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Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society

No. 12

“The Reversal of the Hawaiian Flag”

By MR. HOWARD M. BALLOU,

also

“Economic and Political Changes in
British Polynesia”

By PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER,

and

“A Kona Storm”

By HON. GORHAM D. GILLMAN

Read before the Society July 13, 1905

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MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING

OF THE

Hawaiian Historical Society

HELD JULY 13, 1905.

A special meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at the Society's room in the Library building, at 8 p. m. July 13, 1905, the President, Prof. W. D. Alexander, being in the chair.

The Recording Secretary, Hon. W. F. Frear, being absent, the Corresponding Secretary, Mr. W. A. Bryan, was requested by a vote of the Society to act in his place.

Messrs. Walter Clark and Robert Lydecker were elected as active members of the Society on recommendation of the Board of Managers.

A brief verbal report was made by Mr. W. A. Bryan on the progress being made by the Committee on Ancient Landmarks.

The first paper of the evening, entitled, "The Reversal of the Hawaiian Flag," written by Mr. Howard M. Ballou of Boston, was read by his brother, Mr. Sidney M. Ballou of Honolulu. This paper, dealing with the various changes that have been made in the Hawaiian flag, is based on early published descriptions of the ancient ensign of the Territory of Hawaii.

The second paper by Prof. W. D. Alexander, on "Economic and Political Changes in British Polynesia," being a lengthy one, only the part relating to Tonga was read. The third paper, entitled, "A Kona Storm," written by the Hon. G. D. Gilman of Boston, was read by Dr. N. B. Emerson of Honolulu.

On motion of Dr. Emerson the Society voted a request that the aforesaid papers be published in full among the papers of the Society. After a brief general discussion, the meeting adjourned.

W. A. BRYAN,
Acting Secretary.

The Reversal of the Hawaiian Flag.

By Mr. Howard M. Ballou.

The conventional arrangement of the three colors comprising the eight stripes of the Hawaiian flag would lead one to expect the familiar order, red, white, blue, red, white, blue, red and white, whereas it is found exactly reversed, starting with the white and followed in order by red, blue, white, red, blue, white, and red.

Thrum, in his article on the Hawaiian Flag, Thrum's Annual, 1880, page 25, says: "Captain Hunt, who was here in the Basilisk in 1845, is said to have changed the relative position of the colors of the stripes by placing the white on top instead of at the bottom, though there is a possibility of this being the time of adding the eighth stripe, Jarves and Byron mentioning only seven."

A few years later (1886, page 37), he quotes from the *Poly-nesian* of May 31, 1845: "At the opening of the legislative council, May 25, 1845, the new national banner was unfurled, differing little, however, from the former.

It is octo. parted per. fess. first, fourth and seventh argent: second, fifth and eighth gules: third and sixth azure for the eight islands under one sovereign, indicated by crosses saltire, of St. Andrew and St. Patrick quarterly per saltire counter charged, argent and gules."

This is an heraldic description of the flag as now known.

An incident related to the writer by Mr. Gorham D. Gilman, for many years Hawaiian Consul-General to the United States, throws new light on the question, and dates the change two years earlier, in 1843, at the time of the restoration of the sovereignty of the islands by England. Mr. Gilman, is now, at the age of eighty-two, one of the few surviving witnesses of the events of that time.

When Lord George Paulet secured the cession of the islands to England in February, 1843, he ordered all Hawaiian flags to be destroyed, and his command was strictly obeyed. Shortly afterwards, in July, 1843, Commodore Kearney, in the U. S.

frigate *Constellation*, anchored off Honolulu. In order to give public expression of his decided disapproval of the existing state of affairs, he invited the young princes, afterwards Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V, with their suites, to visit his flagship. Desirous of paying them royal honors, he requested that an Hawaiian flag be sent on board, but so thoroughly had Lord George's orders been carried out that none could be found. He accordingly was obliged to have one made by his sailmaker, which, hoisted at his fore, was saluted by a royal salute of 21 guns as his guests arrived, much to the joy of the Americans and the chagrin of the English.

At the time of the restoration of the sovereignty by Rear Admiral Thomas, Mr. Gilman was told by John Ii—a man closely associated with the king and chiefs in their councils—that it had been decided to reverse the order of the stripes in the flag, putting the color formerly at the top at the bottom, thus emblemizing the recent overturn of government. Mr. Gilman even recalls the exact words used by John Ii:

"Ua hala ka wa o Lo Keoki a ua hiki mai ka wa hou a no-laila e hookahuli no makou i ka hae o Hawaii. Ka mea maluna mamua e hoiia malalo loa."

"The time of Lord George has passed, the new times have come in, and therefore we intend to reverse the flag of Hawaii. What was formerly the upper stripe will be placed at the bottom."

A systematic search through all of the literature likely to contain mention of the Hawaiian flag, has brought to light a dozen descriptions most of them not noted by previous investigators. No two of these accounts exactly agree, and but two of them—Golovnin's and Jarves'—lend any authority to the theory of reversal just outlined.

The descriptions follow:

Campbell, Archibald, Jan. 29, 1809:

"The king's residence * * * was distinguished by the British colours and a battery of sixteen carriage-guns."

Campbell, Archibald. *A Voyage Round the World*, [etc.]

1st Eng. Ed. 1816, p. 129.

2nd Am. Ed. 1819, p. 89.

Kotzebue, Nov. 27, 1816:

"In the harbour was a fort from which Tamaahmaah's flag was displayed."

Vol. I, p. 321.

"The English government has engaged to respect his flag everywhere."—*Ibid.* p. 324.

Kotzebue, O.:

"A voyage of discovery * * in the ship *Rurick*.

Eng. trans., London, 1831.

Choris, Nov., 1816:

Plate "Port d'hanarourou."

[Flag on fort flying union down. Nine stripes, red, white, blue, white, red, white, blue, white, red.]

Plate. "Vue du port hanarourou."

[Similar flag, without jack, on fort.]

Choris L. *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde*. Paris, 1820.

Golovnin, Oct., 1818.

[Translation] "The flag is made up of seven stripes, red, white, blue, red, white, blue, and red, signifying seven islands, and in the corner an English jack."

P. 174 footnote:

"Tameamea always floated a British flag, which he had received from Vancouver, but he did not know the meaning of it in a European sense. When in the last war between the Americans and British, an American sailor jokingly told him that the Americans had the right to seize his islands because he raised the flag of a country with whom they were at war, then when Tameamea heard him out and well understood the real meaning of a flag, he said to the American that he should not consider him to be a fool, because he had many flags from different European nations, and if the English flag were not good he would raise another one. But after this incident he soon wished to have his own flag, which an Englishman invented for him, and it is made, as I have said before, of seven stripes and in a corner the English jack, as a sign of friendship to the first European nation with whom he had made acquaintance.

"The number of the stripes betoken 7 islands which are under the government of Tameamea, and the remaining 4 islands belong to the ruler of the island of Kauai, but he is nothing else than a viceroy under the King of Hawaii to whom he came on the island of Oahu to pay him his respects and bound himself to pay yearly tribute, which had to be a full load of one ship of sandal wood."

Golovnin, V. M. Voyage around the world on the ship "Kamchatka, [etc.] Collected works. St. Petersburg, 1864.

Freycinet. Aug, 1819.

