

A King is Elected: One Hundred Years Ago

Edited by Jean Dabagh

William Lunalilo, King of Hawaii, died February 3rd, 1874. He had never married and named no successor to follow him on the throne. In accordance with the Constitution of the Kingdom then in effect, it became the duty of the Legislative Assembly to elect a native *alii* (high-born chief or chiefess) to rule the Kingdom.

From the small group of *alii* considered eligible, only three were spoken of seriously, and they were David Kalakaua, Queen Emma (widow of Kamehameha IV), and Bernice Pauahi (Mrs. Charles R. Bishop). Bernice Pauahi had already refused the throne when Kamehameha V had offered to appoint her as his successor and she had evinced no further aggressive interest in the position.

A special session of the Legislative Assembly was ordered for February 12th. Both Queen Emma and David Kalakaua campaigned vigorously while the interisland steamer *Kilauea* made special trips to the neighbor islands to bring the legislators to Honolulu. At noon on the appointed day all the members met in the Court House on Queen Street.

The voting of the legislators was not unanimous and a riot erupted around the building, following the announcement of the election results—thirty-nine votes for David Kalakaua and six for Queen Emma. Eyewitness accounts written by two life-long residents of Hawaii, C. J. Lyons and H. R. Hitchcock, in separate letters to relatives on the island of Hawaii, give vivid pictures of the activities during those few days in the Kingdom's capital.

Curtis Jere Lyons (1833–1914), son of Rev. Lorenzo and Betsy (Curtis) Lyons, was born in Waimea, Hawaii. He attended Oahu College (Punahou), joined the Land Commission and learned the Hawaiian language and the Hawaiian methods of determining land boundaries. He then graduated from Williams College, Mass., returned to Hawaii and, after serving as assistant editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and as editor of *Kuakoa*, the leading Hawaiian language newspaper, he was elected to the House of Representatives, 1868–1870. In 1871, he joined the newly organized Government Survey

Jean Dabagh is a retired librarian, formerly on the staff of the Hawaii State Archives.

Service, established patterns for field and office work and executed the main part of the triangulation of North Hawaii, laying the foundation for all future surveying in that area. He was appointed Meteorologist for the Government in 1896 and retired from Government service in 1903.

Harvey Rexford Hitchcock (1835-1891), son of Rev. Harvey Rexford and Rebecca (Howard) Hitchcock, was born at Lahaina, Maui. He graduated from Oahu College (Punahou) in 1859. He served as Superintendent of Hilo Union School, taught school in Wailuku (Maui) High School and, for a time, was principal of Lahainaluna School. He, too, was elected to the House of Representatives, 1868-1870. In August, 1870, he was appointed Inspector-General of Schools and published, in 1887, an Hawaiian-English dictionary.

The originals of these letters are in the Private Collections of C. J. Lyons and H. R. Hitchcock in the State Archives of Hawaii. Persons mentioned are identified, whenever possible, at the end of this article.

CURTIS JERE LYONS

Please send this letter on to Lizzie¹ if you can as I shall not be able to write fully again —

Honolulu Feb. 14, 1874.

Dear Folks²

Under a King held in his place by foreign bayonets—this is the situation today.

When I last wrote, the late beloved though weak King lay on his death-bed—the steamer ready to sail at short notice, and a hush of waiting over the whole community.

Monday night the East Room of the Palace was draped, at whose order it is unknown—but in consequence of the statement of Dr. Trousseau that he the King could not live after midnight—Remember the King lived in Queen Kalama's house mauka of Palace Lane. In the morning when it was known that the King still lived there was intense indignation as well there might be, Natives themselves threatened to go up to the Palace and tear it down. But Kanaina had already ordered it done, and by 11 A M it was all neatly folded away. Whether poor Lunalilo knew of it or not I do not know. David Malo tried to get up a feeling against Mr. Hall for it, but Gov. and Mrs. Dominis & Frank Judd are probably to blame.

We went about our usual avocation on Tues. In the evening we had company and at nine o'clock heard the bugle call at the barracks for the artillery men—I immediately said "the King is dead" and in a minute or two we heard that it was so—Everything was quiet, not a wail nor a loud word spoken—In the dim moonlight forms of people glided quietly into the lane and toward the back gates of the Palace—Julie Lyons & I walked down there and back—People were gathering at the gates, messengers flitting to and fro, but no noise whatever.

We returned and retired for the night learning that the firing of minute guns was deferred till morning. Willie Pogue was employed at the Palace—in draping again & told us that at midnight when the body was carried across to the room where it was to lie in State, the whole crowd thus far quiet, broke out into the most terrible wail that he ever heard. But all was quiet in the morning. At 8 A.M. just as we sat down to breakfast the minute guns of *Punchbowl*,³ the *Tenedos*,⁴ and the *Portsmouth*⁵ began their impressive and mournful duty in regular and exact alternation with the tolling of the bells. At 11½ A.M. Julie and I went down to see the body. Entering at the front gate there was an immense crowd thronging up the stairs, tho' we all had to pass two and two through the room and out the back entrance. On robes of yellow, & red and black lay the departed King—so wasted, so worn I should not have known the face but for its strong resemblance to that of Kanaina. The natives who were immediately behind us wailed fearfully as they passed through. What a scene it must have been to stand there for four hours—& view that stream of wailing humanity.

