzgerald; D. Forbes; W.J. Forbes; Victor Forge; T.C. Forsyth; Walter Francis Frear; Captain A. Fuller; J.L. Garcin; J.S. Garnett; J. Gasper; A.V. Gear; G.D. Gear; F.W. Gearde; Alexander George; J.B. Gibson; T.H. Gibson; W.J. Gillam; Gorham D. Gilman; J.W. Girvin; H.F. Glade; Chas. Goheir; H. Goldberg; M.A. Gonsalves; E.S. Goodhue; G.R.M. Graham; W.M. Graham; J. Greig; Col. W.J. De Gress; C.B. Greenfield; J. Grunwald; C.K. Haae; S. Haanio; S. Haanio, Jr.; W.P. Haia; R. Hall; L.K. Halualani; F. Halstead; J.B. Hanaike; E.M. Hanuna; G.W.A. Hapai; Henry Hapai; S.R. Hapuku; F.W. Hardy; J. Hardy; E.H. Hart; J.A. Hassinger; Francis March Hatch; J.K. Haupu; Hawaiian Gazette Company (Ltd.); Hawaiian Gazette; A.N. Hayselden; Geo. W. Hayseldon; H.T. Hayselden; Mrs. T.L. Hayselden; Henry Hempell; William Henry; A. Herbert; George Herbert; G.C. Hewitt; A.W. Heydtmann; J. Hind; R. Hind, Jr.; D.H. Hitchcock; A.W. Hobson; A. Hocking; C.B. Hofguard; J. Holi; H. Holmes; H.L. Holstein; C.J. Holt; J. Holt; George Hons; S. Hookano; Wm. Hookuanui; Archibald Hopkins; Cyril Hopkins; Edward Hore; George Hore; William Y. Horner; W. Horner; Frank A. Hosmer; Alfred Houle; H.W. Howard; Dr. G. Herbert; Conrad Hughes; S. Hundley; S.N. Hundely; James H. Hunt; Geo. K. Hunukau; Ambrose Hutchinson; Curtiss P. Iaukea; J. Ikaika; Jose Kekahuna Iosepa; Sister M. Irene; A. Irvine; J.J. Bell Irving; R.W. Irwin; D.P.R. Isenberg; P.R. Isenberg; N.P. Jacobsen; Harold Janion; Fred W. Job; J.W. Jones; H.D. Johnson; Arthur Johnstone; J.W. Jones; Peter Cushman Jones; E.W. Jordan; Mrs. E.W. Jordan; Albert Francis Judd; S.W. Kaai; D.H. Kaailaau; D.W. Kaaemoku; Charles Kaanoi; S.M. Kaaukai; J. Kaelemakule; S.K. Kaeo; David Haili Kahaulelio; D. Kahaulelio; G. Kahaulelio; J. Kahaulelio; S.H. Kahaulelio; H.K. Kahele; John Kahoa; J.E. Kahoa; P.N. Kahokuoluna; S. Kahoohalahala; D.S. Kahookano; A. Kaili; D. Kailua; S. Kaiu; J.H.K. Kaiwi; B.K. Kaiwiaea; S.N.K. Kakina; J. Kakina; Z. Kakina; S.H. Kalamakee; S.E. Kaleikau; G. Kaleikini;

Agnes Kalua; John William Kalua; M. Kaluna; William Kamau; Kamauoha; S.M. Kanakanui; J. Kanakaoluna; G.P. J.L. Kanakaoluna; S.K. Kane; S.U. Kaneole; K. Kaniwai; D.W. Kanui; J.B. Kaomea; David Kapaku; D.M. Kapalau; A.N. Kepoikai; J.W. Kapolohu; D. Kapohakimohewa; Samuel Kapu; J.H. Kapukui; J.K. Kapuniai; John Kauhane; S. Kauhane; A. Kauhi; Kaua; S.E. Kaula; J.L. Kaulukou; J. Kauwe; H. Kawaimaka; J.M. Kea; Charles Kealoha; J.M. Kealoha; P. Keaupuni; J. Kekahuna; Susan Kekela; S.W. Kekuewa; T.W. Kekuewa; S.L. Kekumano; J.H.S. Kaleo; M. Keliiaa; Moses Keliiaa; J.W. Keliikoa; L.D. Keliipio; P.D. Kellett; James J. Kelly; L.T. Kenake; James N.K. Keola; J.A. Kennedy; William A. Kinney; James Anderson King; Thomas King; W.H. King; J.N. Koomoa; J. Kopp; Gustaf Kraak; A. Ku; Sam Ku; David Kua; Joseph Liwai Kukahi; Albert Kukailimoku Kunuiakea; G.K. Kunukau; Jos. Kula; Charles Lake; Theodore F. Lansing; L.L. La Pierre; S. Lazaro; Peter Lee; R. Lee-Brice; J. Lenhart; J.W. Leonhart; A. Lidgate; H.A. Lindley; Andres Lindsay; A.B. Lindsay; D.C. Lindsay; C.R. Lindsey; A.B. Lobenstein; J.W. Loka; C.A. Long; Captain J.C. Lorenzen; J.W. Lota; D. Lovell; E.P. Low; Nellie M. Lowrey; W.J. Lowrie; George Lucas; J. Lucas; Frederick S. Lyman; H.J. Lyman; R.A. Lyman; Miss E.W. Lyons; J.H. Maby; Captain A. Macauley; James Macfarlane; A. St. M. Mackintosh; B.B. Macy; J.W. Maele; J.A. Magoon; A.S. Mahaulu; P. Mahaulu; S. Mahaulu; J.H. Mahoe; S.H. Mahuka; S.M. Mahuka; W.E. Maikai; W.K. Makakoa; Peter Makia; George Manson; Joseph Marsden; J.W. Mason; W. Mattson; J. Mattoon; A. McBryde; W.D. McBryde; John Andrew McCandless; Frederick W. McChesney; D. McCorriston; H. McCorriston; J. McCracken; R.J. McGettigan; J.W. McFarland; W.A. McKay; Mrs. W.A. McKay; S. McKeague; P. McLean; P.M. McMahon; F.B. McStocker; J.D. McVeigh; A. McWayne; H.K. Meemanu; C. Meinecke; Joseph P. Mendonca; W.C. Meyer; R.P. Meyers; H.T. Mills; Enrique Minguez; J.W. Moanauli; H.K. Molale; James Mookens; Frederick H. Moore; W.L. Moore; James M. Monsarrat; William T. Monsarrat; W. Moran; James Francis Morgan; H. Morrison; Ethel C. Mossman; W.F. Mossman; E.A. Mott-Smith; John Mott-Smith; A. Mouritz; J.F. Muller; R. James Murphy; H.C. Meyers; J.K. Nahale; D. Nahoolewa; M.K. Nakookoo; D.L. Naone; J. Nakila; J.K. Nakila; M. Nakuaau; Emma M. Nakuina; D.H. Napihaa; W. Napihaa; J.U. Napoulou; K. Narita; George W. Nawaakoa; S.H.K. Ne; J.W. Neal; W.G. Neil; J.H. Nishwitz; F. Northrup; C. Notley; William Notley; John Nott; P. Nowlein; G.N. Oakley; F.B. Oat; Joseph M. Oat; W.G. Ogg; R. Oliver; Edwin Omstead; J.A.M. Osorio; H.C. Ovenden; H.S. Overend; T.K. Pa; J. Paakaula; Z. Paakiki; Pacific Commercial Advertiser; Bishop Pahia; F. Pahia; R. Pahia; A. Pali; S.E.K. Papaii; J. Paris; Miss Ella Paris; J.D. Paris; H. Peelua; Antonio Perry; C.F. Peterson; W.L. Peterson; R.C.A. Peterson; John Phillips; J.K. Piimanu; R.W. Podmore; J.M. Poepoe; William Fawcett Pogue; Major George C. Potter; Daniel Porter; T.C. Porter; George C. Potter; J.N. Pouliot; J.W. Pratt; Francis William Prescott; C.D. Pringle; Charles H. Pulaa; R.W.T. Purvis; D. Quill; William Rathburn; Wm. R. Rathburn; R.H. Reid; Sister M. Renata; G.F. Renton; J.R. Renton; M.H. Reuter; C.B. Reynolds; William Hyde Rice; W.H. Rice, Jr.; J. Richard; E.E. Richards; W.J. Rickard; Frederick Ringer; C.B. Ripley; R.P. Rithet; Alexander George Morison Robertson; Morison Robertson; A.G.M. Robinson; M.P. Robinson; W.T. Robinson; Charles T. Rodgers; Dr. C.T. Rodgers; E. Morales Rodriguez; C.N. Rose; Gus Rose; George C. Ross; W.A. Ross; W.E. Rowell; A.P. Russ; H.R. Rycroft; R. Rycroft; Mrs. R. Rycroft; Captain M.N. Sanders; L. Samson; Geo. P. Sarff; J.K. Saunders; C. Schaessler; Jno. C. Searle; R.C. Searle; L. Severance; W.H. Shipman; H.W. Schmidt; W.D. Schmidt; D.H. Schmull; Hugo Schonberger; J.A. Scott; J.F. Scott; M.F. Scott; J. Shaw; Col. George A. Shaw; J.R. Shaw; Jona Shaw; P. Silva; William R. Sims; A.N. Sinclair; Joseph P. Sisson; David Bowers Smith; Geo. W. Smith; Henry Smith; J.W. Smith; William Owen Smith; A.J. Smithies; John S. Smithies; Julio Soler; John Harris Soper; R.C. Spalding; James G. Spencer; Joe Spencer; K. Spencer; Manuel Spencer; E.R. Stackable; Wm. F.L. Stanley; W.L. Stanley; J.T. Steeb; Edward Strehz; Edward Suhr; James G. Swan; L.E. Swain; S.M. Sylva; A. Tagliavia; A.F. Tavares; H.T. Taylor; Wray Taylor; Edward Davies Tenney; A.N.H. Teyssier; Mrs. Ana Thomas; David Thomas; A.D. Thompson; J.A. Thompson; J. Enoch Thompson; L.S. Thompson; Thomas G. Thrum; Lorrin Andrews Thurston; J. Todd; H.S. Townsend; Thomas Treadway; George Trimble; G.P. Tulloch; George A. Turner; E. Van Den Brande; H.F.J. Vieilhomme; John Mark Vivas; H.M. von Holt; W. Vredenburg; J. Wagner; R.W. Waialeale; John Waiamau; J.H. Waipuilani; M.P. Waiwaiole; F.M. Wakefield; W.G. Walker; A. Wall; W.E. Wall; R. Wassmann; Henry Waterhouse; J. Watt; John W. Waughop; E.F. Weber; J.

	Weddick; Richard Weedon; George Weight; C.B. Wells; H.
	Wharton; H.E. Wilson; F. Wittrock; H.P. Wood; William Austin
	Whiting; Mark Whitwill; Albert Spencer Wilcox; Charles Wilcox;
	George Norton Wilcox; S.W. Wilcox; W.L. Wilcox; Charles T.
	Wilder; Harriet E. Wilder; G.K. Wilder; G.P. Wilder; William
	Chauncey Wilder; Jr.; N.C. Wilfong; F. Wilhelm; Charles Williams;
	W.H. Williams; C.H. Willis; C.J. Willis; T.C. Willis; C.H. Wills;
	T.A.L. Wills; E.J. Wilson; H.E. Wilson; William Wilson; E.C.
	Winston; F.L. Winter; W.S. Wise; F. Wittrock; A.B. Wood; C.B.
	Wood; Jasper M. Wood; Miss W.R. Woods; J.N. Wright; W.J.
	Wright; W.H. Wright; T.H. Wright; L. Falcon y Quevedo; W.J.
	Yates; Alexander Young; Charles William Ziegler; J.G. Zoller; and
	J.W.L. Zumwalt
CRIME COMMITTED:	Treason—Levying of War (Chapter VI, Penal Code)
LOCATION OF CRIME:	Hawaiian Islands and Diplomatic Missions Abroad

INTRODUCTION

This criminal report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry ("RCI") on the *attainder* of high treason, the reversion of property, and the doctrine of the *corruption of blood* addresses the actions taken by the insurgents committing the high crime of treason and the effects of *attainder* and *corruption of blood* under English common law and its statutory incorporation into Hawaiian Kingdom law.

