

AGNES QUIGG

Kalākaua's Hawaiian Studies Abroad Program

INTRODUCTION

DURING HIS REIGN from 1874 to 1891, King Kalākaua actively supported the theme, "Hawai'i for the Hawaiians." Kalākaua appointed a number of Hawaiians to top positions in his government, he endorsed an act to perpetuate the genealogy of the chiefs of Hawai'i, and he founded a society to promote the return of Hawaiian dance, music, and art. Kalākaua also encouraged Hawai'i to become aware of events in the international arena. Kalākaua was the first Hawaiian monarch to travel around the world, he sent envoys to Europe and Asia, established numerous consulates abroad, and cultivated diplomatic relations among several world powers.

While the above have received recognition, one of Kalākaua's efforts that integrated his Hawaiian theme and his international focus has received relatively little attention in the annals of Hawaiian history. This was his ambitious program to educate Hawaiian youths abroad. From 1880 to 1887, 18 young Hawaiians — 17 men and one woman — attended schools in six countries where they studied engineering, law, foreign language, medicine, military science, engraving, sculpture, and music.

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Robert Ho‘apili Baker, a staunch and loyal supporter of Kalākaua, introduced a proposal to educate Hawaiian youths abroad to the 1880 Legislature. At the close of the session, the Hawaiian government appropriated \$15,000 in support of the education program.¹ From 1880 to 1892, legislative appropriations for the education of Hawaiian youths abroad totaled \$120,000, and of that sum \$86,883 was actually expended.²

Kalākaua personally selected the participants in his education program and probably planned to groom these young Hawaiians to become future leaders in his monarchy. Several of the youths were descended from Hawaiian *ali‘i* (nobility). Several were the offspring of leaders in Kalākaua’s government. As members of Hawai‘i’s leading social families, some of the students had mingled with visiting dignitaries and literati. Most of Kalākaua’s protégés had attended Honolulu’s best private schools where they had studied Latin and the Classics. They were young Hawaiians with a heritage and background to indicate that they would benefit from an education abroad.

James Kaneholo Booth, Robert Napu‘uako Boyd (fig. 1) August Hering, Maile Nowlein, and Robert W. Wilcox (fig. 2) attended schools in Italy. Henry Kapena, Hugo Kawelo (fig. 6) and John Lovell (fig. 3) studied in Glasgow, Scotland. Joseph A. Kāmau‘oha (fig. 5), Mathew Makalua (fig. 4), and Abraham Pi‘ianai‘a (fig. 7) were educated in England. Thomas Puali‘i Cummins (fig. 11), David Kawānanakoa (fig. 8), Henry Grube Marchant, and Thomas Spencer entered schools in the United States. James Kapa‘a (fig. 12) was tutored in Canton, China. The program’s two youngest students, James Haku‘ole (fig. 12) and Isaac Harbottle, (figs. 12 and 13) 10 and 11 years old respectively, traveled to Tokyo where they were immersed in the Japanese culture.

The young Hawaiians demonstrated a profound courage as they ventured into strange worlds and sometimes harsh climates to prepare themselves to serve their King and their country. And, like students everywhere throughout history, their lives abroad had moments of joy, trauma, and tragedy. Two young men fell in love and married, one to a young lady of noble birth, the other to a lady considerably older than himself. Three students almost

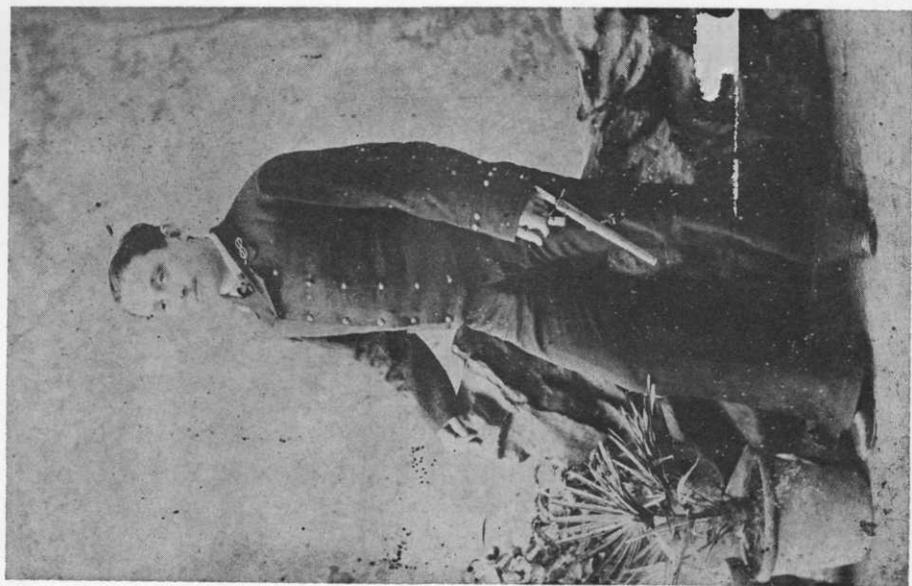
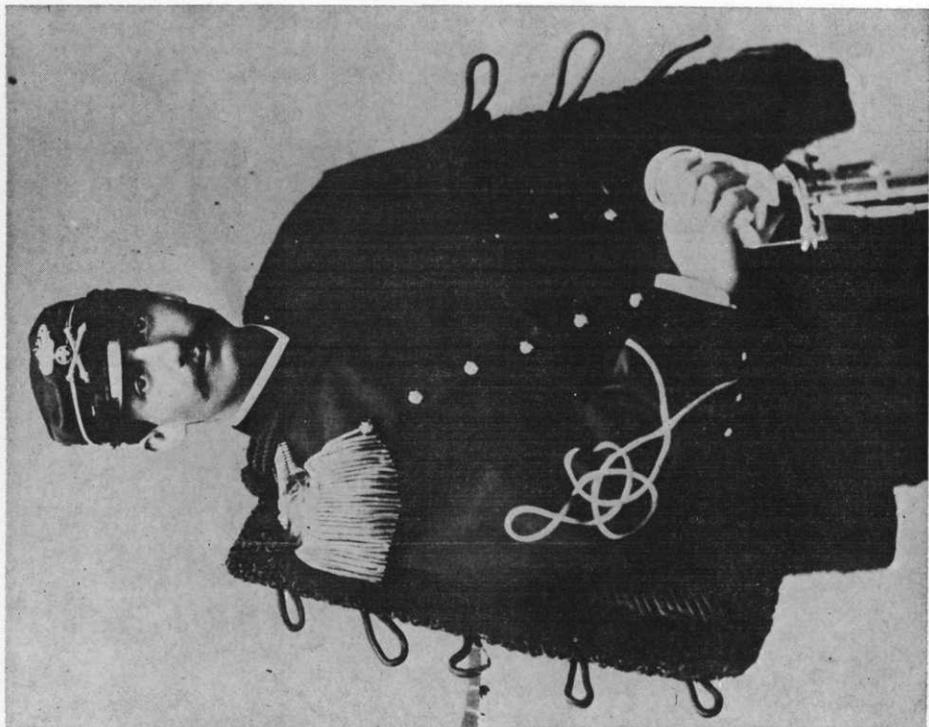
became embroiled in a scandal when Kalākaua's Chamberlain discovered that the youths' guardian had represented them as the King's natural sons. One gifted student had his work displayed at the Paris Exposition. One of the brightest students died of a dreaded plague, alone in a strange hotel. A second student died, the victim of a cold and bitter climate. One young man claimed he fought a duel and wrote home protesting he would rather die a beggar than be a slave in the country where he studied.