The *Kilauea* sailed just five minutes too soon to receive a letter that I wrote & sent down. She went armed with proclamations printed all night long on Tues. night. And freighted with agency for Kalakaua—as you will know on Hawaii.

To go back—As Wednesday morning had dawned proclamations everywhere had appeared calling a meeting for "*Ka pono o ka lehulehu*" [the good of the public] at Kawaiahao⁶ at 3½ P.M. So no sooner had all returned from viewing the remains of the departed, than they flocked to the Stone Church⁶ to elect a new one—for "*E ola D. Kalakaua*" [Long live D. Kalakaua] flared in large capitals from the gates of the yard. The whole thing mind was all planned beforehand.

Moehonua, Kapena, Stanley, Kalauli, D. Malo, Kawainui, may be said to have managed the meeting. The resolutions of condolence were all right, but when it was moved to nominate and recommend Kalakaua someone—I know not who—spoke strongly in favor of postponing that matter at least a day as it was not twenty four hours since the King died. A most tremendous shout of approval met this proposal which ought to have convinced any sane man that there was a feeling for somebody besides Kalakaua. In fact many eyes were opened.

But the meeting was so managed as to appear on the records as "unanimous" meeting for D. Kalakaua. The opposing vote was *not called* for. And are not those who thus misrepresent responsible for much that has happened since.

I spoke merely in way of inquiry to several natives as I came up the street homeward and found them *all* for Queen Emma. I said nothing but thought much. I had almost been on the point of moving an adjournment of the meeting, but on reflection concluded to let the matter take its course. This was Wednesday.

The Election Riot of 1874, as depicted by Peter Hurd in a painting made in 1948 for American Factors. (Used with permission of Amfac, Inc.)

Thursday evening appeared Queen Emma's Proclamation which you will see.

Friday morning about 11 o'clock I went down town—on Whitneys steps⁷ I heard the natives exclaiming "*Mea hooino, hooihilahila kela*" [That is a reviling and shameful thing]. I stepped up to the native Bulletin, and right over Queen Emma's proclamation were the words (written as afterwards appeared by the employees of Black and Auld.)⁸ "*Aole makou makemake e ike ka palekoki e hookomo ana i ka lolewawae* (or *iloko o ka lolewawae*)."

[We do not wish to see the petticoat putting on breeches (or inside of the breeches.)] I forget which. I indignantly took something from my pocket, smashed in the glass and crossed a pencil mark over the whole item leaving it to stand. The natives around said, "*Pono, ko makou manao no ia.*" [Quite right, that is also our wish.] I then stood by to see what would come of it. A crowd soon gathered, and orators began to bloom forth advocating the respective candidates. There was not much disposition to cheer, people generally appearing to be too much in earnest—too thoughtful. After an hour or so during which time David Malo had made a speech for D. Kalakaua, and pointed to some drunken sailors who came along & wished to fight somebody, as an example of "*haole hoohaunaele*" [disturbing foreigner] the crowd dispersed.

Whitney had quietly taken in his Bulletin, and the next morning on the English Bulletin disclaimed all part in the offensive item of the day before. The native bulletin had been a joint affair of the two papers, and it happened to be the day for the *Hawaii Pono*i, who was therefore responsible. (The Bulletin appeared no more)

However, the thing went all over town, and Moehonua himself, a strong partisan of Kalakaua said to me the next day, "*Mahalo au ia oe.*" [I admire you.] (N.B. Of course the glass was paid for.)

Friday evening Kalakaua issued a Proclamation, and from thence up to the fateful day of election, the air was fairly thick with printed leaves from one side and the other. Extras appeared from time to time, the last of which was on the subject of Queen Emma's no-share in William's will. It had been rumored that Lunalilo had made her heir of his large land property and it was used as an argument by the Queen's partisans that she being thus made rich, would be better able to live without taxing the people, than Kalakaua would.

Another argument with the Queen's party was that D. Kalakaua had failed in almost every position of trust in which he had been placed.

The Representatives arrived on Sunday morning—i.e. excepting the Kauai members for whom the steamer immediately on Sunday noon departed. (She need not have gone till night anyway.) They were immediately taken in hand, manipulated, furnished with carriages—clothes it is said, *et id omne genus*.

The Election Ballots. S. G. Wilder saved the ballots during the riot and had them mounted in the form of a crown, which he presented to the king. It was inherited by Prince Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, and was later given to the Bishop Museum. (Photo courtesy of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum)

Queen Emma's public meeting on Monday morning at her private residence on Nuuanu Street, impressed one painfully that she had no persons of influence to stand by her. Old Kamakau, the historian seemed the only one appearing publicly. Pilipo of Kaumakapili⁹ seems somehow to have identified himself with them—while the chief spokesman was that scamp Pahukula. But among the *common people* there seemed to be a general sympathy for the Queen. F. S. Pratt, the husband of Kekaaniau, one of the chiefs—espoused the Queen's cause.