GOVERNING LAW

In the Statute Laws of 1846, section 7, it was enacted: "[l]and so patented [that is purchased from the Government] shall never revert to the king of these islands, nor escheat to this government, for any other cause than *attainder of high treason*, as defined in the criminal code (emphasis added)."¹ Among the prerogatives of the king that affect lands is "[t]o punish for high treason by forfeiture, if so the law decrees."² The King's superior right to forfeiture was transferred to the government when the Hawaiian Kingdom became a constitutional monarchy. Under the treason statute, which has no degrees, the Penal Code states:

1. Treason is hereby defined to be any plotting or attempt to dethrone or destroy the King, or the levying of war against the King's government, or the adhering to the enemies

¹ Section 7, Article II—*Of the Disposition of Government Lands*, Chapter VII, Statute Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III, Vol. 1 (1846).

² Resolution of the Legislative Council approving the principles adopted by the Board of Commissioners to quiet Land Titles 85 (1846).

thereof, giving them aid and comfort, the same being done by a person owing allegiance to this kingdom.

- 2. Allegiance is the obedience and fidelity due to the kingdom from those under its protection.
- 3. An alien, whether his native country be at war or at peace with this kingdom, owes allegiance to this kingdom during his residence therein, and during such residence, is capable of committing treason against this kingdom.
- 4. Ambassadors and other ministers of foreign states, and their alien secretaries, servants and members of their families, do not owe allegiance to this kingdom, though resident therein, and are not capable of committing treason against this kingdom.
- 5. To constitute the levying of war, contemplated in the first section of this chapter, it shall be requisite that the persons concerned therein be parties to some overt act, in or towards procuring, preparing or using force, or putting themselves in a condition in readiness to use force, either by being present at such overt act, or by promoting, aiding in, or being otherwise accessory before the fact to the same.
- 6. In order to constitute the levying of war, the force must be employed or intended to be employed for the dethroning or destruction of the King or in contravention of the laws, or in opposition to the authority of the King's government, with an intent or for an object affecting some of the branches or departments of said government general, or affecting the enactment, repeal or enforcement of laws in general, or of some general law; or affecting the people, or the public tranquility generally; in distinction from some special intent or object, affecting individuals other than the King, or a particular district.
- 7. An accessory before the fact to treason is guilty of treason, and shall be subject to prosecution, trial and punishment therefor, though the principals more directly concerned have not been convicted, or are not amendable to justice.
- 8. No person shall be convicted of treason but by the testimony of two or more lawful witnesses to the same overt act of treason whereof he stands charged, unless he shall in open court, confess such treason.
- 9. Whoever shall commit the crime of treason, shall suffer the punishment of death; and all his property shall be confiscated to the government.
- 10. If any person who shall have knowledge of the commission of treason against this kingdom, shall conceal the same, and shall not, as soon as may be, disclose and make known such treason to the Governor of the island on which he resides, he is guilty of a

great crime, and shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding ten years, in the discretion of the court.³

By specific reference to the term *attainder*, the Hawaiian legislature adopted the English common law on high treason. In *The King v. Agnee et al.*, the Hawaiian Supreme Court stated, "[w]e do not recognize as conclusive the common law nor the authorities of the courts of England or of the United States, any farther than the principles which they support may have become incorporated in our system of laws, and recognized by the adjudication of the Supreme Court."⁴ In *Agnee*, the Court cited English common law commentators on criminal law such as Chitty and Bishop as well as English criminal cases.

Under English common law, *attainder* of high treason is a metaphor that has the effect of the *corruption of blood* resulting from the commission of high treason along with reversion of property by escheat, both real and personal, to the king or government. *Attainder* is under "common law, that extinction of civil rights and capacities which took place whenever a person who had committed treason or felony received sentence of death for his crime. The effect of 'attainder' upon such felon was, in general terms, that all his estate, real and personal, was forfeited. At the common law, attainder resulted in three ways, viz: by confession, by verdict, and by *process* or outlawry (emphasis added)."⁵

By "process," *attainder* resulted by an act of Parliament called a *bill of attainder*, which Edward Coke critiqued as a process that lacked provable evidence but acknowledged that the Parliament did have the authority to *attaint* for high treason. When Henry VIII ascended to the throne in 1509, "attainder by parliament was an established means of dealing with special offenders, particularly those who posed a threat to the security of the king and his realm."⁶ John Hatsell's *Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons* that was published in 1781 explains:

Although it is true, that this measure of passing Bills of Attainder...has been used as an engine of power...it is not therefore just to conclude, that no instances can occur, in which it ought to be put in practice. Cases have arisen...and may again arise, where the public safety, which is the first object of all government, has called for this extraordinary interference; and, in such instances, where can the exercise of an extraordinary power be vested with more security, than in the three branches of the legislature [Monarch, House of Lords, House of Commons]? It should, however, always be remembered, that this deviation from the more ordinary forms of proceeding by indictment or impeachment, ought never to be adopted, but in cases of absolute necessity; and in those instances only, where, from the magnitude of the crime, or the imminent danger to the state, it would be a greater public

³ Penal Code of 1850 8-9 (1869).

⁴ The King v. Agnee et al., 3 Haw. 106, 112 (1869).

⁵ Black's Law 126 (6th ed. 1990).

⁶ Stanford E. Lehmberg, "Parliamentary Attainder in the Reign of Henry VIII," 18(4) *The Historical Journal* 675-702, 677 (1975).

mischief to suffer the offence to pass unpunished, than even to over-step the common boundaries of law; and...by an exemplary through extraordinary proceeding, to mark with infamy and disgrace, perhaps to punish with death, even the highest and most power offenders.⁷

In Coke's commentary on the 1352 Statute of Treasons in the Third *Institute*, he explains that the term "attaint" in the statute "necessarily implieth that he be proceeded with, and attainted according to the due course, and proceedings of law, and not by absolute power."⁸ The suspect, according to Coke, had to be *attainted* with direct proof of evidence and not *attainted* with the probability of evidence. He explains, "This doth also strengthen the former exposition of the word (*provablement*,) that it must be provably, by an open act, which must be manifestly proved."⁹

According to William Blackstone, "ANOTHER immediate consequence of attainder is the corruption of blood, both upwards and downwards; so that an attainted person can neither inherit lands or other hereditaments from his ancestors, nor retain those he is already in possession of, nor transmit them by descent to any heir; but the same shall escheat to the lord of the fee, subject to the king's superior right of forfeiture: and the person attainted shall also obstruct all descents to his posterity, wherever they are obliged to derive a title through him to a remoter ancestor."¹⁰

Section 8 of the Hawaiian treason statute addresses the first two ways where *attainder* results by conviction by trial or confession without trial. The third way is by "process" or "outlawry." The latter was a process during the medieval period in England for the county court or by writ declared a fugitive on the run for the commission of treason an "outlaw." The former could be done by a *bill of attainder* or *law of attainder* enacted by the English Parliament and signed into law by the Monarch. While the United States constitutionally prohibits *bills of attainder*, where "[n]o bill of attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed,"¹¹ and Great Britain abolished practically all the law of forfeiture and escheat for treason and felony in 1870,¹² the Hawaiian Kingdom has no such prohibition, which would allow *bills of attainder* to be enacted by the Legislative Assembly, but no such bill has ever been enacted.

While *bills of attainder* were a product of domestic law of a State and not the courts, they could also result as a consequence of a "process" of international law by virtue of a treaty between the governments of two States where the negotiations and agreement included, *inter alia*, the subject of high treason as defined by a State's domestic law. This was precisely the case of the *Agreement*

⁷ 4 John Hatsell, Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons 90 (1796).

⁸ Edward Coke, *The Third Part of the Institutes* 12 (6th ed. 1680).

⁹ Id.

¹⁰ William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. 4 381 (1769).

¹¹ U.S. Constitution, article1, section 9.

¹² An Act to abolish Forfeiture for Treason and Felony, and to otherwise amend the Law relating thereto (1870).

of Restoration entered into between Queen Lili'uokalani and President Grover Cleveland on 18 December 1893.

APPLICATION

The day after U.S. troops invaded, without cause, the Hawaiian Kingdom on 16 January 1893, Queen Lili'uokalani conditionally surrendered to the United States and called for a Presidential investigation.

I, Liliuokalani, by the Grace of God, and under the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said Provisional Government. Now to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do this under protest, and impelled by said force yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A.D. 1893.

Liliuokalani, R. Samuel Parker, *Minister of Foreign Affairs.* Wm. H. Cornwell, *Minister of Finance.* Jno. F. Colburn, *Minister of the Interior.* A.P. Peterson, *Attorney General.*¹³

After receiving the conditional surrender, President Grover Cleveland initiated an investigation by appointing James Blount as Special Commissioner on 11 March 1893. In a dispatch from the Secretary of State Walter Gresham to Special Commissioner Blount the following was written:

¹³ United States House of Representatives, 53rd Congress, *Executive Documents on Affairs in Hawai'i: 1894-95* 586 (1895) (hereafter "Executive Documents").

The situation created in the Hawaiian Islands by the recent deposition of Queen Liliuokalani and the erection of a Provisional Government demands the fullest consideration of the President, and in order to obtain trustworthy information on the subject, as well as for the discharge of other duties herein specified, he has decided to dispatch you to the Hawaiian Islands as his special commissioner, in which capacity you will herewith receive a commission...¹⁴

Special Commissioner Blount initiated his investigation on 1 April 1893, where he provided periodic reports to the Secretary of State. On 17 July 1893, the Special Commissioner submitted his final report. These reports were a trove of provable evidence of the high crime of treason and United States' intervention, which included sworn testimonies. On 18 October 1893, the investigation was completed, and the Secretary of State reported to the President the findings of the Special Commissioner, which placed blame squarely on U.S. Minister John Stevens and Naval Captain Gilbert Wiltse, commander of the USS Boston "with evidence, documentary and oral, contained in Mr. Blount's reports."¹⁵

The Provisional Government was recognized when it had little other than a paper existence, and when the legitimate government was in full possession and control of the palace, the barracks, and the police station. Mr. Steven's well-known hostility and the threatening presence of the force landed from the *Boston* was all that could then have excited serious apprehension in the minds of the Queen, her officers, and loyal supporters.¹⁶

•••

The Government of Hawaii surrendered its authority under a threat of war, until such time only as the Government of the United States, upon the facts being presented to it, should reinstate the constitutional sovereign...

Should not the great wrong done to feeble but independent State by an abuse of the authority of the United States be undone by restoring the legitimate government? Anything short of that will not, I respectfully submit, satisfy the demands of justice.¹⁷

A recent discovery of a note dated 17 January 1893, from Minister Stevens to Sanford Dole, the so-called President of the Provisional Government, that escaped the Special Commissioner's investigation of the records of the U.S. Legation in Honolulu, confirms Minister Stevens' premature recognition of the insurgents as a *de facto* government. Dole inquired:

¹⁴ *Id.*, 567.

¹⁵ *Id.*, 461.

¹⁶ *Id.*, 462.

¹⁷ *Id.*, 463.

Sir: I acknowledge the receipt of your valued communication of this day, recognizing the Hawaiian Provisional Government, and express deep appreciation of the same.