[Translation]: "The Sandwich Islands flag, such as we have seen wave at Kohaihai [Kawaihae] and on the fort of Onorourou [Honolulu], consisted of an English jack on a background striped horizontally with nine alternate white, red, and blue bands: the white was uppermost and the jack was at the upper angle near the bolt rope."

Freycinet, L. C. D. de. Voyage autour du monde * * sur les corvettes l'Uranie et la Physicienne. Vol II, p. 621. Paris, 1837.

Mathison, 1822:

"The Sandwich Island flag is composed of the English jack, and a number of stripes like those of the American flag, in allusion probably to the number of islands."

G. F. Mathison. Narrative of a visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru and the Sandwich Islands. London, 1825; p. 464.

September, 1823.

[Picture of Hawaiian flag: Nine alternately dark and light stripes, the jack opposite the upper five. Colors not indicated.]

Woodcut "Wailing on account of the death of Keopuolani" in Memoir of Keopuolani, late queen of the Sandwich Islands.

Boston, 1825.

Reprinted Missionary Herald, Vol. 21, Nov., 1825, p. 262.

Norrie, 1824:

[Picture of Sandwich Islands flag in colors. Seven alternately red and white stripes, the jack opposite the upper three.]

J. W. Norie, hydrographer. The maritime flags of all nations. A new edition, 1824. London.

Musgrave:

[Picture of Sandwich Island flag in colors. Nine alternately red and white stripes, the jack opposite the upper five.]

Royal naval and merchant flags of all nations. London, G. Musgrave & Co., no date.

Graham. May—July, 1825:

"On all days of ceremony the Sandwich flag is hoisted on these forts—it has seven white and red stripes, with a union jack in the corner."

Graham, Maria. Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands. * * Lord Byron, commander. London, 1826; p. 121:

Bennett. April, 1834:

"Each battery hoists the Hawaiian flag—horizontal stripes, blue, white, red, with the British union in the upper corner, next the staff."

Bennett, F. D. Narrative of a whaling voyage round the globe (etc.). London, 1840. Vol. I, p. 206.

Olmsted. 1840:

"In the centre of the fort rises the flagstaff, upon which the national flag (the British Union, with alternate stripes of red and white) is hoisted." * *

Olmsted, F. A. Incidents of a whaling voyage. N. Y., 1841, p. 195.

Jarves. Ante 1843. [In re visit of Kotzebue, 1816]:

"Two fine vessels bore the national flag, which had been adopted shortly before; it displayed the English Union, with seven alternated red, white and blue stripes, emblematic of the principal islands."

Jarves, J. J. History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands. Boston, 1843. p. 3rd edition. Honolulu, 1847. p. 103.

As Kotzebue nowhere describes the flag, though often mentioning it, this must be considered as Jarves' own description, presumably of the flag of his own time.

[1837-1845?] Thomas Cowperthwait & Co., Philadelphia.

A complete picture of the flags, standards and pendants used by the ships of all nations, [etc.]

√Seven stripes, alternately red and white. No blue in the union jack.]

A. B. Knapp. 1847.

In the upper corridor of the capitol (Iolani Hale) hangs a portrait of Kamehameha III, painted by A. B. Knapp, in 1847. The Hawaiian flag in the background has no jack, but consists merely of eight horizontal stripes, the order being white, red, blue, as at present. This flag, however, has been plainly altered, having been painted over a somewhat larger flag, of either seven or eight stripes, which are red, alternating with some other color which cannot be determined.

And, to close, a modern version from the works of a popular lecturer.

Holmes, 1901:

"We are told that long years ago the king, Kamehameha, * * chose from among the flags of all the nations the one he thought the prettiest, the one his people liked the best, and adopted the stars and stripes as the emblem of Hawaii. * * * But to his great amazement, England protested against this adoption of the stars and stripes, and so his majesty, eager to please and satisfy all parties, struck out the stars, and in the place of their blue field, set Saint George's cross, the British emblem."

[Picture of flag, 8 stripes, red on top. Jack opposite three upper stripes.]

The Burton Holmes Lectures, Vol. 5, pp. 21-22. 1901.

To recapitulate:—

Choris, 1816, 9 stripes, red, white, blue.

Golovnin, 1818, 7 stripes, red, white, blue.

Freycinet, 1818, 9 stripes, white, red blue.

Mathison, 1822, 7 stripes, [red and white?].

[Keopuolani], 1823, 9 stripes, [light and dark].

Norie, 1824, 7 stripes, red and white.

Graham, 1825, 7 stripes, white and red.

Bennett, 1834, blue, white, red.

Cowperthwait (1837-1845), 7 stripes, red and white.

Olmsted, 1840, red and white.

Jarves, 1843, 7 stripes, red, white, blue.

Knapp, 1847, 8 stripes, white, red, blue.

Musgrave, (1848?), 9 stripes, red and white.

As arranged chronologically, the number of stripes is alternately given as nine and seven, four descriptions calling for nine stripes, and five for seven. The only authority for eight stripes is the portrait of Kamehameha III. Equally conflicting evidence as to the colors of the stripes exists, six authors describing them as of only two colors, red and white, while five note three colors, red, white and blue.

From such a diversity of data there can obviously be obtained no authoritative conclusion. While it is possible that Freycinet, who alone specifically mentions nine stripes,—the three other authorities for the same number being only pictures—may have been mistaken in the number, it does not seem that the six descriptions omitting the blue stripes can all be neglected as inaccurate. It would rather seem that, like the fabled two-faced shield, both sets of descriptions may be right, and that in the early days of the flag it was made indifferently of either two or three colors. Golovnin's 1818 description, the only one expressly agreeing with the theory of reversal, is too remote to give it much authority. Whether Jarvis' red, white and blue should be construed as so determining the order of the stripes is doubtful. The true history of the Hawaiian flag, therefore, still remains to be discovered.

HOWARD M. BALLOU.

Social and Political Changes in British Polynesia.

Read before the Social Science Association, May 8th, 1905.

By Prof. W. D. Alexander, L. L. D.

At a former meeting of this Society, I read a paper on "Ancient Systems of Land Tenure in Polynesia," to which this paper may be regarded as a supplement, being a brief comparative sketch of the social and political experiences of some of the southern branches of the Polynesian race, during the last half century.

Polynesia affords an excellent field for the study of certain important problems in social evolution. Although the experiments made there have been on a small scale, they are none the less instructive. Now that the last Polynesian kingdom, viz.: that of Tonga, has ceased to be an independent state, the present seems to be a fitting time to take a retrospect of the fortunes of our southern neighbors, widely different, as they are, from each other, either from inherited characteristics or from the force of external circumstances.

THE NEW ZEALAND MAORIS.

I. The aborigines of New Zealand, known as "Maoris," are more closely related to the Hawaiians than are the peoples of either of the intervening groups of Tonga or Samoa.

They have distinct traditions of the arrival of their ancestors in New Zealand, five or six centuries ago, in canoes from the northeast. They found already settled in the islands another branch of the same race, the *Morioris*, whom they partly exterminated, and partly subjugated by their superior intelligence and prowess. The great extent of the country, the scarcity of food,

(the sweet potato, or *kumara*, being the only food plant that they brought with them), &c., caused a separation of the inhabitants into numerous independent tribes, of which there were 104 in the North Island.

Among these frequent quarrels arose, which inflamed to an extraordinary degree the naturally ferocious and cruel disposition of the race. The intensity of the struggle for life made them a strong race, brave, proud, independent, but moody, suspicious and revengeful, with many points of resemblance to the North American Indians.