Wed. evening there was a meeting in favor of the Queen—but I do not know any particulars with respect to it.

It should be remembered here that D. Malo, at a political meeting at Kawaiahao a month since or thereabouts—advised the people in case the Rep-s did not carry out their wishes to go down to the Court House¹⁰ and *wawahi* (break in), or something like that. I only wish now that he had been elected—altho' I was not a little glad at the time that he did not get on the list. Thursday morning, after breakfast I took the map of Halawa, (Ewa)¹¹ to Judge Widemann. Half of Halawa is Queen Emma's land.

It was finished only the evening previous—(and I drew the full pay for it—the bill including what I had received previously amounting to \$180.00) Toward noon I went again to the Court House leaving another map in the same office, and then by dint of some brass, & virtue of being an ex representative secured a standing place in the lobby to the hall of the Legislature. The members all came down to the House in a body, in carriages—a bad arrangement for their own popularity.

At noon the session opened. A few seats for Diplomatic Rep-s and others in high places were provided, but there were but few spectators save the crowd of native men that filled the allotted space outside the bar. A very few like myself, including the two Doles, were allowed in the lobby—or main entrance. Kekoa opened the session with prayer. Mem. A Govt employe standing near me said "what long winded cusses!"

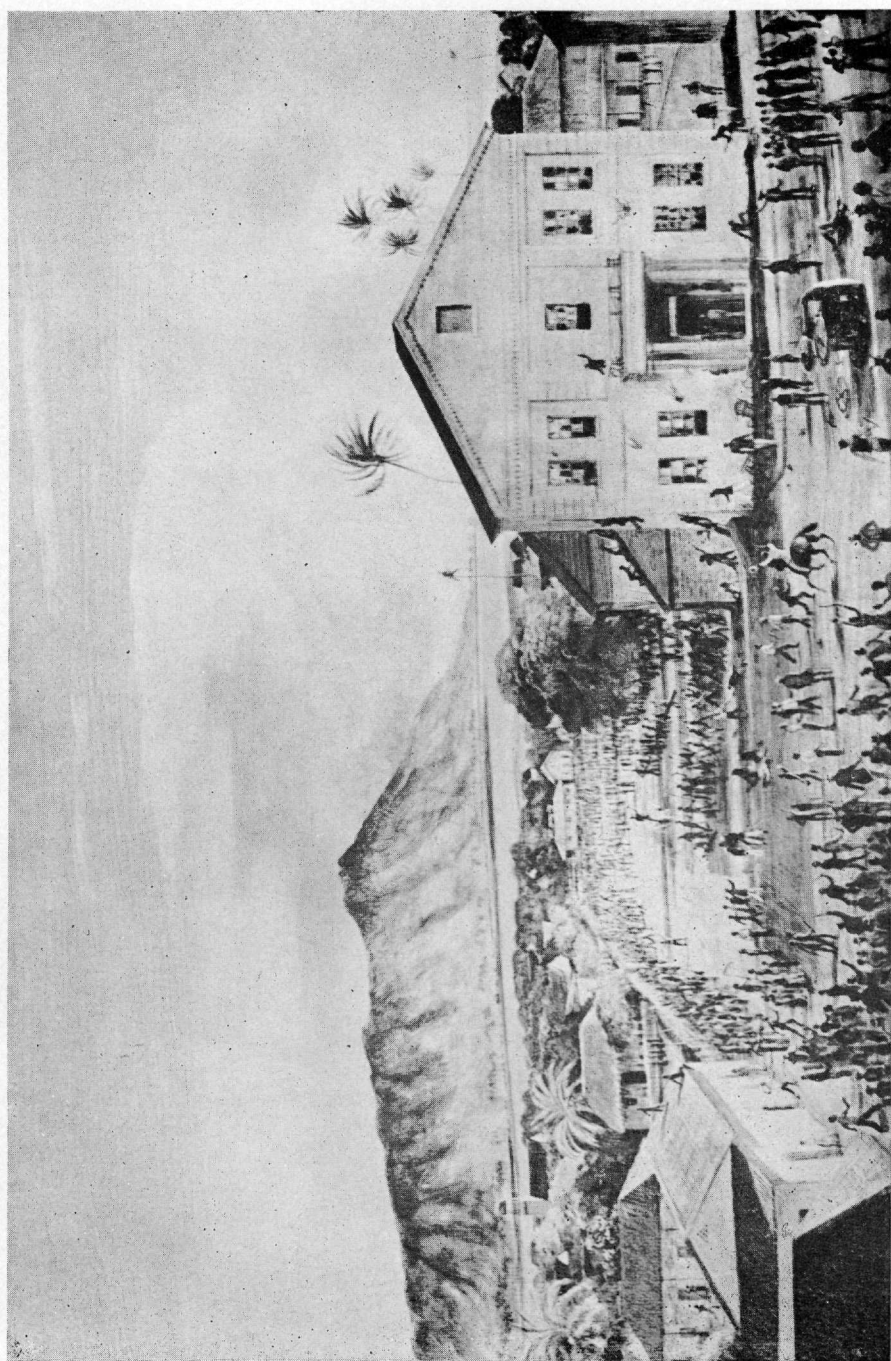
The organizing business had all been cut and dried previously. You will see from the papers the order of business. It was a mistake the choosing officers before the Committee on Credentials had reported—but that was ruled to be in order.