Kalākaua's education program received its strongest support during the 1882 and 1886 legislative sessions, with equal appropriations of \$30,000. Then, in 1887, when Kalākaua and his government faced a storm of controversy that had been brewing for several years, the King was forced to dismiss his ministry, to accept a new cabinet nominated to him, and to sign a new constitution that removed his absolute powers over the legislature. After the "Bayonet Constitution" and the curtailing of Kalākaua's power, the "Reform Cabinet" continued to criticize the King for what they considered his excessive spending. Acting under the new constitution they had forced into being, the Cabinet moved swiftly to curb the expenditures for Kalākaua's education program and called most of the students home.

Only three students had completed their education before the "Reform Cabinet" came to power. One student, who had commenced his training in November of 1887, continued his studies after his guardian sent a definite plan for the completion of his education. Another student received permission to remain at school when his guardian and instructors wrote letters stating that if he were recalled immediately all his training would be lost. A third student resumed her education when her father agreed to pay all her expenses. Those whose educations were interrupted must have been bitterly disappointed.

FIG. 1 (*left*). Robert N. Boyd in Livorno, Italy, c. 1884, in his Royal Italian Naval Academy uniform. (Bishop Museum photo.)

FIG. 2 (*right*). Robert W. Wilcox in Italy, c. 1886, in his Royal Italian Artillery School uniform. (AH photo.)





THE ALEXANDER ROOMS
DERBY

W W Winter

*Matthew P.
Makalua*



ANDREW BONMAN
GLASGOW

John Lovell

Expenses for the two students still sponsored by the government were covered by appropriations of \$4,000 and \$2,000 during the legislative sessions of 1890 and 1892. The 1890 legislature also passed an act to regulate the sending of Hawaiian youths abroad. The provisions of the act stated that any future students would be selected by the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the concurrence of the members of the Board of Education. Students would be selected according to quotas allotted to each of the Hawaiian Islands: two from the island of Hawai'i; a total of two from the islands of Maui, Moloka'i and Lāna'i; two from O'ahu; and one from the islands of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau combined. Students wishing to be sponsored could apply in writing. If the applications exceeded the quotas, applicants would be required to take an examination, and selection would be based on test scores. The act established specific professions that the applicants could pursue: Law, Medicine, Surveying and Civil Engineering, Bookkeeping and Stenography, Teaching, Carpentering, and Drawing.³

The act was approved on November 7, 1890 and signed by Kalākaua Rex who firmly believed that training young Hawaiians who showed promise of leadership was a service to the Kingdom that the Hawaiian government could well afford to promote.⁴ Watching the "Reform Cabinet" dismantle his program, and having to sign the act to regulate the selection of students, must have been a bitter climax to his dreams. Kalākaua had selected his students with care, and the evidence shows that they all took the King's assignment seriously, conducting themselves with diligence and dignity while abroad.

The drama surrounding these young islanders, thrust suddenly into environments totally foreign to them, is revealed primarily in documents housed in the Hawai'i State Archives. Archival files contain correspondence and financial accounts between Hawaiian government officials, the foreign consulates in the countries involved, the individuals under whose guardianship the youths

FIG. 3 (*left*). John Lovell in Glasgow, Scotland, c. 1883. (HSB photo.)

FIG. 4 (*right*). Mathew Makalua in London, England, c. 1884. (HSB photo.)

were placed, and occasionally from the students themselves. The following pages shed some light on the experiences of Kalākaua's young protégés.