War was the chief occupation of the freemen, and in the art of fortification they attained a degree of skill which has commanded the admiration of military engineers. They lived in fortified villages or *pas*, on the tops of hills, protected by strong palisades and deep moats, from which they issued forth in time of peace, to carry on their farming, fishing or hunting, within the lands of their own clan, returning to them at nightfall.

CIVIL POLITY.

The names of their tribes all begin with the prefix *Nga* or *Ngati*, like the Celtic Mac or O', followed by the names of the respective ancestors of the several clans. The population might be divided into two principal classes, viz: *Rangatira* (Haw. *lanakila*), or freemen, and *taurekareka* or slaves. These latter, who were captives taken in war and their descendants, had "no rights that their masters were bound to respect."

The *Rangatira*, however, did all the fighting in war. There were many gradations of rank among the freemen, but all the members of a clan were related to each other by descent from one common ancestor.

The title *Ariki* (Haw. *ali'i*), which elsewhere means chief, was there applied to a sacred personage, the eldest child of the eldest branch of the tribe or clan, who had inherited a peculiar sanctity (*mana*), which entitled him to many ceremonial observances, and rendered his person inviolable. He was, in fact, the high priest of the clan, intrusted with certain important spirit-

ual functions, but did not thereby have any *civil* authority over the other members of his clan.

Any freeman might rise to the position of head chief, if he had the requisite qualifications, viz: valor and skill in war and wisdom in council. Taxation and forced labor were both unknown.

LAND TENURE.

The bulk of the land belonged to the whole tribe in common, and no part of it could be alienated without the consent of all members of the clan, except by conquest, (by eating the owners of it, for instance). This system of tribal ownership, as in the parallel case of the American Indians, has been and still is an obstacle in the way of their progress in civilization.

POPULATION.

It is believed by those best informed that they never numbered more than from 100,000 to 125,000, and when our civilization introduced rum and firearms, they rapidly melted away, by internecine wars, so that by 1840, they numbered only about 60,000. No great leader, like Kamehameha, arose among them, and indeed it would have been impossible for any Maori chief to unite the savage, warring tribes, and weld them into a nation. By this time about a third of them had embraced Christianity.

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI.

The turning point in the history of New Zealand, and the Magna Charta of the Maoris, is the Treaty of Waitangi, made on the 5th of February, 1840, between the British Government and the native chiefs of New Zealand.

By this treaty they acknowledged the sovereignty of Great Britain, and in return were guaranteed: 1st, all the rights of British subjects, and 2nd, full and undisturbed right to their lands, forests and fisheries, while in the 3rd place, the right of pre-emption of land was reserved to the Government.

So many complicated disputes about land had arisen, and so

many fraudulent sales of it to foreigners had taken place, that it was stipulated that no more land should be sold by the natives to private individuals, but that it should be sold only to the Crown. That is, the British Government purchases the land from the Maori tribes in blocks, then subdivides it, and sells it in sections to settlers, who receive royal patents for the same.

LAND MATTERS.

There is nothing to prevent individual Maoris from buying and owning land in severalty like other citizens. After investigation, old land claims amounting to ten million acres were reduced to 292,475 acres. In 1862, a native land court was set up, which determined native titles, and had them registered. Purchases have since been made, from the registered owners. In round numbers, six millions of acres had been purchased from the Maoris before 1870, and about eight millions since.

In 1900 the "Maori Lands Administration Act" was passed, to prevent the natives from pauperizing themselves by parting with the freehold of their remaining lands, amounting to about five millions of acres.

(1) It prohibits any further alienation of the freehold of native lands, either to the Crown or to private purchasers. (2) It provides for the leasing of native lands by councils, partly elected and partly appointed. (3) It provides for advances of money to the natives for roads and other improvements of their surplus lands. Native tribal lands are exempt from the graduated land tax in force in New Zealand.

THE MAORI WAR.

I can only glance at the Maori war, which lasted from 1860 to 1869.

After the treaty of Waitangi great efforts had been made to tame these reformed cannibals, and to turn them into law-abiding citizens.

For several years, what the colonists nicknamed "the flour and sugar policy" prevailed. The Maoris were furnished with seed,

agricultural implements, cattle and sheep, numerous mills were built to grind their wheat, and great apparent progress was made.

But in the fifties, from various causes, a strong reaction took place among them against everything foreign. They were naturally jealous of the rapidly increasing numbers and wealth of the land-hungry "pakehá" or white settlers. They saw a colonial government organized in 1853, controlled by these white settlers, which seems to have too much ignored the Maoris, who probably might have been governed through their chiefs. In December, 1856, a public meeting was held at Taupo, on the question of the King movement. Some of the orators advocated a clean sweep of the *pakehas*, governor, missionaries and settlers. Old Tarahawaika, on being asked for his opinion, walked quietly around and blew out the lights, one after another, till the place was in total darkness. "Now," said he, "the *pakehas* are all gone, and we are back where we were before they came."

A land league was now formed among the fierce tribes in the interior of the North Island, who agreed together to sell no more land, to allow no white man to settle among them, and not to allow boats or steamers to come up their rivers. In July, 1857, they elected an old warrior chief, Te Wherowhero, as their king, under the title of Potatau I, who soon died and was succeeded by his son, Potatau II. At the same time the Maoris were allowed to purchase great quantities of arms and ammunition from unscrupulous traders.

Finally in 1860 a dispute over a land sale at Waitara was the spark that set the country in a blaze. The war which followed was very similar to King Philip's war in Massachusetts. A fanatical half-heathen sect, called the *Hauhau* religion, very much like the Boxer fanaticism in China, was started at this time and committed several atrocious murders. The war was carried on in guerrilla fashion, in a rugged, forest-covered region, in which many *pas* had to be stormed; and great bravery was displayed on both sides. Many loyal Maoris fought bravely on the side of the colonists. Even after the war was over, the Kingites kept up their organization, and shut white men out of the central district, west of Lake Taupo, for many years.

REPRESENTATION.

But all that is now happily ended, and the ex-King Potatau II, *alias* the Hon. Mahuta Tawhiao Potatau te Wherowhero, was appointed May 22, 1903, a member of the Executive Council, and also of the Upper House of the Legislature.

Maori representation in the House of Representatives dates from the Act of 1867. The whole number of members in the house at present is 80, of whom four are Maoris. For the purpose of Maori representation, the Colony is divided into four districts, each district having one member elected by Maori votes, the day of this election being set one month later than the general election. At this election any Maori can vote, who has not registered for the general election. At the last election the *Maoris* cast 14,271 votes.

The "Maori Councils Act" of 1901 also confers on the native councils a limited degree of local self-government, in regard to sanitary and other matters of a domestic nature. A minister for native affairs is always one of the members of the Executive Council of the Colony.

EDUCATION.

In New Zealand, as here, education is compulsory for all races, and by the last report there were 5,573 Maori children in school. There were 99 village schools, four boarding schools, and three private day schools. There were two native medical students in Otago University, and a Dr. Pomare was employed as a health officer.

POPULATION.

By the last census, taken in 1901, the Maoris numbered 43,143, including 3,133 half-whites, living as members of Maori tribes, and 196 Maori women married to white husbands. They appear to be holding their own in numbers, as the census of 1891 returned only 41,993 Maoris, showing a total apparent increase of 1,150 in ten years, and an increase of the full-blooded Maoris of 700.