Old Nahaolelua filled the Chair. Simona Kaai of Kailua with his one arm was Vice-President. Stanley and Wilcox as of old filled the places of Secretary & Interpreter.

While the Committee on Credentials were out, I had the pleasure of meeting Capt. Skerrett of the Surveying ship *Portsmouth*, and held a pleasant conversation with him in Judge Hartwells room adjoining the Hall.

Business recommenced. Judge Hartwell administered the oath to the whole of the Assembly in turn—First the President and Vice President in Hawaiian, the Judge requiring in this as in all cases the repeating after him of the whole form.

Then the four Ministers, then the Nobles in English repeating in Concert. Then the Nobles in Hawaiian. Then the Members from Hawaii, standing in their seats with hand uplifted. So on of Maui, Oahu, and the trio from Kauai.



The Ministers then rose in a body and stated the death of the Lunalilo, and the call to the present Legislature—and then followed the election for King beginning at half past two P.M. It was an impressive occasion. The motion to sign the name to each ballot was *not made*. Each member called by name came forward alone to the ballot box, behind which stood the tellers, Mochonua and Wilder, and silently before the hushed and black-dressed assembly deposited his vote—and returned with dignity to his seat. Charles Kanaina, the sorrowing and broken down father of Lunalilo was the first. The only thing that marred the exquisite dignity of the occasion was the last voter from Kauai, being too drunk to know where to deposit his vote. A large proportion of the ballots were cards with a heart on the back, intended I presume to show for whom the vote was cast. I regretted to see it.

At a quarter before three the box was opened and S. G. Wilder called forth the names as they came. Only six poor scattering votes for Emma *Ka Moi* [The Sovereign]—and thirty nine for Kalakaua. As soon as the result was declared, the men outside the bar began to rush for the door—but were stopped by the police.

During the whole session the crowd around the Court House had been increasing. A band of men headed by a leader on horseback for Queen Emma, had come down to the sound of fife and drum and crowded densely around the immediate front of the building. Cheers for Queen Emma were ringing out all through the time of the session. But people said Let them talk, the more noise the less danger.

Immediately on the declaring of the vote I went to the front window and saw that there was mischief in the eyes of that crowd. They were surging wildly hither and thither, a perfect tempest of shouts in which all words were commingled into one fierce roar, rose on the air.

Kua the editor of the *Hawaii Pono*i told me they were saying "*Inu na luna makaainana i ka wai awaawa*. The representatives will drink of bitter waters."

Then followed a wild rush around to the back door and I heard some one say—Mochonua is hurt. It was then that the Committee appointed to wait on the new King had attempted to go out the back door. The carriage into which Mochonua entered was literally torn to pieces. I could not see this from upstairs owing to the shape of the building. J. O. Carter and Marshal Parke were in the midst of the crowd mauka of the Court House trying to pacify them.

Judge Hartwell (we were now near the balcony in front) said, "Is there no one to speak to them?" I volunteered, and accompanied by Judge Hartwell and Gov. Nahaolelua stepped out on the balcony over the front entrance. I did secure a minute's lull in the storm, but had to be mouth-piece for Nahaolelua who could not speak loud. Had I had a chance to speak my own words, these might and *might not* have been heard. As it was, a tremendous yell broke forth with the frantic waving of hundreds of arms, "*Aole makemake ka haole!* [The foreigner is not wanted] we don't want you, we want the *luna makaainana* [representatives]."

It was a sight for a life-time. I stood for a while with hat off after the others had retired. Mr. Frear came out and took a look—and then we both went in.

The cry, "*Aila Mahu*, bring Kerosene—burn them out!" induced me to think about getting out—especially as the doors were now being battered in. (It seems they did get into the cellar and attempt to set fire.) Down the stairway I went and not relishing the contest at the front door, opened the window just makai of it. The natives beckoned me out, and said *Kapu ka haole* [The foreigner is tabu]. Several of the inefficient policemen offered their services and I jumped to the ground. The rioters were breaking down the trees to get clubs. Parke was fighting at the main entrance—the Doles & C. C. Harris were trying to guard the front entrance, and the stones began to fly at the windows—one small one—then more—then clubs—and that meanest of all sounds the crash of windows and sash resounded from all sides. There were sickening rushes of fierce rioters where I knew some poor fellow was beaten—I suppose killed. There seemed nothing for me to do—nothing then to fear. I started for home—meeting Orramel Gulick at Halls corner¹² stopped to say aloha—when I heard they were throwing all the papers out of doors. Went down again—and right from almost under the feet of those who were smashing up furniture in the street, picked up the poor fragments of my map of Halawa—and of a large map of Honouliuli¹³ & then at five o'clock walked home just before the men of war's men came ashore.