We have conferred with the ministers of the late government and have made demand upon the marshal to surrender the station house. We are not actually yet in possession of the station, but as night is approaching and our forces may be insufficient to maintain order, we request the immediate support of the United States forces, and would request that the commander of the United States forces take command of our military forces so that they may act together for the protection of the city.¹⁸

Minister Stevens responded, "Judge Dole: I would advise not to make known of my recognition of the de facto Provisional Government until said Government is in possession of the Police Station."¹⁹ It appears that Minister Stevens did not make a copy of the note to Dole for the records of the U.S. Legation as he should have done, but unbeknownst to the Special Commissioner, the insurgency retained Minister Stevens' note that was not discovered until 2017.²⁰ Special Commissioner Blount notified the Secretary of State on 19 July 1893, that he requested of Dole Minister Stevens' response to Dole's letter.²¹ In that communication, the Special Commissioner stated that his request of Dole "was several days ago and I presume I shall hear nothing further from him on the subject."²² Dole never divulged Minister Stevens' response to the Special Commissioner because it would have revealed what was gathered by Dole's own letter to Minister Stevens and corroborating evidence of interviews and testimonies the fact that the recognition was premature and unlawful under international law.

"Premature recognition is a tortious act against the lawful government," explains Lauterpacht, which "is a breach of international law."²³ And according to Stowell, a "foreign state which intervenes in support of [insurgents] commits an act of war against the state to which it belongs, and steps outside the law of nations in time of peace."²⁴ Furthermore, Stapleton concludes, "[o]f all the principles in the code of international law, the most important—the one which the independent existence of all weaker States must depend—is this: no State has a right forcibly to INTERFERE in the internal concerns of another State."²⁵

¹⁹ Letter from United States Minister, John L. Stevens, to Sanford B. Dole, January 17, 1893, W.O. Smith Collection, HEA Archives, HMCS, Honolulu, available at http://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/889.

¹⁸ Id., 565.

²⁰ David Keanu Sai, "Book Review of Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i," 51 *Hawaii. J. Hist.* 186, 188 (2017) ("The Hawaiian Mission Houses Archives is processing a collection of documents given to them by a descendent of William O. Smith. Smith was an insurgent who served as the attorney general for Sanford Dole, so-called president of the provisional government. The "smoking gun" is a note to Dole signed by Stevens marked "private," written under the letterhead of the "United States Legation" in Honolulu, and dated January 17, 1893").

²¹ Executive Documents, 605.

²² Id.

²³ E. Lauterpacht, Recognition in International Law 95 (1947)

²⁴ Ellery C. Stowell, Intervention in International Law 349, n. 75 (1921).

²⁵ Augustus Granville Stapleton, Intervention and Non-Intervention 6 (1866).

Minister Stevens response to Dole also reveals that he intentionally misled Secretary of State John Foster. In a dispatch telegraphed to Minster Stevens dated 28 January 1893, from Washington, D.C., Secretary of State Foster stated, "[y]our course in recognizing an unopposed *de facto* government appears to have been discreet and in accordance with the facts. The rule of this government has uniformly been to recognize and enter into relation with any actual government in full possession of effective power with the assent of the people."²⁶ President Cleveland, however, told the Congress:

When our Minister recognized the provisional government the only basis upon which it rested was the fact that the Committee of Safety had...declared it to exist. It was neither a government *de facto* nor *de jure*. That it was not in such possession of the Government property and agencies as entitled it to recognition is conclusively proved by a note found in the files of the Legation at Honolulu, addressed by the declared head of the provisional government to Minister Stevens, dated January 17, 1893, in which he acknowledges with expressions of appreciation the Minister's recognition of the provisional government, and states that it is not yet in possession of the station house (the place where a large number of the Queen's troops were quartered), though the same had been demanded of the Queen's officers in charge. Nevertheless, this wrongful recognition by our Minister placed the Government of the Queen in a position of most perilous perplexity. On the one hand she had possession of the palace, of the barracks, and of the police station, and had at her command at least five hundred fully armed men and several pieces of artillery. Indeed, the whole military force of her kingdom was on her side and at her disposal, while the Committee of Safety, by actual search, had discovered that there were but very few arms in Honolulu that were not in the service of the Government.²⁷

In international law, a fundamental rule exists according to which diplomats have a duty to not intervene in the internal affairs of the sovereign State they are accredited to. Every sovereign State has a right "to establish, alter, or abolish, its own municipal constitution and form of government. ... And from the same course or reasoning, it will be inferred, that no foreign State can interfere with the exercise of this right, no matter what political or civil institutions such sovereign State may see fit to adopt for the government of its own subjects or citizens."²⁸ For a foreign diplomat, a violation of this rule would have grave consequences. While diplomats enjoy diplomatic immunity from the courts of the territorial State, there are exceptions such as "offences committed by public ministers, affecting the existence and safety of the State where they reside, if the danger is urgent, their persons and papers may be seized, and they may be sent out of the country."²⁹ And an offended State could proceed "against an ambassador as a public enemy...if justice should be refused by his own sovereign."³⁰

²⁶ *Id.*, 1179.

²⁷ *Id.*, 453.

²⁸ Sherston Baker, *Halleck's International Law*, vol. 1 94 (3rd ed. 1893).

²⁹ Henry Wheaton, *Elements of International Law* 301 (8th ed. 1866).

³⁰ *Id*.

Supplementing the general instructions given to U.S. Minister Albert Willis who was commissioned as the U.S. diplomat assigned to the Hawaiian Kingdom, Secretary of State Gresham stated,

After a patient examination of Mr. Blount's reports the President is satisfied that the movement against the Queen, if not instigated, was encouraged and supported by the representative of this Government at Honolulu; that he promised in advance to aid her enemies in an effort to overthrow the Hawaiian Government and set up by force a new government in its place; and that he kept his promise by causing a detachment of troops to be landed from the *Boston* on the 16th of January, and by recognizing the Provisional Government the next day when it was too feeble to defend itself and the constitutional government was able to successfully maintain its authority against any threatening force other than that of the United States already landed.

•••

On your arrival at Honolulu you will take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the Queen of this determination, making known to her the President's sincere regret that the reprehensible conduct of the American minister and the unauthorized presence on land of a military force of the United States obliged her to surrender her sovereignty, for the time being, and rely on the justice of this Government to undo the flagrant wrong.

You will, however, at the same time inform the Queen that, when reinstated, the President expects that she will pursue a magnanimous course of granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, including persons who are, or have been, officially or otherwise, connected with the Provisional Government, depriving them of no right or privilege which they enjoyed before the so-called revolution. All the obligations created by the Provisional Government in due course of administration should be assumed.³¹

At the first meeting between the Queen and Minister Willis on 13 November 1893, at the U.S. Legation in Honolulu, Willis explained the "President's sincere regret that, through the unlawful intervention of the United States, she had been obliged to surrender her sovereignty, and his hope that, with her consent and cooperation, the wrong done to her and to her people might be redressed."³² He then asked the Queen, "Should you be restored to the throne, would you grant full amnesty as to life and property to all those persons who have been or who are now in the Provisional Government, or who have been instrumental in the overthrow of your government[?]."³³

³¹ Executive Documents, 464.

³² Id., 1242.

³³ Id.

In this meeting, the Queen refused to grant amnesty and instead referred to "Chapter VI, section 9 of the Penal Code, as follows: Whoever shall commit the crime of treason shall suffer the punishment of death and all his property shall be confiscated to the Government. There are, under this law, no degrees of treason. Plotting alone carries with it the death sentence."³⁴ When asked again if she would reconsider, she responded, "these people were the cause of the revolution and the constitution of 1887. There will never be any peace while they are here. They must be sent out of the country, or punished, and their property confiscated."³⁵

After several more meetings, however, the Queen, on 18 December 1893, agreed to the conditions of restoration. In her letter to Minister Willis, she stated:

Sir: Since I had the interview with you this morning I have given the most careful and conscientious thoughts as to my duty, and I now of my own free will give my conclusions.

I must not feel vengeful to any of my people. If I am restored by the United States I must forgive and forget the past, permitting no proscription or punishment of any one, but trusting that all will hereafter work together in peace and friendship for the good and for the glory of our beautiful and once happy land.³⁶

Willis dispatched the Queen's agreement to the condition of restoration to the Secretary of State on 20 December 1893, stating the Queen "unreservedly consented, when restored as the constitutional sovereign, to grant amnesty and assume all obligations of the Provisional Government."³⁷ President Cleveland, however, did not follow through with the United States' obligation to restore the Queen under the treaty, which emboldened the insurgents' unfettered control of Hawaiian territory and resources that has led to the commission of war crimes and crimes against humanity, in particular, denationalization, which had a devastating effect upon Hawaiian subjects. Denationalization is a war crime under customary international law but today, according to Professor William Schabas, it would "be prosecuted as the crime against humanity of persecution and, in the most extreme cases where physical 'denationalization,' genocide."³⁸

In 1906, the Territory of Hawai'i intentionally sought to "Americanize" the school children throughout the Hawaiian Islands. To accomplish this, they instituted a policy of denationalization. Under the policy titled "Programme for Patriotic Exercises in the Public Schools," the national

³⁴ *Id.*, 1243.

³⁵ *Id.*, 1242.

³⁶ *Id.*, 1269.

³⁷ Id.

³⁸ William Schabas, "War Crimes Related to the United States Belligerent Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom," in David Keanu Sai (ed.), *The Royal Commission of Inquiry: Investigating War Crimes and Human Rights Violations Committed in the Hawaiian Kingdom* 161 (2020) (online at https://hawaiiankingdom.org/pdf/Hawaiian Royal Commission of Inquiry (2020).pdf).

language of Hawaiian was banned and replaced with the American language of English.³⁹ Young students who spoke the Hawaiian language in school were severely disciplined. One of the leading newspapers for the insurgents, who were now officials in the territorial regime, printed a story on the plan of denationalization. The *Hawaiian Gazette* reported:

As a means of inculcating patriotism in the schools, the Board of Education [of the territorial government] has agreed upon a plan of patriotic observance to be followed in the celebration of notable days in American history, this plan being a composite drawn from the several submitted by teachers in the department for the consideration of the Board. It will be remembered that at the time of the celebration of the birthday of Benjamin Franklin, an agitation was begun looking to a better observance of these notable national days in the schools, as tending to inculcate patriotism in a school population that needed that kind of teaching, perhaps, more than the mainland children do.⁴⁰

Within three generations since its implementation, the national consciousness of the Hawaiian Kingdom had become erased. This was the ultimate aim of the insurgency, which was evidenced in the record of a Council of State meeting of the so-called Republic of Hawai'i in 1895. Samuel Damon, who served as the group's Vice-President, stated, "[i]f we are ever to have peace and annexation the first thing to do is to obliterate the past."⁴¹ According to Beamer, the events that occurred after 1893 "were not colonial; they were active attempts at obliterating Hawaiian nationalism. The goal was to replace all forms of Hawaiian nationality in the population with a new identity as something similar to colonial subjects."⁴² As Gonschor accurately states, "American indoctrination of the people of Hawai'i had profound negative consequences not only on Hawaiian culture and identity, but also on the islands' historiography. As soon as the Missionary Party—or, as loyalist newspaper editor Edmund Norrie called them, the *American Mafia*—had taken the reins of power, they began to systemically rewrite the country's history and obscure and discredit the achievements of the Hawaiian Kingdom (emphasis added)."⁴³

The investigation of "those persons who have been...in the Provisional Government, or who have been instrumental in the overthrow of [the] government" conducted by President Cleveland, provided clear and, as Coke remarked, "provable" evidence "by the testimony of two or more lawful witnesses" that the crime of high treason had been committed. As the President stated to the Congress, if it was not for "the landing of the United States forces upon false pretexts respecting the danger to life and property the [insurgents] would never have exposed themselves to the pains

³⁹ *Programme for Patriotic Exercises in the Public Schools*, Territory of Hawai'i, adopted by the Department of Public (1906) (online a: <u>http://hawaiiankingdom.org/pdf/1906_Patriotic_Exercises.pdf</u>).

⁴⁰ *Patriotic Program for School Observance*, Hawaiian Gazette 5 (3 Apr. 1906) (online at <u>http://hawaiiankingdom.org/pdf/Patriotic Program Article.pdf</u>).

⁴¹ Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana* 197 (2014).

⁴² Id.