Statistics go to show that crime does not prevail among them to any marked degree, and that they are much more temperate than the Hawaiians of the present day.

Yet Wherahiko Rawei, who lectured here on New Zealand in the fall of 1899, draws a dark picture of the present moral and social condition of his countrymen. According to him, the race is degenerating under the evil influences of *Kahunaism*, unsanitary customs and social impurity, aggravated by association with degraded Europeans. He asks for the establishment of industrial schools, for sanitary instruction, and for the expulsion of renegade whites from the Maori villages.

II. COOK AND OTHER ISLANDS ANNEXED TO NEW ZEALAND.

The Cook or Hervey Islands, including Rarotonga, Aitutaki and Mangaia, as well as Niue or Savage Island, are among the most fertile and beautiful islands in this ocean, and their inhabitants are among the most prepossessing and interesting of the Polynesian tribes. From their isolation they have been less exposed than the people of other groups to the deadly influence of depraved white men. They have also been fortunate in the high character and practical wisdom of the missionaries who have labored among them, such as Revs. Williams, Buzacott, Gill and Royle.

The training school at Awarua on Rarotonga sends out its teachers far and wide through the Western Pacific. The High School at Tereora is highly spoken of by the Resident. An Auckland paper testifies that the Rarotongans are the most advanced of all the South Sea islanders in industrial civilization. By all accounts the public schools are the best in the South Seas, the teachers being New Zealand men and women, who have earned their certificates. The population of the Cook group is about 12,000 and slowly decreasing, while that of Niue is 4,500, and slightly increasing.

The exports of the Cook Islands consist of copra, oranges, lime juice, bananas and coffee. The specialty of Niue is hat making, and that of Penrhyn and Manihiki, pearl-shell fishing and copra.

CIVIL POLITY.

The civil organization of these islands was originally *tribal*, under hereditary chiefs. Each island had its own head chief or sovereign. They had made a considerable advance towards feudalism, as the *Ariki* had become a civil ruler, while a hereditary priestly caste had grown up with its temples, ritual, idol worship and human sacrifices.

Bloody feuds existed between the tribes, and cannibalism was an accompaniment of their frequent wars. But unbroken peace has now prevailed for 80 years, and the change that has taken place in the character of the people is truly wonderful.

It has been the policy of the missionaries there to uphold the *mana*, authority, of the chiefs, to develop the native institutions, and to reform rather than to revolutionize their system of government.

LAND MATTERS.

The nature of land law in this group was declared to be as follows, August 3, 1894:

"Custom can be changed only by law. The land is owned by the tribe, but its use is with the family who occupy it.
 The family consists of all the children who have a common ancestor, together with adopted children. Control rests with the head of the family."

Hence no man could claim more than a life interest in the land. The lands belonged to families, and were virtually *entailed*. Such was the ancient system.

On July 5th, 1896, Mr. Moss, the British Resident, addressed a powerful appeal to the *Arikis*, advising that sufficient lands, to be called "family lands," should be allotted without delay to every family in every tribe, and made inalienable forever, subject to a small rental to the chiefs as owners. He said: "Do not put off this work any longer, or it may be too late." This advice has been followed, a Land Titles Court is doing good work, and a considerable portion of the island of Rarotonga had been surveyed while the land in Aitutaki is all subdivided among the

people in small sections with numerous "*teles*," as we call them here. Considering the advanced views held in New Zealand in regard to land tenure, it is not likely that land monopoly will be allowed to gain a foothold in its dependencies.

I may add here that the sale of alcoholic liquors is prohibited in all these islands except in Rarotonga, where foreign influence is strongest. There a system like that of South Carolina is being tried, and there is also much illicit drinking of orange beer.

ANNEXATION.

At the request of the inhabitants, who feared the land-hunger of France, the Cook or Hervey Islands were taken under the protection of Great Britain in 1889. No change was then made in the internal government, except the appointment of a British Resident, with advisory functions. Later on a Federal Council was organized for the whole group in addition to the previously existing Island Councils.

On June 11th, 1901, in pursuance of an order in council, and a resolution passed by the Legislature of New Zealand, a proclamation was issued annexing the Cook Islands, Niue or Savage Island, Penrhyn, Manihiki, and a few other small atolls, to the Colony of New Zealand. No important change, however, has been made in their internal system of government. Queen Mamea of Avarua, continues to be Ariki of Rarotonga, and the elected chief executive of the Cook Island Federal Council. No ordinance, however, can have the force of law until approved by the Governor of New Zealand. The Arikis or chiefs' courts, composed of native judges, deal with minor offences, while more serious crimes, and all cases in which foreigners are involved, are tried before the High Court, presided over by English judges. Col. W. E. Gudgeon is the Resident Commissioner.

III.

TONGA.

The Tonga or Friendly Islands lie south of Samoa, between Fiji and the Cook Islands, in latitude 20° south, and are divided into three groups, called Tongatabu, Haapai and Vavau. The

natives are considered by many observers to be physically and intellectually the strongest race in the South Seas. They are a proud and independent race, but lacking in the amiable traits characteristic of other Polynesians. Mariner's description of Tonga as it was a hundred years ago has become an English classic, and is a mine of information. The population has remained at about 20,000 for many years. The exports are chiefly copra and oranges.

CIVIL POLITY.

In coming to Tonga from New Zealand or Fiji, we find a striking contrast in political institutions, land tenure and social customs. We find no clans or village communities holding lands in common, but instead thereof a fully developed feudal system and a centralized despotism. The patriarchal head of the clan has become a landlord, and instead of clansmen, bound to their chief by the tie of blood-relationship, we find tenants and subjects.

The population was divided into three classes or ranks, viz: 1st chiefs or *eikis*, 2nd the middle class or gentry, including *matabules*, who are heads of villages, hereditary artisans, and their relatives, called *Muas*, and 3rd, the *Tuas* or serfs, comprising the mass of the people. The lowest of these were the "Bobulas" or slaves, descendants of captives taken in war. A curious dual sovereignty formerly existed there, similar to that of Old Japan.

The spiritual head, corresponding to the Mikado, was called the *Tui Tonga*. He was a sacred person, directly descended from a god, and received almost divine honors, although he had no political power. Even now it is tabu for any one to eat in the presence of his heir. The *temporal king*, corresponding to the Shogun, was styled *Tui Kano-Kubolu*, and was elected by the chiefs from the "*Hau*," i. e., from the family of the blood royal. He wielded absolute power of life and death over his subjects, and had charge of the civil government and the tribute due to the gods.

Tui Tonga must marry the daughter of the *Tui Kano-Kubolu*, and if she had a son, he would become the next *Tui Tonga*. *Tui Tonga's* widow was always strangled at his funeral. Even at

the present day, a commoner is required by law, if on horseback, to dismount when passing any noble or the king's fence, and is forbidden to wear the *fa'u* or turban, or to be without a girdle in the presence of a noble, if in native dress. If on foot, he is required to raise his hand in a quasi military salute, instead of the ancient "*moemoe*" or prostration.

LAND.

The lands were held in fief, formerly in Hawaii, but with more fixity of tenure. The great chiefs held them by hereditary right, but subject to the king, to whom they owed military service and tribute.

In turn, the chiefs subdivided their lands again among their followers, who owed them service and taxes, and so on. The lowest order, that of the "*Tuas*," was oppressed by all above it. Besides, the king or his representative could assess forced labor upon the people, whenever he pleased. The chiefs also claimed a share of all the *fish* taken by their tenants. Still these serfs were *adscripti glebae* and not liable to eviction as in Hawaii.