ITALY

Kalākaua selected Robert W. Wilcox, Robert N. Boyd, and James K. Booth as the first students in his program. Wilcox, eldest of the three, and the son of William Wilcox, an American sea captain, and a Hawaiian mother, grew up and attended schools on Maui. At the time of his selection, Wilcox was teaching elementary school in Honolulu. Wilcox had actively supported Kalākaua, and he was destined to play a dynamic role in future Royalist activities. Booth and Boyd, also part Hawaiian, had attended Punahou School in Honolulu. A history of Punahou noted Booth as the school's brightest student.⁵ Boyd's lineage could be traced back to John Harbottle, an English naval officer who aided Kamehameha I in his efforts to unite Hawai'i, and to Harbottle's *ali'i* (noble) wife. Boyd's grandfather, Robert Boyd, who served as a ship's carpenter for Kamehameha I, had married one of John Harbottle's daughters. At their Maunawili home, Boyd's family, a leader in Hawaiian society, hosted social gatherings attended by Hawaiian royalty, visiting dignitaries, and world famous writers and artists.⁶

Booth, Boyd, and Wilcox sailed from Hawai'i to San Francisco on August 30, 1880, aboard the *Zealandia*, in the care of Celso Ceasar Moreno, an Italian. During his nine months residency in Hawai'i, Moreno wielded considerable influence over Kalākaua. Only days before the August 30th sailing, Moreno had been ousted from the King's cabinet after a bitter controversy with the Hawaiian government's American contingent. Although there were those in Hawai'i who considered Moreno an unscrupulous charlatan, he appears to have been quite a conscientious travel

FIG. 5 (*left*). Joseph Kāmau'oha in London, England, c. 1884. (HSB photo.)

FIG. 6 (*right*). Hugo Kawelo in Glasgow, Scotland, c. 1883. (HSB photo.)



15 REGENT ST S.W.



W.B. Hayes Studio

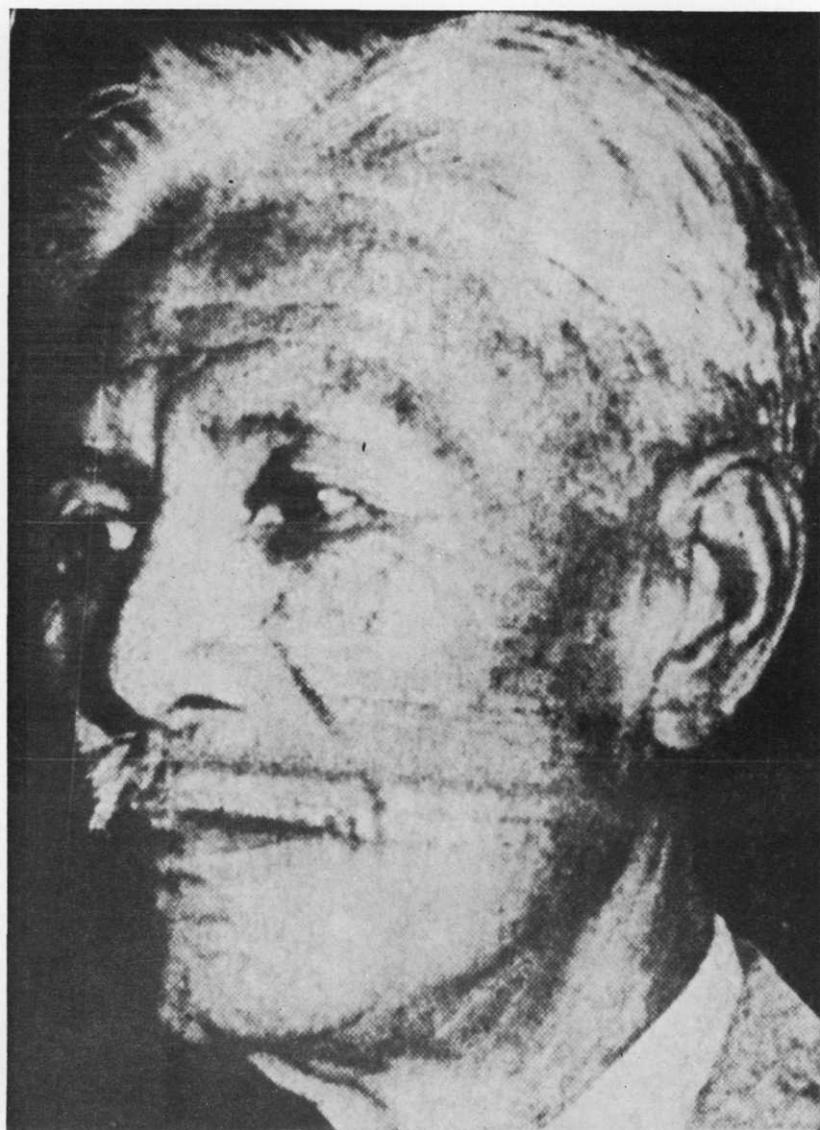
Joseph Kamaooha



ANDREW SUMMAN

GLASGOW

Hugo Kawelo



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Hawaii

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guide, managing to introduce his young charges to some of the world's most celebrated leaders.