With thanks & Praise to Him who Ruleth all—and love to you

Curtis

Monday P.M.—All quiet but uncertain.

HARVEY REXFORD HITCHCOCK

Honolulu,

Feb. 11th 1874

Dear Brothers:¹⁴

We are within twenty-four hours of choosing a King. "Everything is lovely, and the goose hangs high." Kalakaua is silent and abides his time. Queen Emma's partizans have all shouted themselves hoarse. They are the great unwashed, led on by Bill Stephens and the defaulter, Rev. G. W. Pilipo. But to go back a week. Last Wednesday the remains of the late King lay in state until 2 o'clock p.m. The whole town turned out to pay its respects. The King was much shrunk away, but looked peaceful. At three o'clock the Kawaiahao church was crammed from garret to cellar with a very orderly congregation. Resolutions of condolence were passed, and also a series of resolutions proclaiming it to be the will of the people that prince David Kalakaua be the next King. These were passed "*nemine contra dissente*."

The curtain then dropped for that day. There was but little wailing to be heard, and the town did not shew nearly so much the signs of woe as it did

fourteen months ago. Thursday morning the manifestoes and proclamations began to fall thick as the leaves of autumn. I send you what I have been able to gather up, and that includes nearly everything. You will see by looking at these manifestoes, pronunciamientos, proclamations &c that the Queen and her adherents consider their cause as nearly hopeless. The Queen has gained no one's good opinion by the course she pursues. It is said that her wirepullers are Frank Pratt, McKibbin, Charley Judd, Crabbe, and the Bishop of Honolulu. The British Lion has been trying to shove his disjointed nose into the muddle, according to report, and has been saying a great many undiplomatic things. Of course, the British Lion would rather see Queen Emma the sovereign than any one else, for she would be governed by his growl. *The Mob* are in Emma's favor, I mean every one of the Honolulu naufragi who gets out of bed and don't wash his face. Even the school children yelp for Queen Emma; but it will not avail.

February 12th. The election sun rose above the horizon in undimmed brilliancy. I am writing at my office table alone. It is nearly three o'clock, and the committee of credentials are just reporting to the Assembly. S. K. Kaai is the Speaker of the Assembly. The other officers are as they were last year.

A weak attempt was made, early after the House organized to postpone the election of sovereign until the members could go and consult with their respective constituencies. It was voted down. There is not much of a crowd around the courthouse, and the greater part is composed of women and children.

(10 minutes to 3) Kalakaua is elected King!! Five votes were cast for Queen Emma.¹⁵

(10 minutes to 4) I have just returned from the seat of war. There is the tallest kind of a row. The mob outside the courthouse yard are Queen Emma men and if a rep shows his head outside of the courthouse they go baldheaded after him. Major Moechoua, as committee went out to carry the intelligence to Kalakaua, and he was set upon and his carriage broken to pieces, and he himself made double quick time back into the house. The mob are waiting like cats before mice holes. I think, if the reps. will *hoonanawanui* (have patience; will endure) some little time, that the pot will cease to boil, as the fire has been drawn. Lyons and Green, thinking they might sway the multitude with their eloquence stepped out on the balcony, gesticulating frantically but were hissed off by the yelling mob.

($\frac{1}{2}$ past 4) I hear that the mob have gutted the courthouse; I'm off to see.

(Friday morning Feb. 13th) Well, here I am once more, with the U. S. marines pacing to and fro in the yard. There was the tallest row yesterday after my latest date, that has taken place since the formation of government. I rushed down to the scene of war and found that the court house had been completely *gutted*! The tables, chairs, and desks were all broken up to make clubs of, and the furious mob went to clubbing the *representatives* for not voting for Queen Emma. The following Representatives have been severely injured, tho' none fatally so—Kipi, Lonoaea,¹⁶ Birch, Nahinu, Haupu, Kakani, Kupihea, Moechoua, Kaukaha, Koakanu and Kaue. Several others were also injured. The frantic crowd yelled like demons.

(½ past 12) The governor Dominis has just passed by, escorted by the Hawaiian cavalry, and proclaimed *Kalakaua* King, and that it was His Majesty's pleasure that the ministers of the late King continue to exercise the functions of their different offices until further notice. The officers alone cheered! There, I stopped to write that and now I'll go on with my yarn. I had arrived on the spot after the worst, and could not get near the court-house, on account of the crowd. But no need was there of going inside! Such a sight as was presented to view. The street was paved with papers and torn law book! The police records trampled under foot, the Atty. General's office completely sacked! The Marshall's office stripped, nothing but the walls left.