KING GEORGE TUBOU.

The career of King George Tubou I, who united all the Tonga Islands under one strong government, and put an end to civil wars, was strikingly like that of Kamehameha I. He was probably the greatest man that the Polynesian race has ever produced.

Born near the close of the 18th century, he lived until 1893, outliving his son and grandson. His youth was passed amid bloody civil wars, waged between the chiefs of the three groups, Vavau, Haapai, and Tongatabu, in which he displayed a degree of valor, generalship, eloquence and generosity to fallen enemies, unequalled in Tongan annals. At length, in 1845, by the consent of all the chiefs, he was proclaimed Tui Kano-Kubolu, in the ancient Kava drinking ceremony. By 1852 he had put down the opposition of the reactionary heathen party, and for forty years longer his will was law.

Time is wanting to tell of his voyages to Australia, (where he studied the land question to good purpose), and his alliance with King Thakombau of Fiji, who owed his crown and his life to the intervention of King George and his Tongan warriors.

As long as King George Tubou lived, there was a stable government, for he was venerated almost as a god by his subjects. When at last he died, February 18, 1893, at the advanced age of 96, all work ceased. "Trade was at a stand-still for months. The only labor of the people was the erection of the great tomb in the Malae-kula (Red square) of Nukualofa, and the preparation for the great funeral feasts."

He was succeeded by his great-grandson, George Taufaaauhau, under the title of George Tubou II, a youth of twenty, whose administration has been weak and corrupt as will be seen later on.

THE KONISTUTONE.

The first written laws in Tonga were promulgated by King George in his island of Vavau in 1839. By degrees the ancient customs were reduced to writing, and the powers of the chiefs limited and defined, but no radical change was made in the form of government till 1862. King George long resisted the importunities of the missionaries to grant his people a constitution copied from European models. "His people," he said, "were not ready for it. In England the people were perhaps accustomed to think for themselves, but the Tongans had always let their chiefs think for them." At last he yielded, and signed a brand new constitution, which swept away at a stroke the ancient form of government, and substituted for it the political machinery evolved in the course of centuries by the Anglo-Saxon race.

It seems that Mr. Chas. St. Julien of Sydney, appointed in 1854 by Robert Crichton Wyllie, Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, as "Commissioner to the independent states and tribes of Polynesia," took an important part in this transaction.

What made it more difficult for the Tongans to understand their new institutions, was the fact that a host of English technical terms were transplanted into their language. Thus we find

"*Kingi*" for King, *Konisitutone* for Constitution, *Insipeketa* for Inspector, *Kalaki* for clerk, *kalasi* for class, *Palemia* for Premier, *polisi* for police, *sea* for chair, *talisone* for treason, *Saienisi*, science, and *Konisienisi* for Conscience, &c., &c. In Hawaii nei these terms are all expressed by native words.

The Tongan Legislature is unicameral, the hereditary Nobles sitting on one side, and the Commons, elected by universal suffrage, on the other. There are 68 members in all, including the cabinet ministers, who have seats *ex-officio* among the Nobles, and hold office during the king's pleasure. The proceedings are entirely in the Tongan language and are taken down by native stenographers.

LAND MATTERS.

In respect to its land laws, Tonga has taken a new departure. Starting with a feudal system similar to that which formerly existed in Hawaii, its political guides developed it in another direction. The Rev. Shirley Waldemar Baker, ex-premier, said to my brother, with truth: "I anticipated the doctrines of Henry George."

In ancient times the title to all the land of Tonga theoretically was vested in the Tui Tonga, the spiritual sovereign, from whom the nobles and commoners held their lands in fief. When the office of Tui Tonga ceased to exist, his title was absorbed by the king, who thenceforth had full power to grant holdings in return for taxes. Hence the declaration in the constitution, that "all land is vested in the crown and cannot be sold," is in accordance with the ancient system.

The great estates, styled "inheritances," have been granted to the 31 hereditary chiefs (now called Nobles), and are inalienable except for felony. It is out of the power of any chief to sell or mortgage his estate.

Every Tongan male subject, on coming of age, is entitled to a village allotment for his dwelling, and a tax allotment for his support. These allotments are granted by the minister of lands, and duly registered, and a deed is delivered to the applicant, signed by the minister. No man is allowed to hold more than

one allotment. These allotments cannot be sold or mortgaged. No Noble can dispossess any Tongan subject of the allotment granted him by the minister of lands. The Noble's interest in the land is limited to receiving the rent paid for tax allotments, and for land leased to foreigners, with the written consent of the minister of lands. The Government, however, collects this rent, and pays it over to him, reserving to itself all power of evicting tenants.

The poll tax has been converted into a land tax of \$9.00 a year (secured on movable property and the produce of the land, chiefly copra), in addition to which, one dollar a year is collected as rent for the landlord, either the hereditary Noble or the Crown. If a man wishes to change his residence, the law provides for a transfer of allotments, with the consent of the Government. It will be seen that this system resembles the modern New Zealand "lease in perpetuity." There are elaborate provisions for the descent of land and for the collection of the tax.

No land can be held by any foreigner except upon a lease signed by the minister of lands, which is not transferable. The only foreigners there are a few Australian and German traders, who buy copra in exchange for goods. If a man can but will not work, he may be prosecuted for *idleness* and imprisoned with hard labor for three months. There are heavy penalties for allowing *lantana* to grow on any one's land.

ALCOHOL AND KAVA.

The law of Tonga provides that "Whoever shall give any intoxicating liquor to any Tongan, Pacific Islander, or Indian . . . shall be liable to a fine not less than \$250 or more than \$500, and imprisonment for any term not less than three months, and not exceeding six months in default of payment."

Another section ordains that "Whoever, being a Tongan or Pacific Islander, shall drink any intoxicating liquor, whether he has purchased such liquor or not, without a written permit from the minister of police, shall be liable to a fine of \$25.00, or imprisonment at hard labor for not more than three months."

There is, however, another clause allowing special permits to be issued by the minister of police. These are given to members of the royal family, and also, rarely, to high officials and chiefs. In point of fact, the Tongans, in general, were ten years ago a strictly temperate people.

Licenses may be issued for public houses at three places, one on each of the three largest islands, at a fee of \$100 a year.

Kava drinking is universal, like that of tea and coffee, and is conducted on state occasions with all the ceremonial of the olden time, except that the roots are now pounded on a flat stone instead of being chewed by women, as formerly.

EDUCATION.

Public instruction is gratuitous and compulsory, the legal school age extending from five to sixteen. The instruction is given entirely in the native language. The curfew *drum* is beaten every evening at 8 p. m., after which no child is permitted to be at large. There is little if any industrial education. There is a high school or college at Nukualofa, in which the students are especially proficient in mathematics, singing and stenography. Yet the government printing is done at Auckland, and no Tongan seems to have received an English education. There has never been anything there like the school for young chiefs, founded here in 1840.

THE CAREER OF REV. SHIRLEY W. BAKER.