From San Francisco the group crossed the United States by train to Washington, D.C. While in the American capitol, Moreno introduced the boys to the Honorable Carl Schurz, U.S. Secretary of State, and to Frederick Douglass, a noted Black-American abolitionist leader, author, and newspaperman, who was currently serving as the U.S. Minister to Cuba.⁷

Leaving Washington early in 1881, the group sailed for Cherbourg, France, and then proceeded to Paris where the Hawaiian youths met the French statesman Leon Gambetta. Wilcox recorded Gambetta's advice to the young men:

Seek knowledge and wisdom, because, therein are the gates to illumination and to progress for the land and the citizenry. Obtaining wisdom, return to aid in the task of governing, so much appreciated by your King.⁸

In Paris, the Hawaiian boys also talked with Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, engineer of the Suez Canal and later the Panama Canal. At the meeting Count de Lesseps offered the three youths these comments:

I consider it a pleasure to know you people sent from far-off islands to be educated in Europe; it is true that you all will not be denied in your search for knowledge if you are steadfast and patient, and then having acquired knowledge, return to government service for the task of seeking justice for the King, people and the nation.⁹

Earlier, in a letter dated August 30, 1880, Kalākaua had written to the Emperor and King of Prussia and expressed the desire that the Hawaiian youths should be placed in Prussian military schools. The Prussian leader assured Kalākaua that his schools were ready to admit the Hawaiians but stated that first the schools must be apprized of the students' personalities, age, and educational

backgrounds.¹⁰ Moreno found on visiting Prussia that the young men were not adequately prepared for the rigorous Prussian schools nor for the classes that were all taught in the German language which none of the boys had studied.

In the Spring of 1881, Moreno took the young Hawaiians to Italy to investigate the possibilities of placing them in Italian schools. In Genoa, Moreno introduced the trio to the famous Italian patriot, General Giuseppe Garibaldi, who was to have a profound influence on Wilcox. In his journal, Wilcox noted Garibaldi's words of encouragement:

The most important thing I wish to tell you is this: Each of you hold fast in your heart from this hour on. Know and love your fellow man. Love your King and your country, and acquire wisdom to return to governmental work of your wise King.¹¹

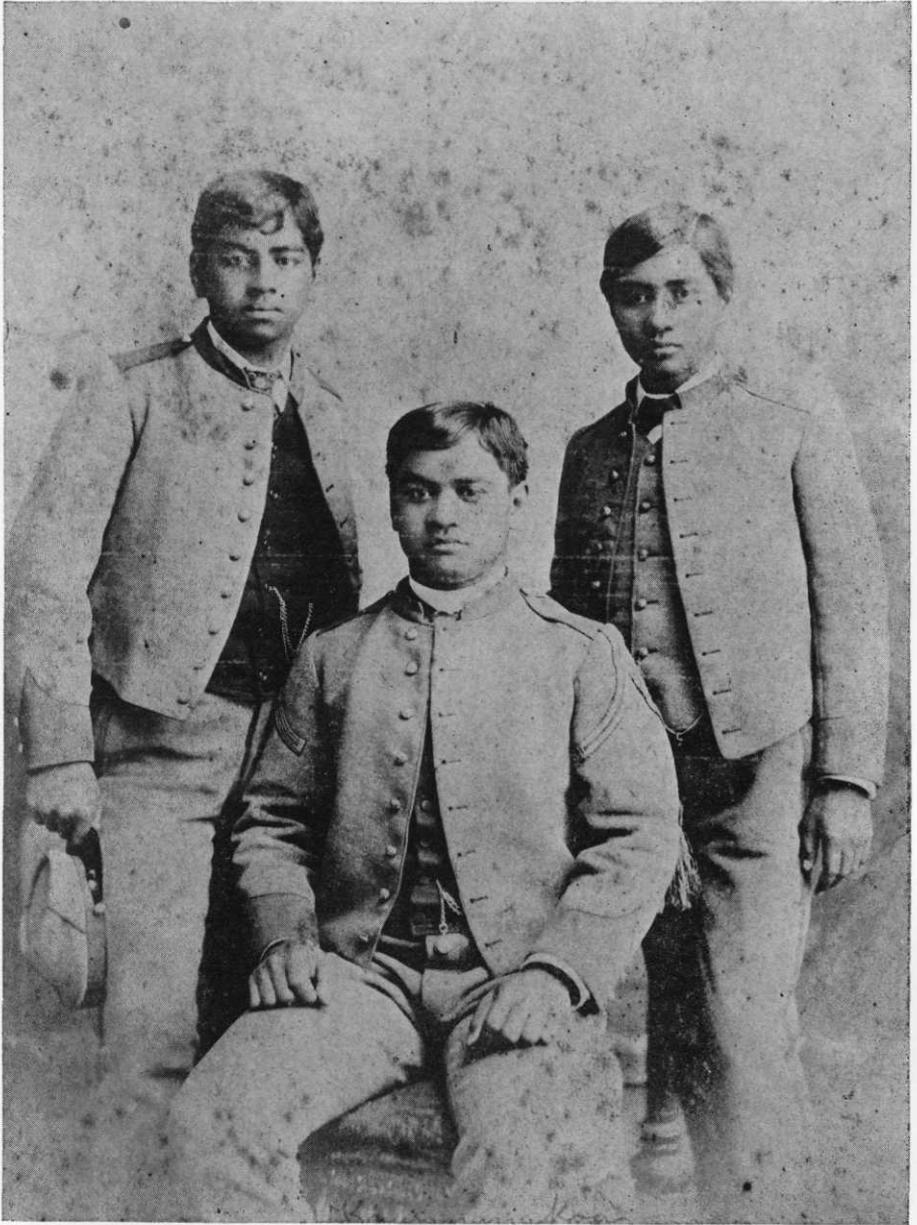
From Genoa, the group traveled south to Rome where they had an audience with the Italian King Umberto. Once again, Wilcox recorded the sage words offered to them:

Seek wisdom until you find it, then return directly to your homeland for the work that is right for you, for King, country and people.¹²

Moreno persisted in his efforts to find schools for the young men, and, after meeting with Italian ministers of government and the ministers of the army and navy, he enrolled Robert Wilcox in the Royal Academy of Civil and Military Engineers in Turin, Robert Boyd in the Royal Naval Academy at Leghorn, and James Booth in the Royal Military Academy in Naples.