⁴³ Lorenz Gonschor, A Power in the World—The Hawaiian Kingdom in Oceania 158 (2019).

and penalties of treason by undertaking the subversion of the Queen's Government,"44 and "if the Queen could have dealt with the insurgents alone her course would have been plain and the result unmistakable."45

Of the three modes of attainting a person or persons of the high crime of treason under English common law, the insurgents were attainted by "process" as evidenced in President Cleveland's six-month investigation from 1 April to 18 October 1893, and acknowledged by Queen Lili'uokalani in the Agreement of Restoration of 18 December 1893. The condition of the Agreement of Restoration for the Queen, after being restored to the throne, "to grant full amnesty as to life and property to all those persons who have been or who are now in the Provisional Government, or who have been instrumental in the overthrow of your government," presupposes that these persons were guilty of committing the high crime of treason, and, therefore, were attainted. According to Black's Law Dictionary, amnesty is a "sovereign act of forgiveness for past acts, granted by a government to all persons (or to certain classes of persons) who have been guilty of...treason. ... Included in the concept of pardon is 'amnesty,' which is similar in all respects to a full pardon, insofar as when it is granted both the crime and punishment are abrogated; however, unlike pardons, an amnesty usually refers to a class of individuals irrespective of individual situations (emphasis added)."46 The Queen, however, was not restored and, therefore, amnesty was not granted to those found guilty of treason by a "process."

As a person who is *attainted* by a conviction of treason by a court of law whereby escheat occurs at the moment of the commission of the crime so that all intervening dealings with the property are avoided, escheat for a person attainted by a "process," like a bill of attainder or the Agreement of Restoration, occurs at the moment of the commission of the crime as well. Section 9 of the treason statute states, "[w]hoever shall commit the crime of treason, shall suffer the punishment of death; and all his property shall be confiscated to the government." The term "property" in the statute includes both real and personal.

According to Thomas Tomlins, in the Law-Dictionary explaining the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the British Law, vol. 1 (1835), as "to Corruption of Blood, this operates upwards and downwards, so that an attainted person can neither inherit lands or other hereditaments from his ancestors, nor retain those he is already in possession of, nor transmit them by descent to any heir; but the same shall escheat to the lord of the fee, subject to the king's superior right of forfeiture; and the person attainted shall also obstruct all descents to his posterity, wherever they are obliged to derive a title through him to a remoter ancestor." Therefore, all persons who were guilty of the crime of high treason, their real property escheated to the Hawaiian government, and their ownership to personal property vested in the Hawaiian government at the moment they committed

⁴⁴ Executive Documents, 455. ⁴⁵ *Id.*, 453.

⁴⁶ Black's Law, 82-83.

the crime of treason since 17 January 1893 and suffers the pains and penalties from the effects of the doctrine of the *corruption of blood* thereafter.

PERSONS FOUND GUILTY OF THE HIGH CRIME OF TREASON BY PROCESS

When the insurgency, with the assistance of U.S. troops, seized control of the Executive and Judicial branches of government they began to search out and remove royalists from the government ranks. William O. Smith, the so-called Attorney-General, oversaw this process. On August 5, 1893, Deputy Sheriff Richard P. Hose of Maui stated in a letter to Smith:

I hereby informs [sic.] you that i have made and [sic.] investigation of all the Police Officers under my control this morning upon the information I received from you on April 20 and May 20 1893 relating to the identification of the Police to assist the Hawaiian Patriotic League and would say, to assure you, that I am well satisfied upon my investigation of them separately, that the information that you received to be true. And I find five of them did identified [sic.] themselves to support the Hawaiian Patriotic League and still forms [sic.] that opinions [sic.] which you will see by enclosed statements of each.⁴⁷

The royalists were eventually all removed from holding any offices or employment in the so-called Republic of Hawai'i, and, therefore, the RCI will limit those persons who were found guilty of the high crime of treason by the aforementioned "process" to the leadership and officers of the Provisional Government and those holding offices in its successor the Republic of Hawai'i in 1898.

The leadership of the Provisional Government is revealed in its proclamation of 17 January 1893:

We, citizens and residents of the Hawaiian Islands, organized and acting for the public safety and the common good, hereby proclaim as follows:

1. The Hawaiian Monarchical system of Government is hereby abrogated.

2. A Provisional Government for the control and management of public affairs and the protection of the public peace is hereby established, to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.

3. Such Provisional Government shall consist of an Executive Council of Four Members, who are hereby declared to be

S.B. [Sanford Ballard] DOLE,

⁴⁷ Richard P. Hose to William O. Smith, August 5, 1893, Attorney General Letterbook, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

J.A. [James Anderson] KING, P.C. [Peter Cushman] JONES, W.O. [William Owen] SMITH.

Who shall administer the Executive Departments of the Government, the first named as acting as President and Chairman of such Council and administering the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the others severally administering the Department of Interior, Finance and Attorney General, respectively, in the order in which they are above enumerated, according to existing Hawaiian Law as far as may be consistent with this Proclamation; and also of an Advisory Council, which shall consist of fourteen members, who are hereby declared to be

S. [Samuel] M. DAMON, A. [Andrew] BROWN, L.A. [Lorrin Andrews] THURSTON, J.F. [James Francis] MORGAN, J. [John] EMMELUTH, H. [Henry] WATERHOUSE, J. [John] A. McCANDLESS, E.D. [Edward Davies] TENNEY, F. [Frederick] W. McCHESNEY, F. WILHELM, W.R. [William Richards] CASTLE, W.G. [William George] ASHLEY, W.C. [William Chauncey] WILDER, C. [Crister] BOLTE.

Such Advisory Council shall also have general legislative authority.

Such Executive and Advisory Councils shall, acting jointly, have power to remove any member of either Council and to fill such or any other vacancy.

4. All officers under the existing Government are hereby requested to continue to exercise their functions and perform the duties of their respective offices, with the exception of the following named persons:

QUEEN LILIUOKALANI, CHARLES B. WILSON, Marshal, SAMUEL PARKER, Minister of Foreign Affairs, W.H. CORNWELL, Minister of Finance, JOHN F. COLBURN, Minister of the Interior, ARTHUR P. PETERSON, Attorney-General,

Who are hereby removed from office.

5. All Hawaiian Laws and Constitutional principles not inconsistent herewith shall continue in force until further order of the Executive and Advisory Councils.

(Signed) HENRY E. [Ernest] COOPER, Chairman, ANDREW BROWN, THEODORE F. LANSING, JOHN EMMELUTH, C. [Crister] BOLTE, ED. [Edward] SUHR, HENRY WATERHOUSE, W.C. [William Chauncey] WILDER, F. [Frederick] W. McCHESNEY, WM. O. [William Owen] SMITH, LORRIN A. [Andrews] THURSTON, WM. R. [William Richards] CASTLE, J.A. [John Andrew] McCANDLESS, Committee of Safety.⁴⁸

Supreme Court Justices:

Albert Francis Judd, Chief Justice and Chancellor⁴⁹ Richard Frederick Bickerton, First Associate Justice⁵⁰ Walter Francis Frear, Second Associate Justice⁵¹ William Austin Whiting, Second Associate Justice⁵²

The *Hawaiian Gazette*, published by *The Hawaiian Gazette Company* (Ltd.), became the insurgents' newspaper that published the proclamation on 24 January 1893. The headline of the proclamation on the front page read "Citizens Rise and Seize the Government Building [...] The Monarchy Abrogated—Enthusiastic Volunteers Rally Round the New Government."⁵³ *The Hawaiian Gazette Company* (Ltd.) also published the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. On 31 January 1893, the Hawaiian Gazette published a Notice of "A Brief History of the Revolution to be Issued" that stated:

⁴⁸ Executive Documents, 210; see also Robert C. Lydecker, Roster Legislatures of Hawaii 1841-1918: Constitutions of Monarchy and Republic—Speeches of Sovereigns and President 187 (1918).

⁴⁹ Thomas O. Thrum, Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1894 153 (1893).

⁵⁰ *Id*.

⁵¹ *Id*.

⁵² Thomas O. Thrum, Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1897 168 (1897).

⁵³ Hawaiian Gazette, "The New Era! The Revolution Terminated by the Establishing of a Provisional Government," (24 Jan. 1893) (online at

https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/hihouml_damsel_ver01/data/sn83025121/00211108976/189301240 1/0038.pdf).

The Hawaiian Gazette Co. has now in press an important publication which is destined to meet the hearty approval of the general public here and elsewhere. It is entitled "A Brief History of the Revolution," and it will be issued in a convenient pamphlet form.

The unprecedented large sales of the *Advertiser* and the *Hawaiian Gazette*, both of which contained the only true and extended account of the late revolution is the cause of the new publication.⁵⁴

The actions taken by the insurgents, to include *The Hawaiian Gazette Company* (Ltd.), the *Hawaiian Gazette*, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and eye-witness accounts have been preserved in the President's investigation that was based on the periodic reports of Special Commissioner Blount to Secretary of State Gresham. Additional insurgents that are not aforementioned served as members of the so-called Executive and Advisory Councils until 22 May 1895.⁵⁵ They included:

Executive Council

T.C. Porter (15 March 1893 – 29 May 1893) F.M. [Francis March] Hatch (15 February 1894)

Advisory Council

William [Fessenden] Allen (18 January 1893 – 22 May 1895)
Cecil Brown (25 January 1893 – 25 October 1894)
Charles L. [Lunt] Carter (18 January 1893 – 18 January 1893)
Charles M. Cooke (18 January 1893 – 1 February 1893)
Frank A. Hosmer (16 January 1895 – 22 May 1895)
Jos. [Joseph] P. Mendonca (5 June 1893 – 22 May 1895)
John Nott (27 February 1893 – 22 May 1895)
David Bowers Smith (8 March 1894 – 22 May 1895)
C.B. Wood (16 January 1895 – 22 May 1895)
Alexander Young (18 January 1893 – 22 May 1895)

In the record of *Proceedings of the Executive and Advisory Councils of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands* dated 17 January 1893, it stated:

During the evening the Executive and Advisory Councils held a regular meeting. The advisability of sending Commissioners to Washington at once to negotiate a treaty of political union between the United States and Hawaii was thoroughly discussed. It was

⁵⁴ *Id.*, "Important Notice—A Brief History of the Revolution to be Issued," (31 Jan. 1893) (online at https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/hihouml_damsel_ver01/data/sn83025121/00211108976/189301310 https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/hihouml_damsel_ver01/data/sn83025121/00211108976/189301310 https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/hihouml_damsel_ver01/data/sn83025121/00211108976/189301310

⁵⁵ Lydecker, 189.

moved and carried that the Steamer 'Claudine' should be chartered, and a committee of three, Messrs. L. A. Thurston, W. R. Castle and W. C. Wilder, should go to Washington for the aforesaid purpose.