But the records of the Supreme Court were saved. Not a window was left whole; sash and all broken into match wood. A little after five o'clock the signal was given for the marines of the war ships to land. Queen Emma had been previously requested to go down and disperse her followers; this she had promised to do, and had then backed out. It was a fine sight to see Uncle Sam's web feet, two hundred or so strong march up from the esplanade with their *Gatling gun*! They deployed into the Court house Yard and soon cleared the rabble out.

About ten minutes afterwards Johnny Bull's lions were seen advancing in perfect time and order, about one hundred of them, and then didn't the natives give a whoop of delight! They thought that the Johnnies were coming in the interest of Queen Emma and were going to pitch into the Yanks. They were soon undeceived! All the web feet were drawn up in line and then the Marshall began to make arrests. The ringleaders were pointed out and a file of marines quickly surrounded the rascal and politely invited him into the courthouse which he had helped to sack. The crowd learning what game was being played and that they would be checkmated, began to sneak off, and by eight o'clock last night the town was quiet, and has been in possession of the marines ever since.

The Johnnies were all marched up in a body to Queen Emma's, to assist in making arrests, and then were quartered at the Barracks. The company of artillery (Hawaiian), being disaffected no arms were allowed to them; and from the beginning to the end, neither the police force, nor the volunteer military could be relied upon. Hence the necessity of appealing to the American Eagle, and the British Lion. In fact, the police assisted the rioters in many instances.

I'll relate a few of the incidents connected with the muss: C. C. Harris shewed out brilliantly. He went out of the Court house to the assistance of Mikalemi, who was in the hands of the phillistines, endeavoring to beat his brains out. He got the fellow off, and was quietly walking back to the court-house, when a philistine flung a table leg at him and hit him in the back. Thereupon Harris turned coolly around, picked up the stick and with a smile on his face, *and best bow*, returned the cudgel into the man's hands, and went back to the Courthouse! He also worked like a hero in getting the reps. out of the courthouse, through the howling crowd, and sending them off. He accompanied Tom Martin out, warding off the blows which were all aimed at

Martin, and behaved as coolly as leading out a partner to the dance. Joe Carter also rescued several reps, and got a good whaling himself for doing so. He was told to clear out by the leading spirits of the mob as they had no fight against him, and finally he was lifted up bodily and carried off.

Perhaps you will ask where were the ministers all this while? Well, where have they been all the last year! The whole row might have been stopped very easily if Parke had nabbed the men who were making incendiary speeches, and goading on the multitude; but they didn't do it, and so it has come to this.

The King swore to the constitution, at 12 m. today in the palace yard, at Prendergast's house.¹⁷ Only the Diplomats and Legislature were on hand. All the flags have been run up full mast, and the interregnum is over. But the end is not yet. Several of the Reps are hiding, being afraid to shew themselves. And yet Queen Emma will not do anything to quench the fire she has started. Her saintly reputation is gone, and she appears before the public, unmasked, as an intriguing politician and nothing more. Every body is down on her.

There is one mad woman in this town, and her name is Mrs. Kinney. I made a round of the schools today, to see if the teachers were attending to their business. I met Mrs. Kinney on the road and turned her back to her school. When she had seated herself she opened on me: "I think, Mr. Hitchcock, that it is too bad that the schools are not dismissed so that we can see the coronation ceremonies."

"Mrs. Kinney, there will *be* no public ceremony as there was last year. None but the diplomats and Legislative Assembly will be present."

"Well, Mr. Hitchcock, there will be *one angry woman* in this town today, if I don't see the ceremony, and King Kalakaua will have *one letter* written to him saying that the schoolteachers were not allowed to see his coronation."

"Mrs. Kinney, the *order* is that you teach full hours today, and every other school day, good morning." And off I went.

I have succeeded in keeping the schools in session through the excitement. Mr. Beckwith released his school today, however, and I'm going for him.

(2 o'clock P.M.) All quiet as yet. They say the Queen is relenting a little and trying to still the storm. There may be a lull.

(Saturday, Feb. 14, 11 o'clock P.M.) Yesterday the official announcement was that the King would prorogue the Assembly by Commission, and notice to that effect was sent to the Diplomats. This morning, however, it is announced that the King will prorogue parliament in person. This is well, as it will shew the malcontents that he is not afraid to appear in his capital. The murmurs amongst the disaffected are low muttered growls. Queen Emma has sent in her allegiance to the King, and requested him to exercise his Royal Prerogative and release the ringleaders of the row; but the King is bound to let the law take its course.