On June 30, 1881, on one leg of his trip around the world, King Kalākaua stopped in Naples. Moreno, Boyd, and Booth were at the pier to greet the King on his arrival. Charles Judd and William Armstrong, two members of Kalākaua's government who were strongly opposed to Moreno, accompanied Kalākaua on this





journey. While Kalākaua met with the Italian King and Queen, Judd and Armstrong discovered from the Queen's sister that Moreno had been leading the Italians to believe that his three charges were the Hawaiian King's natural sons.¹³ With this damning bit of evidence, Judd and Armstrong persuaded Kalākaua to dismiss Moreno as guardian of the three Hawaiian youths. While still in Naples, Judd and Armstrong appointed Messrs. Michael Cerulli and Company to handle the students' financial affairs. Cerulli was later commissioned as Hawai'i's Consul in Naples.

During their first year in Italy, the three young men progressed satisfactorily in their studies. Each student had private tutoring in the Italian language in preparation for entering the first year of their respective academies. Booth and Boyd had studied Latin at Punahou which must have helped them in mastering the new language.

At first, the students' relationships with their new guardian appeared to be most congenial. Cerulli invited Wilcox, Booth, and Boyd to spend their first vacation at his home in Naples. His invitation to Wilcox arrived too late, and Wilcox thanked Cerulli in a letter written from Santa Margherita, a coastal town in northern Italy. He replied that requirements for leaving the Academy were strict and he had not had time to solicit permission, and, therefore, he would spend his vacation as the house guest of his Captain at the Academy. Wilcox described Santa Margherita as a place where he could go "sea-bathing" and where he could see "some of the largest cannons in the fortresses of Spezia."¹⁴

By 1882, the three Hawaiians began to experience frustrations concerning their lack of spending money and their inability to convince Cerulli of their need for it. In a somewhat desperate move, Robert Boyd wrote to Walter Murray Gibson, Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Boyd began by telling Gibson of his

FIG. 8 (*right*). Prince David Kawānanakoa (center) at St. Matthews School, San Mateo, California, c. 1886, with classmates Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole (*left*) and Prince Edward Keli'iahonui (*right*). (Bishop Museum collection.)

academic progress, relating that he had successfully passed his examinations in Geometry, History, Italian, French, and Arithmetic. He confessed he had failed his examination in Algebra by one point and attributed the failure to his difficulty with the Italian language. Boyd said he was granted permission to stay back from the summer naval expedition to study and prepare himself to repeat the Algebra examination in September, this arrangement made possible because the British Consul in Naples, Signor Ginstini, offered him the hospitality of his home for the summer. Boyd ended his letter to Gibson with a plea that he, Wilcox, and Booth be permitted a monthly sum for "our little needibles," and he asked Gibson to inform Cerulli should Boyd's request be granted.¹⁵

The Hawaiian youth's financial problems continued to plague them. In 1883, when Colonel Curtis P. I'aukea, Kalākaua's Special Envoy to various European courts, visited the three, he reported that "I found a tangle of unpaid bills the young men had incurred owing to the misleading advice of Moreno."¹⁶ I'aukea inferred that Moreno was still in contact with his former charges and had encouraged their extravagances. I'aukea left Cerulli with strict instructions that he should allow each young man the sum of 40 lire [\$8.00] per month for their personal expenditures and to pay nothing else but their educational expenses.¹⁷

In spite of their financial difficulties, the boys continued to advance and do well in their studies, especially Wilcox who placed at the top of his class in both of his first two years in the Academy in Turin. All three boys were also writing to Cerulli in Italian, indicating their progress with the Italian language.

Then, in March of 1884, Boyd suffered a severe setback when he failed his examinations. The following letter from Boyd to His Majesty King Kalākaua, in spite of misspellings, reveals Boyd's despair and his homesickness.

Dear-Sire:

Excuse my short note but have the patience to read it to the end. I have studied immensely this year, and had many fine fine reports; but yesterday I failed in my final examination; what does it means?

It means that more one studies; and gains headway, the more they push him done [down] the hill. Now Your Majesty must know the truth, and nothing else but the truth, I am five years abroad, and during this short period I have suffered more than a man of forty; I have had vengeance, I have had a duel, and lastly I have had enemies: all for the sake of my country. Their has been times in which I wished to runaway and beg for my living, but when I think of your kindness towards me, my passion calms quickly, and I dream of the happy future: But at last I have come to the conclusion not to suffer anymore, my studies to the present are not at all little; and perhaps sufficient to earn my living as a gentleman; Theirfore I am ready to come home and serve thee Sire, or else I shall run away because I would rather die a beggar than to be a slave. I will take a square resolution as soon as I receive Your Majesty's letter; but I swear int he name of my dead father that I will stay no longer in this revengeful country. The schooling ends on the 3rd of June, and I should wait for your answer in August, if at the end of this month I receive no answer, Your Majesty may calculate that I have no Country, I have no parents, and I have no king; I will be a roamer all the days of my life, like a Jew: I will come back to serve you as a souldier, and even as a shoeblicker; but I will never be a slave. Your Majesty may be sure that these words are as true as If I had my hands on the bible while writtin it, theirfore give me hope, and let me die in peace: I will repeat again, that my education is quite sufficient. I can come home alone, not as a child, but as a young man of 21 years old. I have the honor to wish his Majesty a prosperous reign and a long life.