The following day, it was "moved and carried that to the names of L. A. Thurston, W. R. Castle and W. C. Wilder Messrs. Charles L. Carter and Joseph Marsden be added as Commissioners to Washington, making a Committee of five." These individuals boarded the Claudine on 19 January and arrived in San Francisco on the 28th and in Washington, D.C., on 3 February. While in Washington, D.C., they were joined by William A. Kinney, Charles Reed Bishop, William N. Armstrong, Archibald Hopkins, and Dr. John Mott-Smith, who served as the insurgents' minister to Washington. On 14 February 1893 a treaty was signed by five of the so-called commissioners and John W. Foster, the Secretary of State. The treaty was, thereafter, submitted to the U.S. Senate for ratification. In a letter from Mott-Smith to Dole dated 25 February 1893, he wrote "Hon. Charles R. Bishop who has been in this city for three weeks left today for San Francisco. Mr. Bishop's advice, counsel and support have been valuable to the Commissioners."⁵⁶

U.S. President Benjamin Harrison's successor, Grover Cleveland, entered office on 4 March and withdrew the treaty from further consideration by the Senate on the 9th after receiving the Queen's conditional surrender. He appointed Blount as Special Commissioner on 11 March and delivered his message to the Congress on 18 December 1893. In his message, Cleveland explained:

I conceived it to be my duty therefore to withdraw the treaty from the Senate for examination, and meanwhile to cause an accurate, full, and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional Government of Hawaii, and the installment in its place of the provisional government. I selected for the work of investigation the Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia, whose service of eighteen years as a member of the House of Representatives, and whose experience as chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in that body, and his consequent familiarity with international topics, joined with his high character and honorable reputation, seemed to render him peculiarly fitted for the duties entrusted to him. His report detailing his action under the instructions given to him and the conclusions derived from his investigation accompany this message.⁵⁷

The leader of the insurgency, Sanford B. Dole, stated that the provisional government "was organized for the administration of public affairs until such time as terms of union with United States of America should have been agreed upon. Unexpected delays in the consummation of such union having occurred, the Republic of Hawaii was organized and proclaimed on the 4th day of

⁵⁶ J. Mott Smith, Hawn Minister at Washington, D.C., to Sanford B. Dole, 25 Feb. 1893, Series 404-53-834: Hawn Officials Abroad: Washington D.C. Jan-May 1893, Hawai'i Archives (online at <u>https://hawaiiankingdom.org/pdf/Mott-Smith_to_Dole_(2.25.1893).pdf</u>).

⁵⁷ Executive Documents, 447.

July, A.D. 1894."⁵⁸ Additional insurgents joined the leadership ranks by actively participating in the drafting of the so-called constitution and participating in its legislature.

Participants of the Constitutional Convention⁵⁹

Lemuel Clark Ables Henry Perrin Baldwin John Ena Antonio Fernandes William Horner Jose Kekahuna Iosepa David Haili Kahaulelio John William Kalua John Kauhane James Anderson King Albert Kukailimoku Kunuiakea Frederick S. Lyman William Fawcett Pogue William Hyde Rice Alexander George Morison Robertson Charles T. Rodgers John Mark Vivas Albert Spencer Wilcox George Norton Wilcox

Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Hawai'i⁶⁰

W.C. Achi A.T. Atkinson E.C. Bond J.F. Clay J.C. Cluney James Davis A.V. Gear W.P. Haia L.K. Halualani E.M. Hanuna A. Hocking H.L. Holstein S.W. Kaai

⁵⁹ *Id.*, 225-226.

⁵⁸ Lydecker, 237.

⁶⁰ *Id.*, 231, 236, 239, 247.

S.K. Kaeo G.P. Kamauoha J.L. Kaulukou James N.K. Keola A.B. Lobenstein W.D. McBryde D.L. Naone F. Northrup C. Notley A. Pali J.D. Paris E.E. Richards R. Rycroft E.C. Winston J.N. Wright

The insurgents occupying offices in the so-called Republic of Hawai'i are provided by *1898: Husted's Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*, which is attached hereto as an appendix.⁶¹

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Executive Council

Sanford B. Dole, President of the Republic of Hawai'i Henry E. Cooper, Minister of Foreign Affairs James A. King, Minister of the Interior Samuel M. Damon, Minister of Finance William O. Smith, Attorney-General

Council of State

Cecil Brown, John Ena, J.A. Kennedy, A.G.M. Robinson, P.C. Jones, John Nott, C. Bolte, M.P. Robinson, S.K. Kane, John Phillips, J.L. Kaulukou, A.V. Gear, W.C. Achi, M.A. Gonsalves, D.P.R. Isenberg

JUDICIARY DEPARTMENT

Supreme Court Chief Justice, A.F. Judd First Associate Justice, W.F. Frear Second Associate Justice, W.A. Whiting Clerk Judiciary Department, Henry Smith

⁶¹ 1898: Husted's Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands xlvii-xlix (1898) (online at https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/35849)."

Circuit Judges

First Judge, First Circuit, Oʻahu, Antonio Perry Second Judge, First Circuit, Oʻahu, Wm. F.L. Stanley Second Circuit, Maui, J.W. Kalua Third and Fourth Circuits, Hawaiʻi, G.K. Wilder Fifth Circuit, Kauaʻi, J. Hardy

Clerks of Supreme and Circuit Courts

H. Smith, ex-officio First Clerk, First Circuit, Oʻahu, George Lucas Second Clerk, First Circuit, Oʻahu, J.A. Thompson Third Clerk, First Circuit, Oʻahu, P.D. Kellett Second Circuit, Maui, A.F. Tavares Third and Fourth Circuits, Hawaiʻi, Daniel Porter Fifth Circuit, Kauaʻi, R.W.T. Purvis

Interpreters, etc.

Hawaiian, John E. Bush Chinese, Li Cheung Japanese, C.A. Doyle Stenographers, J.W. Jones and P.M. McMahon

District Magistrates

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Molokai-Deputy Sheriff, George Trimble

Maui—Sheriff, L.M. Baldwin; Deputy Sheriffs: Lahania, A.N. Hayselden; Makawao, W.H. King; Hana, C.R. Lindsey

Hawai'i—Sheriff, L.A. Andrews, Deputy Sheriffs: North Hilo, L.E. Swain; Hamakua, H.S. Overend; South Kohala, Z. Paakiki; North Kohala, Charles H. Pulaa; North Kona, J.K. Nahale; South Kona, S. Lazaro; Ka'u, W.J. Yates; Puna, J.E. Eldarts; South Hilo, R.A. Lyman

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On 16 January 1895, John Harris Soper, Adjutant-General, by order of Sanford B. Dole, Commander-in-Chief, issued Special Order No. 25 establishing a Military Commission for the prosecution of Queen Lili'uokalani and others for misprision of treason and treason.⁶² The Military Commission was comprised of Colonel William Austin Whiting, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Henry Fisher, Captain Charles William Ziegler, Captain Joseph M. Camara, Jr., Captain J.W. Pratt, Captain William Chauncey Wilder, Jr., First Lieutenant J.W. Jones, and Captain William A. Kinney. On 11 February 1895, under Special Orders No. 31, Captain A.G.M. Robertson replaced Kinney who thereafter served as prosecutor of the Queen and others.⁶³ In the trial of the Queen, Albert Francis Judd, Chief Justice and Chancellor, served as an expert witness against the Queen. These individuals were the leaders of the military arm of the insurgency.

The following persons are guilty of the high crime of treason and have suffered the pains and penalties of *attainder* and the *corruption of blood* that was triggered on the day they committed the high crime:

Lemuel Clark Ables; W.C. Achi; H.L. Achilles; H.L. Adams; W.Y. Afong; L. Ahlborn; H.J. Ahu; P.J. Aiken; W.O. Aiken; E.P. Aikue; Thomas Aiu; D. Alawa; Sister M. Albina; E.H. Allen; George L. Allen; William Fessenden Allen; W.D. Alexander; L.F. Alvarez; T.K.R. Amalu; H.K. Anahu; Dickson Anderson; James Anderson; J. Anderson; J.F. Anderson; L.A. Andrews; R.W. Andrews; G. Armstrong; William N. Armstrong; S.W.K. Apua; F.K. Archer; William George Ashley; Joseph B. Atherton; R.H. Atkins; A.L.C.

⁶³ The Hawaiian Star, *Notice—Special Orders No. 31* 2 (11 Feb. 1895) (online at https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/hihouml_azure_ver01/data/sn82015415/00237284124/1895021101/0144.pdf).

⁶² The Daily Bulletin, *By Authority—Proclamation* 2 (4 Feb. 1895) (online at <u>https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/hihouml_azure_ver01/data/sn82015415/00237284124/1895021101/</u>0144.pdf).

Atkinson; A.T. Atkinson; B.C. Atkinson; L.S. Aungst; H.C. Austin; H.L. Austin; H.Z. Austin; J.H. Babcock; E.H. Bailey; E.D. Baldwin; Henry Perrin Baldwin; L.M. Baldwin; Manuel Jose Barbosa; J.H. Barenaba; E.W. Barnard; Robert James Barney; Sister M. Benedicta; Dwight Benton; Richard Frederick Bickerton; E. Biesterfeld; Charles Reed Bishop; C.H. Bishop; Charles Blake; J. Blanpain; Ernest de Boissac; Crister Bolte; Sister M. Bonaventure; E.C. Bond; F.A. Bonet; Geo. M. Boote; C. Borchgrevink; P.J. Bouwman; J. Bovey; W.A. Bowen; Edward S. Boyd; J.H. Boyd; T. Brandt; A.L. Bresler; James Bright; Cecil Robert Broad; H.H. Broadie; M. Bronc; A. Brown; A.B. Brown; Andrew Brown; A.M. Brown; Cecil Brown; B. Brown; B.H. Brown; H.H. Brown; Henry Brown; J.F. Brown; Robert H. Bruce; E.G.J. Bryant; A. Buckholtz; K. Buchholtz; Sterns Buck; J.K. Burkett; P.H. Burnette; John E. Bush; John Bush; George A. Cadell; Joseph M. Camara; J.M. Camara, Jr.; D. Campbell; J.T. Campbell; Victor J. Capron; J. Carden; A.W. Carter; F.W. Carter; Charles Lunt Carter; John H. Carter; V.A. Carvalho; James B. Castle; William Richards Castle; David Center; A. Chalmers; W. Chamberlain; Jules Chavasse; Li Cheung; S.F. Chillingworth; Byron O. Clark; G. Clark; J.F. Clay; Ed. F. Clements; J.C. Cluney; J. Coerper; George Collins; Wm. B. Colville; E.E. Conant; J.H. Coney; Charles M. Cooke; Henry Ernest Cooper; Audley Coote; E. Coppieters; Andrew Cox; H.G. Crabbe; Allan O. Crookshank; F.L. Crosby; Charles Crozier; W.H. Cummings; F.I. Cutter; Sister M. Cyrilla; F.B. Damon; Samuel M. Damon; A. da Silva Moreira; Miss Rose Davidson; James Davis; Robert H. Davis; G.A. Davis; Henry Davis; Chas. Davison; George B. Dawson; F.R. Day; Bernardo Machado de Faria Maia; E. de Harrie; Antonio C. de las Casas; Raphael de Luchi; F.T. de Navarra; A.F. de Serpa; H. Deacon; W.E.H. Deverill; George L. Desha; H. Dickenson; Mrs. A.E. Dickey; C.H. Dickey; Lyle A. Dickey; Mrs. B.F. Dillingham; W.F. Dillingham; Frank S. Dodge; E.P. Dole; Sanford Ballard Dole; H.M. Dow; C.A. Doyle; G.H. Dunn; J.E. Eldarts; J.S. Emerson; N.B. Emerson; John Emmeluth; John Ena; W.S. Endings; G.H. Fairchild; Charles J. Falk; J.K. Farley; W.J. Feary; W.P. Fennell; Wm. Fennell; Antonio Fernandes; N. Fernandez; Narciso T.M. Ferro; J.T. Figueredo; Joseph Henry Fisher; Wm. Fisher; Captain Fitzgerald; D. Forbes; W.J. Forbes; Victor Forge; T.C. Forsyth; Walter Francis Frear; Captain A. Fuller; J.L. Garcin; J.S. Garnett; J. Gasper; A.V. Gear; G.D. Gear; F.W. Gearde; Alexander George; J.B. Gibson; T.H. Gibson; W.J. Gillam; Gorham D. Gilman; J.W. Girvin; H.F. Glade; Chas. Goheir; H. Goldberg; M.A. Gonsalves; E.S. Goodhue; G.R.M. Graham; W.M. Graham; J. Greig; Col. W.J. De Gress; C.B. Greenfield; J. Grunwald; C.K. Haae; S. Haanio; S. Haanio, Jr.; W.P. Haia; R. Hall; L.K. Halualani; F. Halstead; J.B. Hanaike; E.M. Hanuna; G.W.A. Hapai; Henry Hapai; S.R. Hapuku; F.W. Hardy; J. Hardy; E.H. Hart; J.A. Hassinger; Francis March Hatch; J.K. Haupu; Hawaiian Gazette Company (Ltd.); Hawaiian Gazette; A.N. Hayselden; Geo. W. Hayseldon; H.T. Hayselden; Mrs. T.L. Hayselden; Henry Hempell; William Henry; A. Herbert; George Herbert; G.C. Hewitt; A.W. Hevdtmann; J. Hind; R. Hind, Jr.; D.H. Hitchcock; A.W. Hobson; A. Hocking; C.B. Hofguard; J. Holi; H. Holmes; H.L. Holstein; C.J. Holt; J. Holt; George Hons; S. Hookano; Wm. Hookuanui; Archibald Hopkins; Cyril Hopkins; Edward Hore; George Hore; William Y. Horner; W. Horner; Frank A. Hosmer; Alfred Houle; H.W. Howard; Dr. G. Herbert; Conrad Hughes; S. Hundley; S.N. Hundely; James H. Hunt; Geo. K. Hunukau; Ambrose Hutchinson; Curtiss P. Iaukea; J. Ikaika; Jose Kekahuna Iosepa; Sister M. Irene; A. Irvine; J.J. Bell Irving; R.W. Irwin; D.P.R. Isenberg;