You ought to see the courthouse! Such a sight, a sacked building I never saw before, and don't care to see again. It is frightful! Clots of blood on the legislative hall. The walls spattered with ink. Every article of furniture destroyed. Haupu is the worst injured rep. He got out of the window on the right of the President's table, in the courtroom upstairs, and was holding on

to the casing with his hands, when the yelling mob entered the room, where the reps were huddled together, and seeing Haupū, deliberately unloosened his hold and pushed him out backwards, and he fell upon a lot of chairs and furniture. This broke his fall; but he is badly injured internally. The fiends! What will the Hilo constituency do in the matter? Both of their reps severely injured. You had better call a public meeting and get an emphatic expression of opinion in favor of Kalakaua, and condemnatory of the hellish rioters. Such strong avowals from all parts of the Islands will do more to intimidate the hell-hounds of Honolulu than anything else. Mix the sulphur and brimstone well into the resolutions.

I think that the webfeet will not be withdrawn until the rioters are choked: and then who ought to pay the bill? Queen Emma of course. This little row will cost the tax payers not less than ten thousand dollars for repairs, to say nothing of doctors' bills, and some three, or five hundred dollars a day for our foreign protectors.

(One o'clock P.M.) The Assembly stands prorogued. The King did it in person, at the dismantled courthouse. One of the most disgraceful sights in connection with the pageant was the appearance of the Volunteer companies in their full dress uniforms and kid gloves! The question on the street is where were these butterflies when called upon Thursday afternoon. The mixture at noon today was admirable! Oh Yes! certainly! The foreign web feet in their *working gear* ready for action, under whose guardianship Honolulu sleeps the sleep of the just—vs. The frightened jays and jackdaws with their sleek plumage, drawn from the Hawaiian nation: the former intent on preserving the peace—the latter advertising their own cowardice by thus appearing on the gala occasion. I should not be surprised if the King disbanded the whole force.

The King looked well. I could not get near the Courthouse, consequently did not see the ceremony. I am of the opinion that the former ministry will keep their billets until the end of the fiscal year, at least. But it is the universal opinion here that Harris ought to be called back into power, and I think he will be.

There is to be a torch light procession to night, in honor of the new King. There *may* be a row. I'll give you a history of it.

(Monday morning, 10 o'clock) Well, I'm all safe and sound. I attended the procession Saturday night with *some others* all armed to the teeth. I had an enormous cane for my *weepin* of defense, and followed the procession, which started about half past seven, from the bell tower, and returned there to deposit their torches, a little before ten. We must have walked at least six miles. The procession first defiled down Hotel St. to Nuuanu St. thence up King to the corner of the palace grounds and entered the gate of 'Kuanoa's old residence, where the King was. King made a speech of some 20 syllables long, the crowd, the one-half of them school children, shouted themselves hoarse and then moved on up Richard St. down Beretania St. to Emma St. and up Emma St. Near the head of Emma St two loud reports were heard as if from guns; but I quickly detected the sound of large fire crackers, and left my station. On

went the procession, down School St to Nuuanu avenue and passed up the Avenue to Queen Emma's, on the corner of Beretania and Nuuanu Sts. As we passed along, here, if any where would be the muss; but no one raised a voice; only surly looks and muggy silence greeted the procession. Thence the procession passed up Chaplain St, down Fort St to Beretania, cheering opposite Governor Dominis residence, and counter marching at the corner of Punchbowl St. returned via Hotel St. to the bell tower. It was midnight before I got to bed. There are some 40 or 50 of the rioters in durance vile, who will be arraigned for trial on Wednesday.

The King's brother¹⁸ is to be proclaimed as the Heir Apparent to the Throne, at 12 M. The funeral of the late King is to take place on Saturday next I understand.

There! I believe I've given you all the political news, and there is not much else. Now you must let me know how the news of the row is received by the *maka-ainana* (populace) of Hilo.

Love to enquiring friends,

Your aff. br.

H R HITCHCOCK

PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE LETTERS

Carter, J. O. Also mentioned as Joe Carter. Joseph O. Carter, young business man of Honolulu; later appointed Registrar of Public Accounts by Kalakaua.

Crabbe. H. G. Crabbe, Chamberlain to the late King, William Lunalilo. Bishop of Honolulu. The Right Reverend Alfred Willis, D. D., Anglican Church.

Doles, Two. Sanford B. Dole and George Dole, brothers; sons of Daniel Dole, former headmaster at Oahu College (Punahou).

Dominis, Governor. John Owen Dominis, husband of Liliuokalani.

Dominis, Mrs. Liliuokalani, sister of Kalakaua.

Frear. Walter Francis Frear, a young lawyer; later prominent in Hawaiian affairs.

Green. William L. Green, an English resident; later appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs by Kalakaua.

Gulick, Orramel. Friend of C. J. Lyons; son of Rev. and Mrs. Peter J. Gulick and, presumably, in Honolulu on furlough from missionary work in Kobe, Japan.

Hall, Mr. Edwin O. Hall, member, House of Nobles; owner and proprietor of E. O. Hall & Son, a hardware and general merchandise firm.