Your faithful servant, Robert Napu'uako Boyd¹⁸

Boyd was not the only unhappy student. Wilcox expressed his concerns in a scathing letter to Cerulli written from Turin in July of 1884. Wilcox accused Cerulli of badly treating them and badly representing their government, Wilcox added that Cerulli treated them as "laughing stocks, a thing that offends the dignity of my country." What apparently provoked Wilcox to make these accusations was that Cerulli had sent the boys only 100 lire (\$19.50) as their expense money for a 40-day vacation, a meagre sum that "would provoke the laughter of the officers and the

cadets who might come to know it.” Wilcox furthered accused Cerulli of falsifying his financial reports to the Hawaiian government concerning their expenses and ended his letter:

Therefore, I do not want to have any more to do with you, wishing that you may let me out from your guardian and all that refers to the administration till another may take the place. I am very willing to stay under the dipendence[sic] of my Superiors till my government may destinate[sic] others to do instead of you.¹⁹

Cerulli responded with a ten-page rebuttal defending his position and his actions:

. . . I wish you to understand and as you are the oldest to let your two companions understand once and for all that I cannot do anything without the orders of the government. It is quite indifferent to me what you spend or how you do spend it—if the Government were to tell me tomorrow to pay you each a thousand francs a day I would do so with pleasure—but I repeat I cannot do anything without orders. . . .²⁰

Cerulli ended by demanding an apology from Wilcox by the next post.

But Wilcox’s ire would not be dispelled. On July 26, 1884, Wilcox wrote to King Kalākaua and sent him copies of Wilcox’s letter to Cerulli and of Cerulli’s rebuttal. In his letter to Kalākaua, Wilcox tried to clarify his position. He stated that Cerulli had only sent vacation money to Booth after Booth had been forced to appeal to the British Consul Ginstini to speak on Booth’s behalf. Wilcox said that Cerulli had insulted them in the presence of Ginstini by calling them “poor boys.” Cerulli had written to the officers in charge “not to give each of us more than 20 lire [\$4.00] every 15 days, as the Hawaiian Government was owing him 4,000 lire [\$780].” “Isn’t this an insult to the Government?” Wilcox asked. “Isn’t he utterly unfit to be honored with the title of Consul?”

Regarding the amusements he refers to, I have no liking for such things, and I believe the Hawaiian boys get the least of any in this

line. He speaks of economy as though we are extravagant. I cannot see how it is an economy to do as he says for . . . it will reflect on the Government some day. I believe to impute such a thing as extravagance against us is entirely wrong. When you weigh the different amounts given to the Foreign boys here, the Italian boys and the Hawaiian boys you will find us away at the bottom even far to the rear of those from Roumania and Birmania. I know this from what I have seen at vacation times by the clothes they wear and by the extended travels they make through all the noted places of Italy and even beyond, and it is recognized as an education by itself. If the Italian government has extended to us the use of the railroads isn't it because this Government recognizes the great benefits to be derived from travel? Would't it be well for Hawaii to enter the race with the others along the road to progress?²¹

Cerulli believed the Hawaiian boys should spend all their vacations at his home in Naples, a plan which would have been economical for the Hawaiian government. To the Hawaiian boys, however, whose classmates traveled extensively during the school holidays, Cerulli's offer held little appeal. In defense of Cerulli's position, it should be noted that the Hawaiian Legislature stipulated in their first appropriation for the Hawaiian Studies Abroad Program that the funds be expended for education and not for travel or sightseeing, and I'aukea's instructions had reiterated these restrictions.

Apparently Kalākaua had written to Wilcox concerning Boyd's despairing letter. In his letter of July 26, Wilcox responded to the King's queries about Boyd:

Regarding Boyd, he has not written to me up to this writing. I have already written to you about him from what I could gather from his schoolmates. . . . In Cerulli's letter I see the following 'Boyd will have to continue in the second class as he failed in his examinations in the following subjects: Special Trigonometry, Geography, and Gunnery of the Artillery, and has utterly refused to continue his examinations although he had a sufficient percentage which entitled him to take a second examination.' . . . I am going to write to the Admiral myself tomorrow. . . . I cannot understand how Boyd has gone backwards after hearing of his great progress.

. . . Had I graduated from this course and become an Officer, I would have requested you to leave all the matter of our education in my hands; then I would have been able to personally go and see where Boyd had failed and could have set aside everything in the way of his line of progress. . . .

Wilcox concluded:

I believe it useless to continue Cerulli in his present position as our relations are not of the best. I believe he ought to be satisfied with his position as Consul, and he ought not to have anything to do with us. I have only one year more when I shall rank as an officer, then our troubles will end.²²

Late in 1884, Cerulli sent word to the Hawaiian government that James Booth had died in Naples from cholera. Cerulli had tried to isolate Booth from the cholera epidemic by sending him to a region outside of Naples. Booth left the area, however, returned to Naples, took lodging at a small resort hotel, fell ill, and died.