Next to King George Tubou, the Rev. Shirley Waldemar Baker, ex-missionary, has played the most important part in the history of Tonga. From the very first he showed a special fondness and talent for political intrigue. It was he who designed the national ensign, the coat of arms and the Great Seal, with its inscription "Ko Jioaji Tubou, i ke Kelesi (Grace) de Otua, koe Kingi o Tonga." He posed as the champion of Tongan independence, and tried to make capital out of the distrust of England caused by the annexation of Fiji. He also coquetted with Germany, and brought about the cession of a coaling station in Vavau to that power in November, 1876, for which ser-

vice he received a decoration from the Kaiser. Afterwards, when Unga, the king's son, who was also premier, died at Auckland, Mr. Baker brought back his body to Tonga in a German man-of-war, and consented to fill the place that Unga had left vacant. He had for some reason been at variance with his missionary brethren and he now saw his opportunity for revenge. For years the sums contributed by the Tongans, who are liberal givers, had largely exceeded the local expenditures, and the surplus had been appropriated by the Australian Conference to other more needy missions. King George felt that this money ought to be expended at home, and had petitioned that Tonga should be constituted a separate conference, but without success, because the heads of the Wesleyan denomination considered that the infant church was hardly yet fit to be freed from its leading strings.

Mr. Baker then proceeded to reopen this old sore, and in 1885 persuaded the aged king to set up an independent Wesleyan state church of his own. A Rev. Mr. Watkins, chairman of the district, was induced to secede from the mission, and become president of the new conference. So the new so-called "Free Church of Tonga" was set up, and a large majority of the people and of the native ministers joined it out of loyalty to the king.

Still a respectable minority, who disliked Mr. Baker, and were attached to the missionaries, stood firm and refused to sever their connection with the Wesleyan Mission. Mr. Baker then resorted to petty persecutions and later on to gross outrages on the "Dissenters." The moral effect of this controversy was disastrous and far-reaching. Relying on his influence with the king, he carried matters with a high hand, acting as his own treasurer and auditor, minister of foreign affairs, minister of lands, minister of education, &c., &c., promulgating laws in the name of the king, and dictating to native judges, till he made bitter enemies among the chiefs.

He spent much time in Auckland, N. Z., where he was a member of the leading club, and subsidized newspapers and roving scribblers at the expense of Tongan taxpayers.

In January, 1887, four escaped prisoners lay in wait for Mr. Baker one evening, as he was driving home with his son and

daughter. They fired a volley, but missed him, severely wounding his two children. Wholesale arrests were made, and four men were shot, one of whom was probably innocent. The Wesleyans were falsely accused of complicity in the crime, and cruelly persecuted. About 200 of them were huddled on board of two small schooners and shipped off to Fiji, where they were kindly received, and temporarily settled on the fertile island of Koro.

As time went on, the Tongans became tired of their dictator, and in 1889 generally refused to pay taxes, so that a loan had to be floated to pay the government salaries.

At length Sir John Thurston, the British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, and Governor of Fiji, lost patience, and proceeded to Tonga on board of H. B. M.'s *S. Rapid*, in June, 1890. After investigating the state of affairs, Sir John wisely decided to exercise the authority given him by the order in Council, which empowers him to deport any British subject who is detrimental to the peace and good order of the island on which he is living. Accordingly, Premier Baker was compelled summarily to resign and take passage in the mail steamer, July 17th, 1890, for New Zealand. The king, when freed from his malign influence, readily gave permission for the return of the Wesleyan exiles, and ordered the release of all political prisoners. The balance in the treasury was found to be low, the finances in a hopeless tangle, the Government records and accounts kept in English, which no Tongan understood, while a considerable part of the code had not even been translated into Tongan.

Under these circumstances the king requested the high commissioner to send a white man of character and ability to assist his ministers, until his government should be in working order and financially solvent. Accordingly Sir John selected Mr. Basil H. Thomson, who had already some acquaintance with Tonga, and sent him down on the same steamer that brought home the Wesleyan exiles.

Mr. Thomson remained in Tonga a year, as *faka-hinohino*, or expounder, during which time he reorganized its finances, convened the Legislature, carried through a revised code of laws, and an appropriation bill, collected the taxes, and left the Gov-

ernment out of debt with \$40,000 in the treasury. How he accomplished all this is too long a story to tell here, but it furnished him with materials for an entertaining book, entitled "The Diversions of a Prime Minister," to which I am indebted for much information in regard to Baker's career.

MARRIAGE OF KING GEORGE II.

King George Tubou II's reign began with misfortune. An epidemic of measles, brought from New Zealand, carried off one-twentieth of the population, and demoralized the remainder.

The king availed himself of this excuse to dismiss his premier, Tukuaho, the ablest of the chiefs, and two of his European custom house officers. After that things went from bad to worse, and the Government was said to be controlled by a certain trading firm, which contracted for the public supplies. As time went on, the king was urged to marry, and public opinion ran strongly in favor of one Ofa, a kinswoman of Tukuaho, and of the bluest blood in Tonga.

The betrothal had been announced, and preparations had been made for the wedding, when the king informed the chiefs that he preferred Lavinia, daughter of Kubu, minister of police. A council of all the high chiefs advised his majesty to marry Ofa, to which he replied that he would either marry Lavinia or not at all. The chiefs went home grumbling, and generally boycotted the royal wedding, which took place June 1, 1899.

THE RETURN OF REV. SHIRLEY BAKER.

Soon after this event, Rev. Shirley W. Baker had returned to the scene of his former triumphs. After spending several years in Auckland, he had made overtures to the State Free Church of Tonga in 1899, to accept him as their president, which were politely declined. He then joined the Church of England, and after being rebuffed by the Bishop of Honolulu, whose jurisdiction included Tonga, he persuaded the Bishop of Dunedin, N. Z., to grant him a license as a lay reader for Tonga. He commenced holding services in Nukualofa in November, 1899, before he had received this license. No better moment could have been chosen.

The rejected Princess Ofa and many of her partisans joined the "Jiaji a Vika," or "Queen Victoria's Church," as Mr. Baker called it, about the beginning of 1900, and for a year all went on swimmingly.

THE BRITISH PROTECTORATE.

By the "Samoa Convention," concluded Nov. 14, 1899, the islands of Upolu and Savaii were turned over to Germany, while the Tonga group, as well as a number of small islands, were declared to be within the British "sphere of influence," and Germany's claims to the coaling station in Vavau were transferred to Great Britain.

Accordingly Mr. Basil Thompson was again sent to Tonga, this time as a commissioner to negotiate with the king and chiefs of that group a treaty, placing them under the protectorate of Great Britain. Not long before this visit, the king had received a letter from the ex-queen of Hawaii, greeting him as the last independent sovereign of the Polynesian race, and condoling with him on the threatened loss of his independence.

In spite of this and other obstacles, Mr. Thomson's personal acquaintance with the chiefs, his intimate knowledge of Tongan politics, and his consummate tact carried the day, so that on the 18th of May, 1901, the treaty was finally agreed to by the House of Nobles, and signed by the king and premier.

ADVENT OF BISHOP WILLIS.

In the autumn of 1901, a marriage of a British subject with a Tongan heiress, solemnized by Mr. Baker according to the rites of the Church of England, was declared invalid by the British consul, as "the officiant had not been registered in the High Commissioner's Court," and the parties had to be remarried by the Free Church minister. This opened the eyes of the natives, who on learning that Baker was not a clergyman of the Anglican church, withdrew from him almost to a man. Unwilling to return to King George's State Church, they wrote to Bishop Willis, December 31, 1901, to "come over and help them."