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By being found guilty of the high crime of treason by "process," the aforementioned insurgents have been *attainted* as a consequence of Hawaiian law. Therefore, "all the property of one attainted, real and personal, is forfeited [and has escheated to the Hawaiian government at the time the crime of treason was committed]; his blood is corrupted, so that nothing can pass by inheritance to, from, or through him; ...and thus, his wife, children, and collateral relations suffering with him, the tree, falling, comes down with all its branches."⁶⁴ On the subject of escheat, *Holdsworth: A Historical Introduction to the Land Law* (1935) says:

⁶⁴ Joel Prentiss Bishop, Bishop on Criminal Law §967, 716 (9th ed. 1923).

All land is held of some lord. That lord, or some one of his predecessors in title, is supposed to have given the land to the tenant, or some one of his predecessors in title. Therefore, if the tenant dies without heirs, it is only right that the lord should have back again that which he gave to the tenant. This is escheat *propter defectum sanguinis*. Similarly, if the tenant commits any gross breach of the feudal bond—commits, that is, a "felony" in the original sense of that term—the lord may take again that which he gave. This is escheat *propter delictum tenentis*. The right of escheat was thus a tenurial right, which was dependent upon the fact that the freehold had no tenant. Therefore it could only arise when a tenant in fee simple died without heirs or committed felony.⁶⁵

Black's Law states that escheat is a "reversion of property"⁶⁶ that "arises by act of the law."⁶⁷ Escheat does not require any physical act by the Hawaiian government to seize the property but rather escheat occurs as a consequence of being *attainted* in similar fashion as to how lands escheat to the Hawaiian government when a person dies without any heirs. Section1451 of the Hawaiian Civil Codes provides, "[i]f the intestate leave no kindred, his estate *shall escheat* to the Hawaiian Government (emphasis added)."⁶⁸ The operative word is *shall*, which is by definition "mandatory."⁶⁹ All real property throughout the Hawaiian Islands originates from the Hawaiian government that were acquired by a Land Commission Award or by a Patent in fee simple.⁷⁰

Some of the insurgents came to be known as the Big Five, a collection of five large businesses, that wielded considerable political and economic power after 1893 to benefit themselves. The Big Five were Castle & Cooke, Alexander & Baldwin, C. Brewer & Co., American Factors (now Amfac), and Theo H. Davies & Co. Other insurgents served in the United States proxy government of the Territory of Hawai'i implementing policies and laws that ran contrary to the laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom and in violation of the international laws of occupation.

David Keanu Sai, Ph.D. Head, *Royal Commission of Inquiry*

4 November 2022

⁶⁵ William Searle Holdsworth, An Historical Introduction to the Land Law 33 (1935).

⁶⁶ Black's Law, 545.

⁶⁷ *Id.*, 1320.

⁶⁸ The Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands §1451 (1884).

⁶⁹ Black's Law, 1375.

⁷⁰ See Royal Commission of Inquiry, *Preliminary Report: Legal Status of Land Titles throughout the Realm* (July 16, 2020) (online at <u>https://hawaiiankingdom.org/pdf/RCI_Preliminary_Report_Land_Titles.pdf</u>).

Appendix

.. HUSTED'S ..

Directory and Hand-Book

OF

HONOLULU

AND THE

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

GIVING

The Name, Occupation, Place of Business, and Residence of the Adult Population of the Entire Islands,

ALSO

A Complete Classified Business Register of all the Islands, with other Valuable Descriptive and Statistical Information

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F. M. HUSTED, Compiler,

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Organic and Chemical Fertilizers In Quantities to Suit

Hamaiian Fertilizing Company

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

MAUI.

Haleakala1	0,032
West Maui, about	5820
Piiholo, Makawao	2256
Puu Io, near Ulupalakua	2841
Ulupalakua, about	1800
Puu Olai, (Miller's Hill)	355
Makawao Female Seminary.	1900
Grove Ranch, Makawao	981
Puu Olai, near Makena	250

H. J. LLOVD

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Suu C.A

	1
Mrs. C. H. Alexander's	2150
Puu Nianiau, Makawao	6850
Puu Kapuai, Hamakua	1150
Puu o Umi, Haiku	629
Puu Pane, Kula	2568
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Molokai, William Notley, D. Kailua, K. Kainuwai, H. Peelua.

8.W. Jordan BRUSSELS, VELVET PILE, DAGHESTAL, WILTON RUGS, STAIR AND OTHER CARPETS.

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Headquarters for Tropical Fruit

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B.F. Ehlers & Co. Head quarters for LACES, HANDKERCHIEFS, Embroidering, Gloves, Silks & Dress Materials, Black Hosiery

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

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Honolulu, J. M. Vivas, Emma N. Nakuina, J. H. Boyd, J. M. Camara.

Koolauloa, William Henry, M. Nakuaau.

Koolaupoko, E. P. Aikue.

Ewa and Waianae, H. D. Johnson, H. K. Meemanu, Mrs. Susan Kekela.

KAUAI.

Koloa, Edward Strehz. Kawaihau, H. Z. Austin, W. H. Williams, S. U. Kaneole. Hanalei, P. Nowlein, H. K. Anahu, S. N. K. Kakina. Waimea, S. E. Kaula. Niihau, J. B. Kaomea. Lihue, J. H. K. Kaiwi.

AGENTS TO ACKNOWLEDGE LABOR CONTRACTS.

OAHU.

Honolulu, J. A. Hassinger, J. Lucas, M. Keliiaa, Moses Keliiaa, H. G. Crabbe, Harriet E. Wilder.
Waialua, S. H. Kalamakee.
Ewa and Waianae, J. Kahoa, H. T. Taylor.

KAUAI.

Koloa, E. Strehz. Lihue, J. B. Hanaike. Kawaihau, J. M. Kealoha, S. Kaiu, H. L. Austin. Hanalei, J. W. Loka, J. Kakina. Waimea, C. D. Pringle, S. E. Kaula, J. H. Kapukui.

MAUI.

Makawao, F. W. Hardy.
Hana, B. K. Kaiwiaea, J. K. Nakila.
Wailuku, S. E. Kaleikau, M. P. Waiwaiole, D. Quill, A. N. Kepoikai, George Hons.
Lahaina, T. C. Forsyth, L. M. Baldwin, H. Dickinson.

HAWAII.

Hilo, L. Severance, J. H. Maby, J. Mattoon, A. V. Carvalho. North Hilo, L. E. Swain. Kau, W. J. Yates, T. A. L. Wills.

Sheet Iron, Iron Pipe, Fittings, Pumps, etc. Holbrook, Merrill & Stetson San FRANCISCO Branches at Sacramento & Los Angeles, Cal.

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For "OLD COVERNMENT WHISKEY," Uncle Sam's very own, a pure Bourbon. Go to W. C. PEACOCK & CO., Ltd., Agents HONOLULU and HILD

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Hamakua, J. L. Kanakaoluna, Charles Williams. North Kohala, D. S. Kahookano, G. P. Tulloch, S. W. Kekuewa.

South Kohala, James Bright. North Kona, J. W. Smith, T. Aiu. South Kona, W. J. Wright, H. T. Mills.

NOTARIES PUBLIC.

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MAUI.

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HAWAII.

J. S. Smithies, S. Haanio, Jr., J. Bright, G. P. Tulloch, W. P. Fennell, J. H. Waipuilani, D. H. Kahaulelio, Thomas Aiu, T. W. Kekuewa, T. H. Wright, W. Vredenburg, H. J. Ahu, S. H. Mahuka, H. T. Mills, J. Greig, S. Lazaro, J. K. Nahale, A. W. Heydtmann, W. Hookuanui, D. Porter, E. W. Barnard, R. A. Lyman, D. H. Hitchcock, G. K. Wilder, C. Williams, R. W. Podmore, W. Horner, F. L. Winter, H. E. Wilson, F. M. Wakefield, Z. Paakiki, A. W. Hobson, S. W. Kekuewa, E. D. Baldwin, W. S. Wise, W. J. Rickard.

KAUAI.

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17 and 19 Spear Street N. CLAR & SC SAN FRANCISCO Manufacturers of PRESSED BRICK, FIRE BRICK and TILE

Gentle Horses Manager BELLINA, as well as Spirited U -**CLUB STABES**

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First-Class Turnout

If You Want a

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Cane Manures OF EVERY DESCRIPTION A. F. COOKE Hawaiian Fertilizing Company

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

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Cooke,

ROAD BOARDS.

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Hilo, H. Deacon, J. A. Scott.
North Hilo, W. G. Walker, M. Bronc, A. Chalmers.
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Kau, S. Kauhane, G. C. Hewitt, J. Ikaika.
Hamakua, A. Lidgate, J. Watt, D. Forbes.
North Kohala, J. Hind, G. F. Renton, R. Hall.
South Kohala, W. Vredenburg, J. Kauwe.
North Kona, G. Clark, J. Lenhart, J. K. Nahale.
South Kona, E. J. Wilson, S. Lazaro, K. Buchholtz.

TH. J. LLOYD

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See

Sanches Branches

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Lahaina, L. Ahlborn, D. Kahaulelio, R. C. Searle. Wailuku, C. B. Wells, W. T. Robinson, L. M. Baldwin. Hana, D. H. Napihaa, P. McLean, J. S. Garnett. Makawao, C. H. Dickey, W. H. King, P. J. Aiken. Molokai, D. McCorriston, G. Trimble, J. H. Mahoe.

OAHU.

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KAUAI.

Koloa, J. K. Farley, A. McBryde, M. Kaluna. Lihue, J. H. K. Kaiwi, F. W. Carter, W. H. Rice. Kawaihau, S. N. Hundley, D. Lovell, J. W. Neal. Hanalei, C. H. Willis, J. Kakina. Waimea, J. K. Kapuniai, T. Brandt, E. E. Conant. Niihau, J. B. Kaomea.

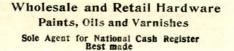
DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE.

Minister of Finance, S. M. Damon. Registrar of Public Accounts, W. H. Wright. Auditor-General, H. C. Austin.

Furniture, Extension Tables, Sideboards, China Closets, Buffets, Chairs, etc., for Dining Rooms. **Cutlery, House Furnishing Supplies, Garland** Stoves and Ranges, W. & C. Automatic Sewing Machines ... COR. BETHEL & KING, HONOLULU.