On September 14, 1885, Cerulli submitted his resignation as Hawaiian Consul. The resignation included a financial report in which Cerulli confessed that he was bankrupt, attributing some of his financial problems to a law suit filed against him by Mr. Fraio, the owner of Hotel Rupers, where Booth died. Cerulli wrote Gibson:

As soon as Booth fell ill all Mr. Fraio's lodgers ran away from his hotel. After his death the house took such a bad name that for all that winter season, which is the one in which Hotel Rupers does business as that is the time when strangers visit Naples, none would go to it, the result was that he did no business at all. . . . This of course crippled him . . . he could not pay rent . . . the landlord turned him out of his old house, seizing part of the furniture. . . . For moral damages he asks 2,000 lire and says he will take no less as his family has been ruined by the sad event—he has a large family of wife and nine children.²³

With his resignation Cerulli included an inventory of Booth's belongings.²⁴ He had consigned Booth's books and his guitar to

Wilcox. Booth's library included a selection of the great classics of world literature, illustrating the caliber of education the Hawaiians were receiving in Italy.

On behalf of the King, Gibson wrote to Wilcox informing him that money had been forwarded to the Commandant of the Royal Military Academy at Turin for both Wilcox's and Boyd's expenses pending further arrangements.²⁵ Then in December of 1885, C. de Bels Brounlie of Turin became the new Hawaiian Consul and guardian to Wilcox and Boyd. The Hawaiian Consul General in London had recommended Brounlie, and he proved a capable administrator.

Apparently Boyd surmounted his earlier problems. In a letter to Gibson, Boyd described his academic and naval training program and thanked Gibson for arranging for Brounlie to be in charge of their care and financial responsibilities.

In June of 1887, after successfully passing all his examinations, Robert Boyd traveled to London with his brother, Colonel James Boyd, a member of Queen Kapi'olani's entourage attending Queen Victoria's Jubilee. From London, Colonel Boyd wrote to Hawai'i, requesting instructions concerning the government's plans for his brother.²⁶ Robert Boyd sailed for home, leaving Liverpool on October 22, 1887, aboard the steamer *Adriatic*.

Early in 1887, two more Hawaiian youths traveled to Italy to study, accompanied by Colonel Sam Nowlein, an officer in Kalākaua's Royal Guards. August Hering wanted to learn sculpture, and Maile Nowlein, Colonel Nowlein's daughter, and the only female participant in the Hawaiian studies abroad program, would study art and music. Upon returning to Honolulu, Colonel Nowlein submitted the following report to Godfrey Brown, the newly-appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs:

I have the honor to report that I have returned to Honolulu having accomplished the objects for which His Majesty's Government were pleased to depute me to visit Europe.

I have placed Mr. August Hering with Professor Tabucchi at Turin. This gentleman has the repute of being a very successful instructor in the art of sculpture. Mr. Hering will receive at his

studio instruction in drawing as well as in sculpture and from what I have seen of the young man I feel no doubt that he will do justice to his instructor and to the Hawaiian Government which has so handsomely provided for him for his future career.

Miss Nowlein is also at Turin, and is receiving instruction in the Italian language in preparation for a course at an Art school in Florence, to be selected for her by His Majesty's Consul C. de Bels Brounlie, Esqr.

I have left both these young people under the charge of Mr. Brounlie in whose discretion, and zeal for their benefit I have the highest confidence. He will communicate to Your Excellency from time to time the arrangements he may make for their welfare and the progress they may make in their studies.²⁷

While still in Italy, Colonel Nowlein and Maile had attended the marriage of Robert W. Wilcox to Lady Maria Carolina Isabella Luigia Sobrero, a young Italian woman of noble birth. Wilcox had completed his basic education in December of 1885, received a commission as an officer in the Italian Artillery School, and met Lady Maria. After the Hawaiian government granted them permission, Wilcox and Maria were married on June 15, 1887.²⁸

The "Reform Cabinet" summoned Robert Wilcox home in October of 1887, and Wilcox and his bride sailed for Hawai'i in November.

In the spring of 1888, after being in Italy less than a year, Maile Nowlein and August Hering were also called back to Hawai'i by the new government. But Maile remained in Italy when her father agreed to finance her educational expenses. August Hering, however, did not fare so well. No doubt bitterly disappointed in having his education interrupted, August Hering, *en route* home, disappeared in San Francisco and failed to make his scheduled sailing aboard the *Mariposa*.²⁹

SCOTLAND

In the summer of 1882, Colonel Charles Judd escorted Henry Kapena, Hugo Kawelo, Joseph Kāmau'oha, John Lovell, Mathew

Makalua, Abraham Pi'ianai'a, and Thomas Spencer to the United States and Great Britain. After enrolling Spencer in St. Matthew's School in San Mateo, California, Judd and the other youths journeyed on to Great Britain. In November of 1882, Judd entered John Lovell, Hugo Kawelo, and Henry Kapena as apprentices at the Scotland Street Iron Works in Glasgow. Glasgow was a rapidly growing industrial, commercial, and manufacturing center, and the city also contained a flourishing institution of learning, the University of Glasgow. But visitors invariably found Glasgow wrapped in a dense smog and complained that a darkness permanently hung over the city.³⁰ The author Brett Harte, American Consul to Glasgow when the young Hawaiians arrived there, offered a rather grim view of the city:

I cannot help feeling that I am living by gaslight in a damp cellar with an occasional whiff from a drain, from a coal heap, from a mouldy potato bin, and from a dirty washtub. That is Glasgow to me, and that is all it has ever been since I have been here.³¹

John Lovell and Hugo Kawelo had been students at Punahou. Henry Kapena was the son of John M. Kapena, a leading member of Kalākaua's government. What a stark contrast these young Hawaiians must have felt between the clear sunny skies and flower-scented breezes of Hawai'i and the dismal, foul-smelling city where they were to live and study. And Glasgow's climate would prove too harsh for one of the boys.