Both Queen Lavinia and the Princess Ofa died during the spring of 1902. Baker wished to officiate at Ofa's funeral, but

was refused permission, as it was an affair of state. In the following summer Bishop Willis, having resigned the See of Hawaii, proceeded to Tonga to look after the interests of the Church of England in that group. He was well received by a considerable number of adherents, but King George's ministers refused to lease him a church site anywhere in the kingdom, although the constitution provides for such leases where there are thirty adult members of the church in question, residing in the same town.

Meanwhile Baker had retired to Haabai, where he continued to hold services with a small remnant. He died in 1903.

INTERVENTION OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

It seems that in July, 1903, the British High Commissioner, Sir Henry Moore Jackson, went from Fiji to Tonga to adjust matters in dispute, but was refused a landing by the Tongan Government, on the alleged ground that the measles were prevailing in Fiji. Meanwhile the laws in regard to intoxicating liquor have become a dead letter, "the drink traffic throughout the islands is a crying scandal," and the cocoanut plantations are overgrown with lantana. At the same time the present High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, Mr. im Thurn, kept receiving complaints of the corruption, injustice and misgovernment prevailing in Tonga, until he became convinced that decisive action was called for. On the 8th of December, 1904, he arrived at Nukualofa with H. B. M.'s gunboat "Clio" and the dispatch boat "Ranadi," and at once called on King George. The next day an officer with a guard from the Clio took possession of the empty treasury, and on the 10th an armed guard of marines arrested the premier, Josateki, and his son, Fotu Veikune, minister of finance, and took them on board of the "Ranadi." They were immediately deported to Suva, Fiji, where they are still detained, under surveillance, as "political prisoners."

The collector of customs and his assistants were dismissed, and new officials, all English, were put in charge of the treasury, the customs, and one on the bench of the Supreme Court. These changes are said to have been approved by nearly all the white residents and nine-tenths of the natives.

In all probability Tonga will henceforth be practically a dependency, similar to the Federated Malay States, and George Tubou a titular king, with but little real power. Bishop Willis fully approves of the high commissioner's action, and believes that it will prolong the independence of Tonga. Still the legality of it, under the treaty of 1901, is questioned by some of the New Zealand papers. King George with his private secretary and Rev. J. B. Watkins, head of his State Church, took passage for Auckland, April 26th, 1905, and from thence forwarded his protest and petition for redress to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and also to King Edward himself.

REFLECTIONS.

On the whole, the experience of the Polynesians thus far seems to justify the views of Benjamin Kidd on the "Control of the Tropics," and of Alleyne Ireland on the "Administration of Tropical Dependencies."

Under a just and paternal protectorate, however, shielded by strict laws from the three vampires of Alcohol, Land Monopoly and Usury, the Tongans will perhaps have as fair a chance as any other branch of the Polynesian race, of working out their own destiny.

Our hope is that after surviving the shock of the first contact with the worst forms of European civilization, and after passing, not without loss, through the trying period of transition from the old life to the new, our southern neighbors may imbibe the inner spirit as well as put on the outward garb of civil liberty, and gradually win their way, by their own merits, to an honorable place among civilized peoples.

Whatever fate Providence may have in store for them, certainly we of Hawaii nei will extend to them our sympathy and cordial aloha.

W. D. ALEXANDER.

[NOTE.—Since writing the above I have learned that the High Commissioner's recent action in Tonga had been fully authorized by Orders in Council, and that King George Tubou's appeal to the Home Government has been without effect.]

REPLY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO THE PROTEST OF KING
GEORGE TUBOU II.

"The British reply to the king's protest is thus described in its essentials, and in the matter of its presentation to the king:

"At an interview with His Majesty the King of Tonga and his ministers on the 21st July, His Excellency the High Commissioner explained that he had come back to Tonga to convey to the king and people of Tonga the words of His Majesty King Edward the Seventh's Government in the matter of the action taken by the High Commissioner in December and January last in Tonga, and that he had come at the same time to convey the reply by the British Government to the letter which the King of Tonga had addressed to them from New Zealand on the subject of the things done by the High Commissioner.

"The British Government approves entirely of the things done in Tonga by the High Commissioner, Sir Everard im Thurn, and desires that the arrangements made by him should be fully maintained.

"More especially the British Government desires it to be understood that the promises given by the King of Tonga to the High Commissioner on the 18th of January should be most faithfully kept, and should be regarded, not as abrogating or altering previous treaties with the British Government, but as explaining the way in which these treaties must be carried out.

His Britannic Majesty's Government's reply to the King of Tonga's letter from New Zealand is that they are very sorry and surprised to learn that the King of Tonga even for a moment, thought of breaking his promise of the 18th January; that under no circumstances can they allow his promises to be broken; that if these promises were broken the result would be the immediate deportation of the King of Tonga; but that they believe that, now that the wishes and intentions of the British Government are known, the promises made will be faithfully kept, and they hope that the King of Tonga and his ministers may long continue happily and peacefully to administer the affairs of Tonga with the advice and under the protection of the British Government."

From the Hawaiian Star, August 23, 1905.

A Kona Storm.

By Hon. Gorham D. Gilman.

In the early fifties a company of investors made a venture to California in the well-worn Bar Harbor steamboat, the "Wheeler." Not proving a success in San Francisco business, the owners were induced to send her to the Hawaiian Islands, thinking that she would be a novelty, (as she was), the natives giving her the name of *Akamai* (ingenious), and that she would be able to do a good business running between the islands, little realizing that although these islands were situated in pacific waters, at times very high seas and severe gales had swept them.

It was in one of these storms that the writer was caught, and passed through a somewhat frightful experience. The steamer was bound at that time from Lahaina, where she had secured quite a heavy load of sugar and other freight to Honolulu.

On going aboard, late one evening, I noticed that the water was a good deal troubled,—a little swell setting in from the southward, indicating that there might be a storm brewing. We got under way from the anchorage off Lahaina about midnight. While running under the lee of Lanai it was comparatively smooth water, but on our opening out into the broad sea past the island, we encountered the first tokens of a gale. Although the sea was rough and the wind somewhat increasing, we made fair progress in passing Molokai. While the boat was rolling, tumbling and pitching a good deal, making rough weather of it, we had strong hopes that we should make Honolulu before dark, as the gale seemed to increase. It became so rough that no attempt was made at providing any food, and as the afternoon wore on, and we found ourselves in mid-ocean between Molokai and Oahu, we realized that our prospects were far from encouraging and in fact becoming very dubious.

As the afternoon waned, we were gradually drawing nearer to Oahu, but were very much disappointed in finding that the steam-

er, being flat bottomed, was drifting toward the shore, and it began to be somewhat apparent that it would not be without considerable difficulty that we should be able to weather the long reef making out from Diamond Head.

The very few passengers who were not confined below by seasickness, were gathered around the pilot house watching with great interest the result of the efforts of the captain and engineers to pass that point of the island.

It was at this time that, having occasion to pass below, I saw that the officers of the vessel had rigged an extra pump, putting it at the open hatchway into the hold, and lashing it so that it could be worked. The men having been worn by their long exertions, were relaxing their efforts. An officer coming by and noticing the situation, said to them, "Men, you can pump or sink. That's the only choice."

We had in our little company two men whose lives were most valuable to the Hawaiian people. One, the Rev. Richard Armstrong, Minister of Public Instruction, and former pastor of the Old Stone Church. A man of much earnestness, and acknowledged to be the best friend of the Hawaiians,—an exceedingly able man for his position. The other was the well beloved judge, Wm. L. Lee of the Supreme Court of the islands, a man whose integrity, ability and knowledge of law was seemingly all essential to the interests of the little kingdom, at this juncture of public affairs.