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THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS. Deputy Auditor, H. C. Meyers. Collector-General of Customs, F. B. McStocker. Clerk of Registrar, Henry Hapai. Tax Assessor and Collector, Oahu, Jona Shaw. Deputy Tax Assessor and Collector, Oahu, A. D. Thompson. Tax Assessor and Collector, Maui, C. H. Dickey. Tax Assessor and Collector, Hawaii, H. C. Austin. Tax Assessor and Collector, Kauai, J. K. Farley. Collector Port of Hilo, Geo. A. Turner. Collector Port of Kahului, E. H. Bailey. Collector Port of Lahaina, Collector Port of Mahukona, J. S. Smithies. Collector Port of Kealakekua, Collector Port of Kawaihae, Collector Port of Koloa, E. Strehz. Collector Port of Waimea, C. B. Hofgaard. Port Surveyor Kahului, J. W. L. Zumwalt. Port Surveyor, Hilo, Capt. Fitzgerald.

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT, HONOLULU.

Collector General, F. B. McStocker.

WATERHOUSE

TELEPHONE 24

Deputy Collector, J. F. Clay.

Statistical Clerks, W. Chamberlain, J. B. Gibson, P. H. Burnette.

Store Keepers, James J. Kelly, S. McKeague.

Appraiser, Richard Weedon.

Harbor Master, Capt. A. Fuller.

Pilots-Captains M. N. Sanders, J. C. Lorenzen, A. Macauley. Port Surveyor, G. C. Stratemeyer.

THE NATIONAL TREASURY.

CURRENT ACCOUNT BALANCE SHEET FOR 1896-1897.

Cash on hand December 31, 1895.

Fort. above Hotel Street

22,496 30

Headquarters for Tropical Fruits

nonolulu, H.

DOMESTIC

7

RECEIPTS.

Customs Revenue	.\$1,365,388	87		
Taxes	. 1,458,547	83		
Internal Revenue	. 1,340,211	97	\$4,164,148	67

MAKES THE BEST CARRIAGES, BUGGIES, PHAETONS AND BRAKES ...

Leading Manufacturers of UNIFORMS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION, CAPS, Etc.

	THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.		lxv
	Expenditures.		
	General Expenses\$3,330,523 80 Interest on all Loans 479,951 71 Matured Bonds Paid 18,100 00		
A REAL PROPERTY OF A REAL PROPER	\$3,828,575 51 Cash on hand December 31, 1897. 358,069 46		
	\$4,186,644 97	\$4,186,644	97
	LOAN FUND BALANCE SHEET FOR 1896	AND 1897	
	Cash on hand December 31, 1895.	\$ 46,729	46
	RECEIPTS.		(
	Sale of Bonds\$727,200 00 Postal Savings Bank		
	Deposits 151,156 27	878,356	27
	Expenditures.		
	Treasury Notes Paid\$ 58,000 00 Postal Savings Bank		
	Withdrawals 60,200 00 Expenses placing loan, 18,290 03		
	Payments for Public Works		
	Cash on Hand December 31, 1897. 98,734 97		
	\$ 925,085 73	\$ 925,085	73
	GENERAL BALANCE SHEET FOR 1896 A	ND 1897.	
	Total Treasury Balance December 31, 1895	\$ 69,225	76
	RECEIPTS.		
	Current Account\$4,164,148 67 Loan Fund 878,356 27		
		5,042,504	94

DEALERS IN Blake, Moffitt & Towne 55, 57, 59, 61 First St., bet. Market & Mission, S. F.

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

EXPENDITURES.

Embalming School

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UNDERTAKER and EMBALMER

lxvi

Current Account....\$3,828,575 51 Loan Fund..... 826,350 76

\$4,654,926 27 **Total Treasury Balance December** 456,804 43 31, 1897....

\$5,111,730 70 \$5,111,730 70

LIST OF ANNUAL LICENSE FEES.

	200
Agents\$	500
Alcohol	50
Auction, 1 Honolulu	600
Auction outer districts	15
Awa, 2 Honolulu	500
" Wailuku or Hilo, each	500
" Lahaina	250
" outer districts	100
Banking	750
Billiards, each table	25
Bowling alley	25
Boat, 4 oars	8
" 2 oars	4
Butcher	10
Cake Peddling	25
Dray	21/2
Driver	1
Drug, Honolulu	40
" other districts	20
Fire Arms	5
Gen'Imdse, based on annual	
sales from \$50 for sales	

Ì	under \$20,000; when \$20,-	
	000 or over 3% per cent.	
	of the gross amount.	
	Hack, each passenger capa-	
	city	1
	Horse, each	5
	Live stock, Honolulu	500
	" " outer districts.	250
	Livery Stable	50
1	Lodging and Tenement	2
	Milk	21/2
	Physician	10
	Pork Butcher	20
	Public show, each perform-	
	ance	5
	Salmon	10
	Shipping	50
	Spirit, wholesale or dealers	500
	" retail	1000
	Steam Laundry	50
	Victualling	50
	Wine, Beer and Ale	200

1 Auction Licenses have an additional tax of ½ per cent. on amount of sales. 2 Awa Licenses are limited: 3 For Honolulu, 2 each for Lahaina, Wailuku and Hilo. If applications exceed the limit, they are then sold at public auction at the above upset price.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

J. M. Oat, Postmaster-General. Henry Davis, Deputy Postmaster and Secretary. E. R. Stackable, Savings Bank Department. F. B. Oat, Money Order Department. L. T. Kenake, General Delivery Department.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS POSTAL SERVICE.

General Postoffice, Honolulu, Oahu; Joseph M. Oat, Postmaster-General; Henry Davis, Secretary; E. R. Stackable, Superintendent Savings Bank Department; A. J. Smithies, Assistant; F. B. Oat, Superintendent Money Order Department;

REIGN Headquarters AND 101 repical Fruits Honolulu, H

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Clothing, Men's Furnishings WAVERLEY BLOCK HOTEL STREET HONOLULU

GASOLINE ENGINES for Running Dynamos PUMPS AND MACHINERY

UNION GAS ENGINE CO., S. F.

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THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

F. B. Damon, Assistant; L. T. Kenake, Superintendent Delivery and Stamp Department; S. L. Kekumano, Assistant; George L. Desha, Registry Department; C. J. Holt, Parcels Post Department; Ladies' window, Miss Ethel C. Mossman; Joseph Liwai Kukahi, Charles Kaanoi, K. Narita, J. T. Figueredo, W. Y. Afong, Assistants.

The general postoffice is located on the corner of Merchant and Bethel streets, Honolulu. Office open daily from 8 a. m. till 4 p. m. Closed on all Hawaiian holidays and Sundays.

On Sunday the postoffice will be open from 7 till 8 o'clock a. m. for the sorting and delivery of island mails arriving on that day.

On Saturday the office is closed at 1 o'clock p. m., except on the arrival or departure of a foreign mail steamer on the afternoon of that day.

Postage stamps of the following denominations can be purchased: 1, 2, 5, 10 and 25 cents. Also postal cards of 1 and 2 cents each.

All letters and newspapers sent abroad must be prepaid by Hawaiian stamps only, and should be sent only to the postoffice—not on board the steamers.

UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION.

The following countries comprise the Universal Postal Union:

Argentine Republic, Australasia Colonies (British), Austria. Bagomoyo (German East Africa), Belgium, Bermuda, Bolivia, Brazil, British North Borneo, Bulgaria.

Cameroons, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia (U. S. of), Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus.

Danish Colonies, Dar-es-Salaam (German East Africa), Denmark, Dutch Colonies.

Ecuador, Egypt.

Falkland Islands, France, French Colonies.

Gambia, Germany, Gibraltar, Gold Coast, Greece, Guatemala, Guiana (British).

Hawaii, Hayti, Holland, Honduras (British) Honduras (Republic of), Hongkong and British office in China, Hungary. India (British), Italy.

Japan.

Н. J. ЦЦОУВ

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DIDG

Granite

See Page 175

Labuan, Lagos, Liberia, Lindi (German East Africa), Luxemberg.

Malta, Marshall Isles, Mauritius, Mexico, Montenegro.

Newfoundland, New Guiana (German Protectorate), Nicaragua, Norway.

Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Portugal, Portuguese Colonies.

We carry a full fine of Medical Batteries, Telephone and Telegraph Supplies, Insulated Wires, Electrical Machinery and Supplies

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ARLINGTON BLOCK

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THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Roumania, Russia.

Salvador, San Domingo, Servia, Sevchelles, Siam, Sierra Leone, Southwest Africa (German Protectorate), Spain, Spanish Colonies, Straits Settlements, Sweden, Switzerland.

Tanga (German East Africa), Togo (West Africa), Tunis, Turkey.

United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay. Venezuela.

West Indies (British).

Letter rate postage to the above countries, 5 cents for each 1/2 ounce or fraction. Newspapers, tubes, pamphlets, etc., 2 cents for each 2 ounces, excepting United States, Mexico and Canada, which is 1 cent for each 2 ounces or fraction.

RATES OF POSTAGE.

DOMESTIC.

Letters to any part of the Republic, for each half	
ounce	2 cents
Drop or city letters, or printed circulars, per $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. or	
fraction	.1 cent
Unsealed printed circulars, to any part of the Repub-	
lic, per 4 ozs., or fractions thereof	$1 \mathrm{cent}$
Newspapers, printed in the Republic and sent from	
the office of publication to subscribers residing	
in the Republic	Free
	Free 1 cent
in the Republic Books, cards, photographs, etc., for each oz Merchandise, samples of all kinds, for each ounce	
Books, cards, photographs, etc., for each oz	1 cent
Books, cards, photographs, etc., for each oz Merchandise, samples of all kinds, for each ounce	1 cent
Books, cards, photographs, etc., for each oz Merchandise, samples of all kinds, for each ounce Newspapers, pamphlets, almanacs, calendars, hand-	1 cent
Books, cards, photographs, etc., for each oz Merchandise, samples of all kinds, for each ounce Newspapers, pamphlets, almanacs, calendars, hand- bills, magazines, maps, occasional and other pub- lications (not bound) for each 4 ozs., or fraction thereof	1 cent 1 cent 1 cent
Books, cards, photographs, etc., for each oz Merchandise, samples of all kinds, for each ounce Newspapers, pamphlets, almanacs, calendars, hand- bills, magazines, maps, occasional and other pub- lications (not bound) for each 4 ozs., or fraction	1 cent 1 cent 1 cent

RATES OF FOREIGN POSTAGE.

thereof Registry fee, in addition to above charges	$1 \\ 10$	cent cents	Headquarters
RATES OF FOREIGN POSTAGE.			rters for
To United States, Canada, Mexico and Colonies, let- ters, each $\frac{1}{2}$ oz., or fraction	5	cents	r Tropical
Postal cards, each Commercial papers, each 2 ozs., or fraction (with a		cents	al Fruits
minimum charge of 5 cents) Books, each 2 ozs		cents cent	S
Photographs, each 2 ozs	1	cent	
Newspapers, each 2 ozs Registration fee in addition to above charges		cent cents	Honolulu, H. I
Registration fee with return receipts in addition to above charges	15	cents	u, H. I.

E.W. Jordan

COCOA MATTING AND MATS, LING-LEUMS AND OIL CLOTH No. 10 Fort Street

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THE BERGSTROM MUSIC COMPANY, LTD.

SHEET MUSIC, STRINGS, PIANOS AND ORGANS Progress Block, Honolulu

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

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OTHER COUNTRIES OF POSTAL UNION.

Letters, each $\frac{1}{2}$ oz	5	cents
Postal cards, each		cents
		cents
Newspapers each 2 ozs., or fraction		
Photographs, each 2 ozs., or fraction	2	cents
Samples (Limit of weight 12 oz., limit of size 12x8x4),		
each 2 oz	2	cents
Registration fee in addition to above charges	10	cents
Registration fee with return receipts in addition to		
	1~	

H.J.LLOYB

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page

See

MONEY ORDERS.

Domestic postal money orders are furnished on application at any of the following money order offices, payable at any other money order office named below.

On Hawaii—Hilo, Kohala, Honokaa, Waimea, Kealakekua, Waiohinu, Pahala, Paauilo, Kukuihaele, Hookena, Kailua, Laupahoehoe, Ookala, Mahukona, Naalehu, Hakalau, Pohoiki.