- Harris, C. C. Charles C. Harris, a prominent lawyer; later appointed by Kalakaua as First Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.
- Hartwell, Judge. Alfred Stedman Hartwell, member of the Supreme Court; later appointed Attorney General by Kalakaua.
- Judd, Charley. Charles H. Judd; mentioned by Hitchcock as supporter for Queen Emma; later appointed Chamberlain to Kalakaua and went around the world with him in 1881.
- Judd, Frank. Albert Francis Judd, Attorney General and member, House of Nobles.
- Kaai, Simon. Member, House of Representatives and elected Speaker of the House and, therefore, Vice-President of the Legislature.
- Kalama, Queen. Widow of Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III.
- Kalauli, Stanley. Hawaiian supporter of Kalakaua.
- Kamakau. Samuel M. Kamakau, noted Hawaiian historian; staunch supporter of Queen Emma.
- Kanaina. Charles Kanaina, father of King William Lunalilo; member, House of Nobles.
- Kapena. John M. Kapena, Hawaiian supporter of Kalakaua; later appointed Governor of Maui.
- Kawainui. Hawaiian supporter of Kalakaua.
- Kekoa. E. Kekoa, Minister, Kahana Church, Oahu.
- Kua. Mentioned by Lyons as editor of *Hawaii Pono* (*Ko Hawaii Pono*, *Hawaii's Own*, a weekly newspaper published in Hawaiian from June, 1873-June, 1874).
- Lyons. Mentioned by Hitchcock; refers to Curtis J. Lyons.
- Lyons, Julie. Julia Elizabeth V. (Vernon) Lyons, wife of Curtis J. Lyons.
- Malo, David. Hawaiian supporter of Kalakaua.
- McKibben. Dr. Robert McKibben, Irishman, resident of Honolulu since 1856; ardent supporter of Queen Emma; physician at Queen's Hospital.
- Martin, Tom. J. H. S. Martin, member, House of Representatives.
- Mikalemi. E. Mikalemi, member, House of Representatives.
- Moehonua. W. L. Moehonua, member, House of Representatives; one of the tellers at the disputed election.
- Nahaolelua. P. Nahaolelua, Governor of Maui; member, House of Nobles and elected President of Legislature.
- Pahukula. Hawaiian supporter of Queen Emma.
- Pilipo of Kaumakapili. Rev. G. W. Pilipo, minister of Kaumakapili Church, large Hawaiian Protestant church in Honolulu; supporter of Queen Emma.

Parke, Marshal. William Cooper Parke, Marshal of the Kingdom.

Pogue, Willie. William F. Pogue, son of Rev. John Pogue, and a native of Maui, about eighteen years of age at this time; employed in the royal household, probably as a page or attendant.

Pratt, Frank. Frank S. Pratt, husband of Kekaaniau (Elizabeth) Keoua, a Hawaiian chiefess.

Stephens, Bill. Hawaiian (?) supporter of Queen Emma.

Stanley, R. H. Richard H. Stanley, Secretary of the Legislature; soon after appointed Attorney General.

Trousseau, Dr. Dr. George Phillipe Trousseau, physician to King William Lunalilo.

Whitney. Henry M. Whitney, publisher and stationer.

Widemann, Judge. Hermann A. Widemann, member of the Supreme Court; later appointed Minister of the Interior by Kalakaua.

Wilcox. William Luther Wilcox, court and legislative interpreter; later appointed a District Magistrate for Honolulu.

Wilder, S. G. Samuel G. Wilder, one of the tellers for the disputed election; a prominent business man with shipping interests.

NOTES

- ¹ Lizzie was Lyons' half-sister, Elizabeth.
- ² Lyons' father and step-mother in Waimea, Hawaii.
- ³ Punchbowl is a promontory behind Honolulu where saluting guns were placed.
- ⁴ British warship in Honolulu harbor.
- ⁵ American warship in Honolulu harbor.
- ⁶ Kawaiahao Church, home of a large Hawaiian Protestant congregation, located near the center of Honolulu.
- ⁷ Entrance to the publishing plant of the *Hawaiian Gazette*, English language newspaper, and the *Hawaii Pono*i, Hawaiian language newspaper.
- ⁸ Proprietors and publishers of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.
- ⁹ Kaumakapili, a large Hawaiian Protestant church in Honolulu's outskirts.
- ¹⁰ Court House, located on Queen Street between Fort and Alakea Streets, was the meeting place of the Legislature.
- ¹¹ Halawa (Ewa) is a land district on Oahu, west of Honolulu, beyond Pearl Harbor.
- ¹² Corner of Fort and King Streets where E.O. Hall & Son's store was located.
- ¹³ Honouliuli is a land area lying along the west side of Pearl Harbor.
- ¹⁴ Letter is written to David Howard and Edward Griffin Hitchcock, both of whom were living in Hilo, Hawaii, at this time.
- ¹⁵ The official count of the vote cast was: Emma—6, Kalakaua—39.
- ¹⁶ Lonoaea later died from his injuries.
- ¹⁷ Henry Prendergast had been chamberlain for Kamehameha IV.
- ¹⁸ William Pitt Leleiohoku.