These two men had been obliged to remain in their berths, and were in that state, in which (as those only, who know the terrible sufferings from seasickness, can realize), they might well have been resigned to the fate which stared us in the face.

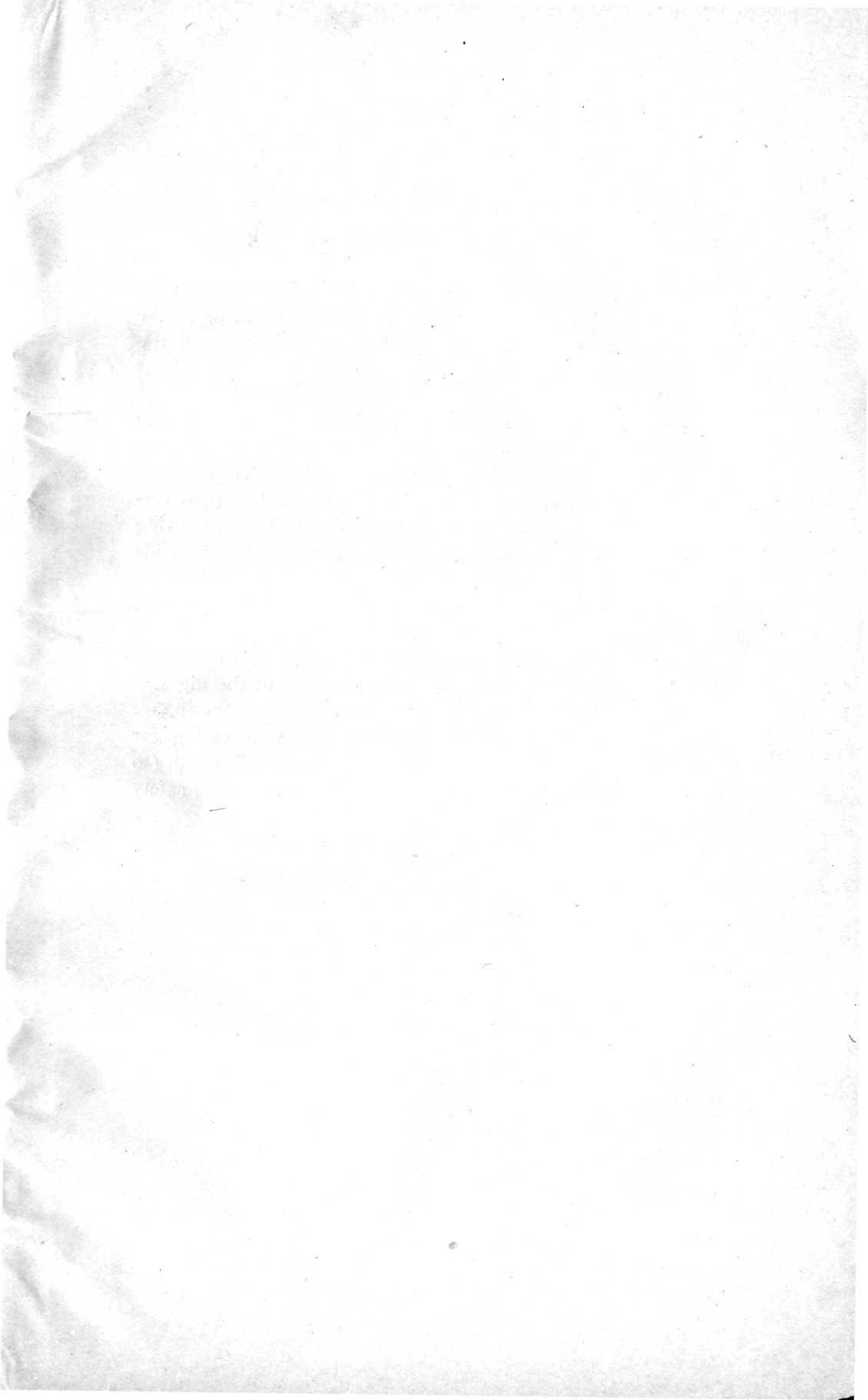
As the late afternoon drew on, we had succeeded in weathering the point of Diamond Head, and steered for the entrance of Honolulu harbor. Here our difficulties and dangers, which had been slight, seemed to increase, for, as darkness settled on the waters, the pilot, who had thus far been at the helm, refused any longer to keep his position, saying to the captain that he was employed to run the vessel in the daytime and not in the night in such a gale as this.

The officers of the ship were obliged to take the wheel and steer as best they could for the port of safety, some miles away. To add to our discouragement, we discerned the dark hull of a shipwrecked vessel piled up on the reef in our lee, and could hear the incessant thunder of the terrible surf as it pounded on the coral reef.

A little council of war was held, and the captain was considering what could be done under the circumstances. I knew there was on board a veteran Hawaiian shipmaster, and I offered to find him if possible, and get him to come to our relief and take charge. Seeking and finding him below, I told him the situation. With that stoicism which is somewhat characteristic of the Hawaiians, he at first declined. He said it was none of his business, and the pilot must take care of the ship himself.

On being impressed with the danger that we seemed to be in, he finally consented and took the wheel. It was then that the captain hesitated whether he should put the head of the steamer into the teeth of the gale, thereby being obliged to break up the woodwork to keep the fires going, with the possibility of outliving the storm, or take our chances on the coral reef, which probably meant the destruction of the vessel and the loss of every life on board. I overheard the following conversation between the captain and the engineer: "How much steam are you carrying?" "All she will bear, sir." "Give her ten pounds more. We may as well go one way as the other." Not very comforting or assuring in a heavy gale, with a coral reef under the lee, not very far off.

What seemed to us indicative of our being wrecked, proved our salvation. A strong gust of wind broke over our little boat, (which was trembling like an aspen leaf from bow to stern under the pressure of wind and wave), and then drove on through the harbor and through the valley back of the town,—causing a mist to be driven out from between the narrow walls of the two mountain sides of the valley, over a precipice,—thereby revealing to the watchful eyes of the pilot, the gap at that point in the mountain range. Turning the head of the little steamer to the reef, he pointed to the channel entrance. The breakers broke all around



us and our ship dashed on the trembling waters—life or death before us.

It was the last hope, whether we should strike smooth water and safety, or whether the hungry waves would devour us on the coral reef. But there was revealed to us at that moment, the silent signal of safety in the big buoy, which was anchored off the mouth of the harbor. It was almost as if an angel of life had pointed us this way to safety. We knew at once that from this point our course was clear, and although the waves were whirling and hissing, we were in the path of safety. They seemed almost ravenous, if such an expression can be used, furious certainly, but we were safe. Our whistle, which had been blowing for help unheeded, because help was unable to reach us outside the reef, now made a loud call for help from those in the harbor, and soon we had the pleasure of seeing through rain and mist, boats lighted by lanterns held by friendly hands, waving a welcome to us. It was not long before warm hearts and hospitable homes were opened to cheer the weary pilgrims of the night.

Among other indications of providential care over Hawaii, are we wrong in thinking that God's good angels were caring for and leading to safety two men, so necessary to Hawaii's good, (to say nothing of the rest of us), who were being conveyed to safety and for years yet of usefulness?

There were thankful hearts in Honolulu that night.

GORHAM D. GILMAN.