On Maui—Lahaina, Wailuku, Hamakuapoko, Hana, Makawao, Paia, Kipahulu, Hamoa, Ulupalakua. On Molokai—Kaunakakai and Kamalo.

On Oahu—Honolulu, Waianae, Waialua, Kahuku, Heeia and Honouliuli.

On Kauai—Lihue, Koloa, Waimea, Kealia, Hanalei, Makaweli, Kekaha and Mana.

Foreign money orders are issued on written application, at the general Post Office in Honolulu, on the United States, England, Scotland, Ireland, Portugal, including Madeira and Azores Islands, Germany, Norway, Netherlands, Denmark, China and Hongkong.

Postal Money Order Rates.

Inter-Island Denominations.	Inter-Island or Domestic.	Foreign Denomina- tions.	Orders on U. S.	Orders on Eng. Ger. Portugal and Hong- kong.
Orders not over \$ 5	5 cents	Not exceeding \$5	25 cts.	25 cts.
Over \$ 5, not over 10	10	\$ 5 to \$10	40 "	40 "
Over 10, not over 15	15 "	$10 \text{ to } 20 \dots$	60 "	70 "
Over 15, no' over 20	20 "	20 to 30	80 "	1 00
Over 20, not over 50	25 "	$30 \text{ to } 40 \dots$	1 00	1 30
Over 50, not over 500	25c for ea \$50	40 to 50	1 25	1 60

S. E. Cor. Market & Beale Nts. NCHES AT SACRAMENTO & LOS ANGELES, CAL

Stoves and Ranges House Furnishing Goods

"ANDREW USHER & CO.'S SCOTCH WHISKEY" is conceded to be the best in the market. Every reputable dealer keeps it. Insist on having it.

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Tenders & Prices Made for All Kinds of Fertilizers & for any Quantity

COOKE, Honolulu, H. I.

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Α.

Correspondence Solicited

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

PARCEL POST RATES.

To United States of America 12 cents per pound or fraction thereof. Parcels shall not exceed 11 pounds in weight nor the following dimensions: Greatest length, 3 feet 6 inches. The greatest length and girth combined, 6 feet.

To Canada 20 cents per pound or fraction thereof.

Parcels shall not exceed 5 pounds in weight nor the following dimensions: 2 feet in length and 1 foot in width or depth.

To Australia and United Kingdom, via Canada, 25 cents per pound or fraction thereof, under the same conditions as applied to Canada.

To Colonies:

	1 lb.	$2 \mathrm{lbs.}$	3 lbs.	4 lbs.	5 lbs.
New Zealand	16c	29c	41 c	54c	66 c

Weight of package not to exceed 5 pounds, length 2 feet, breadth and depth 1 foot.

POST OFFICES AND POSTMASTERS.

The following list of country offices shows their locations and the name of the Postmaster in charge.

Those marked with asterisk are Money Order offices, those with double asterisk are Savings Bank and Money Order offices.

HAWAII.

*Hakalau	Geo Boss
Hilea	
**Hilo	
Holualoa	
Honomu	
**Honokaa	
Honuapo	
**Hookena	
Hoopuloa	
*Kailua	J. Kaelemakule
Kawaihae	Wm. Hookuanui
*Kealakekua	
Keauhou	
**Kohala	
**Kukuihaele	
**Laupahoehoe	
*Mahukona	
**Naalehu	
Nароороо	
T. T	The constant

N. CLARK AND SONS ¹⁷ and 19 Spear Street SAN FRANCISCO Manfacturers of ARCHITECTURAL TERRA COTTA and FIRE PROOFING.....

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Corner Fort and Hotel KODAKS Developed and O Streets Danen F PHOTO. CO., LTD. Honolulu, H. I.

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Olaa	J. W. Mason
**Ookala	W. G. Walker
**Paauilo	J. R. Renton
**Pahala	T. C. Wills
Papaikou	H. L. Achilles
*Pohoiki	Mrs. R. Rycroft
Punaluu	Wm. Fennell
Volcano House	Peter Lee
**Waimea	.Miss E. W. Lyons
**Waiohinu	C. Meinecke
Waipio	Mrs. Ana Thomas

KAUAI.

	**HanaleiC. H. Wills
	HanapepeH. H. Brodie
l	**KealiaR. C. Spalding
	*KekahaF. W. Gearde
	**KilaueaJohn Bush
	**KoloaE. Strehz
	**LihueC. H. Bishop
	**Makaweli
	*ManaC. Borchgrevink
	**WaimeaC. B. Hofguard

LANAI.

Whole Island. . .. Mrs. T. L. Hayselden

MAUI.

	**HamakuapokoW. F. Mossman
1	*HamoaF. Wittrock
	**HanaJ. Grunwald
	HonokawaiChas. Goheir
	HonokohauDavid Kapaku
	HueloW. Mattson
	*KahuluiG. P. Wilder
	KaupoChas. Lake
	KeanaeW. Napihaa
	KeokeaD. Kapohakimohewa
	KiheiPeter Makia
	*KipahuluA. Buckholtz
	**LahainaGeo. W. Hayselden
	**MákawaoJ. Anderson
	MakenaJ. U. Napoulou
	**PaiaD. C. Lindsay

Furniture, Kitchen Tables, Kitchen ORDWAY& PORTER Furniture, Kitchen Tables, Kit Chairs, Linoleum, Safes, etc.

Waverley Block, Hotel and Bethel Streets

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Graphite Paint for Iron and Wood, Arms and Ammunition ubricating Oils, Crown Flour, Life and Fire Insurance

Corner Bethel and King, Honolulu

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J.T. Waterhouse

Wholesale & Retail Hardware

Paints, Oils and Varnishes Sole Agent for W. P. Fuller & Co.'s Pure Prepared Paints. Tinware, Agateware

Waverley Block. Bethel St.-Tel. 767

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THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Pauwela	P. Keaupuni
Peahi	
Spreckelsville	Geo. M. Boote
Ulupalakua	S. W. K. Apua
Waiakoa	
Waihee	
**Wailuku	
MOLOF	AAI.

*KamaloH.	McCorriston
**Kaunakakai	W. C. Meyer
Pukoo	.J. H. Mahoe

OAHU.

Ewa	
*Heeia	Wm. Fisher
**Honolulu	
*Honouliuli	W. J. Lowrie
*Kahuku	Geo. Weight
Kaneohe	Bishop Pahia
Laie	Geo. P. Sarff
Punaluu	
Peninsula	F. K. Archer
**Waialua	P. Mahaulu
Waialua Plantation	F. Halstead
**Waianae	David Center
Waiahole	S. E. K. Papaii
Waimanalo	
Waipahu	

HAWAIIAN POSTAL SAVINGS BANK.

Office second story of General Postoffice. Open 9 a. m. to 4 p. m. Saturday 9 a. m. to 1 p. m.

The Postal Savings Bank Department is open daily, except Sundays and holidays, at the post office for the receipt and payment of money.

Deposits of 25 cents and upwards to \$500 will be received on Pass Book accounts, and from \$500 to \$5000 on Term Special Certificates.

Interest is allowed at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum on deposits of \$5.00 and multiples thereof.

Married women, and also minors over 7 years of age, may deposit in their own names, but minors under the age of 15 years can only give a valid receipt upon the countersigning of their checks by their natural or legal guardians.

W.W.WRIGHT New and Second Hand Carriages To Let by Week or Month.

Pacific Button Co.

Manufacturers of Metal Buttons of all descriptions S. E. Cor. Sutter and Grant Ave., San Francisco

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

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OFA

AWAIIAN ERTILIZING OMPANY

Depositors are secured by government bonds held in trust by the Postmaster-General, and will have prompt repayment.

Printed rules and other information can be obtained on ap-

plication at the post office.

All deposits are free of taxes.

Branch offices are opened at the following post offices, where deposits can be made:

Hawaii-Hilo, Kohala, Laupahoehoe, Waimea, Honokaa, Paauilo, Pahala, Waiohinu, Hookena, Ookala, Kukuihaele, Naalehu.

Maui-Wailuku, Lahaina, Hana, Hamakuapoko, Paia, Makawao.

Kauai-Lihue, Koloa, Waimea, Kealia, Kilauea, Hanalei, Makaweli.

Oahu-Honolulu, Waianae, Waialua.

Molokai-Kaunakakai.

The amount of deposits during the past year (1897) is \$453,-807.38.

Withdrawn during the same period, \$329,720.57.

Total deposits December 31, 1897, \$854,443.42.

DEPARTMENT OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Attorney-General, W. O. Smith.

Deputy Attorney-General, E. P. Dole.

Assistant Deputy Attorney-General, A. L. C. Atkinson.

Clerk to Attorney-General, J. M. Kea.

Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands, A. M. Brown.

Deputy Marshal, H. R. Hitchcock.

Clerk to Marshal, H. M. Dow.

Sheriff of Maui, L. M. Baldwin.

Sheriff of Kauai, J. H. Coney.

Jailor of Oahu Prison, Wm. Henry.

Oahu-Deputy Sheriffs, Ewa, A. Kauhi; Waianae, George W. Nawaakoa; Waialua, Andrew Cox; Koolauloa and Koolaupoko, F. Pahia.

Kauai-Sheriff, J. H. Coney, Deputy Sheriffs, Lihue, -

-; Koloa, R. W. Waialeale; Waimea, E. Omsted; Hanalei, C. K. Haae; Kawaihau, S. Kaiu.

Molokai-Deputy Sheriff, George Trimble.

Maui-Sheriff, L. M. Baldwin; Deputy Sheriffs: Lahaina, A. N. Hayselden; Makawao, W. H. King; Hana, C. R. Lindsey. Hawaii-Sheriff, L. A. Andrews, Deputy Sheriffs: North Hilo, L. E. Swain; Hamakua, H. S. Overend; South Kohala, Z. Paakiki; North Kohala, Charles H. Pulaa; North Kona, J. K. Nahale; South Kona, S. Lazaro; Kau, W. J. Yates; Puna, J. E. Eldarts; South Hilo, R. A. Lyman.



DIXON, BORGESON & CO. SHOW CASES

Rotted Kainit, Superphosphates, Guanos, Manures, Nitrate Soda, Ground Sul. Lime Ammonia, Ground Seed Meal. Bone Meals, Sulphate Potash Stone.

Made ... Cooke's Special Fertilizers To Order And Sold on Guaranteed Analysis

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Love Building

St.,

534-536 Fort

Store H. H. WILLIAMS, MANAGER

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

H. E. Cooper, Minister.

- W. D. Alexander, W. A. Bowen, Mrs. B. F. Dillingham, Mrs. E. W. Jordan, H. M. von Holt, Geo. W. Smith, Commissioners.
- H. S. Townsend, Inspector-General.
- T. H. Gibson, Deputy Inspector-General and Normal Instructor.
- Dr. C. T. Rodgers, Secretary.

Miss Rose Davidson, Assistant Secretary and School Agent

SCHOOL AGENTS IN COMMISSION.

HAWAII.

Hilo, L. Severance. Puna, J. E. Eldarts. Kau, C. Meinecke. North Kona, M. F. Scott. South Kona, Miss Ella Paris. South Kohala, Miss E. W. Lyons. North Kohala, Dr. B. D. Bond. Hamakua, Andres Lindsay.

MAUI.

Lahaina and Lanai, H. Dickenson. Wailuku, G. Armstrong. Hana, F. Wittrock. Makawao, Mrs. A. E. Dickey. Molokai, D. McCorriston.

OAHU.

Honolulu, T. H. Gibson. Ewa, W. J. Lowrey. Waialua, J. F. Anderson. Koolaupoko and Koolauloa, J. Holt.

KAUAI.

Furniture

Waimea and Niihau, J. F. Scott. Koloa, Lihue, J. K. Burkett. Hanalei, W. E. H. Deverill. Kawaihau, G. H. Fairchild.

Manulaclurers of strictly first-class Vehicles All work guaranteed as represented 121 Queen St. WILSON & WHITEHOUSE, Mgrs.

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