Renny Watson, the youths' guardian in Glasgow and a partner in the firm of Mirrlees, Watson & Co., proved a careful steward. Watson's instructions were to have Lovell, Kapena, and Kawelo trained in engineering; they were to acquire practical experience through their apprenticeships at the Ironworks.

On November 1, 1883, Watson reported to Gibson on the boys' progress.

. . . we regret to have to inform you that whilst their conduct has been such as to merit our approval, the health of two of them, viz Kawelo and Kapena has been by no means satisfactory, particularly in the case of the latter who has for some time been laid up

with pleurisy. We must therefore ask you to be prepared for our having to send one or both of these lads back owing to our climate being too severe for them, and this we may find it necessary to do without waiting for your reply, but you may rely on our doing what seems best for their interest. Lovell we are pleased to say enjoys good health and attends well to his work.³²

But Kapena and Kawelo survived their first Scottish winter, and all three boys took to their training. Bills from Mirrlees, Watson & Co. to the Hawaiian government indicate that the boys participated in a variety of sports activities. Kapena's accounts list football boots, dues for the bicycle club, shin guards, bicycle stockings, gloves, a straw hat, and racing entrance fees. Kawelo's account lists, among other things, dues for the bicycle club, bicycle tools, and a set of banjo strings. Lovell's bills include shin guards, gloves, and football boots.³³

The winter of 1883-1884 had been a mild one, and all three boys enjoyed good health. Predictions for the following winter however, appeared ominous, and Watson wrote:

. . . Concerning Hugo Kawelo, we regret . . . to report that his health . . . has again assumed an unsatisfactory condition: his medical attendant, Dr. Macmillan has expressed his opinion that it would not be wise for him to face another winter here, and Dr. McCall Anderson, a consulting physician of some standing in Glasgow agrees with him in this opinion. We were thus considering the question of sending Kawelo home to you . . . to get him away before the cold weather sets in. . . . Regarding the other two, viz, John Lovell and Henry Kapena, we are pleased to inform you that our Works manager reports that they are exceptionally steady and attentive to their work; they are not perhaps making such rapid progress as they did at first, but it is right to say that we have lately been very far from busy, and they have had more leisure, which we have tried to get them to utilize in attending science classes, but so far without much result. These two lads seem to thrive and keep their health.³⁴

The medical report stated that Kawelo suffered from pluerisy and a kidney infection. Kawelo left Glasgow on November 7, 1885, aboard the *Sterlingshire* bound for Liverpool and Honolulu.

John Lovell and Henry Kapena remained in Glasgow for another year, when the Iron Works reported that they had completed their apprenticeships.

Lovell and Kapena sailed for home October 23, 1886, aboard the *State of Georgia*. They arrived in San Francisco November 12, 1886, both in good health. Hawaii's Consul in San Francisco, D. A. McKinley, wrote to Minister Gibson that he had secured lodging for Lovell and Kapena and they could have temporary positions at the Risdon Iron Works in San Francisco. "I may state that the youths are very gentlemanly and quiet in their demeanor, and appear to be fond of their work and anxious to prosecute their studies."³⁵ But within six months McKinley wrote Gibson, stating he was forced to send Kapena home due to his dissipated ways in San Francisco.

ENGLAND

The three boys who traveled to England with Colonel Judd in 1882 were Abraham Pi'ianai'a, Mathew Makalua, and Joseph A Kāmau'oha. Pi'ianai'a had grown up on Lāna'i, the eldest son of an *ali'i* mother and a Chinese father. When Pi'anai'a's father wanted to return to China and take Abraham with him, his mother appealed to Kalākaua to intercede. The King granted her request, and Abraham moved to Honolulu and attended the Royal School.³⁶ Matthew Makalua, a cousin of Queen Kapi'olani, had studied at 'Iolani school. Kāmau'oha, the eldest of the three, had been a Punahou student.

Manley Hopkins, the Hawaiian Consul General in London, became the guardian for Pi'ianai'a, Makalua, and Kāmau'oha. Hopkins's brother, Charles G. Hopkins, had served in Hawai'i's government for many years, and his brother Manley Hopkins was to prove the most caring guardian of any assigned to the Hawaiian students participating in Kalākaua's program. Hopkins's numerous and detailed reports illustrate his dedication to his responsibilities and his devotion to his charges.

Pi'ianai'a and Makalua were enrolled at St. Chad's, a prepara-

tory school in Denstone, England. Kāmau'oha was admitted to King's College in London.

Colonel Curtis I'aukea, visiting with Makalua and Kāmau'oha at Hopkins's residence in London in 1883, stated of the young men's progress:

It is gratifying to note the great improvement since they left the Islands. They both seemed ambitious to excel and have profited much by their new associations and studies. The social advantages they enjoy here, advantages which are usually denied young Hawaiians at home at this time, have tended to develop in them kindly and manly traits of character. I think they will acquit themselves with credit.³⁷

Hopkins often included the boys' school grades along with his reports. In a July 1884 report, Makalua received a "Good" for General Conduct, Divinity, German, Euclid, History, and Declamation. Kāmau'oha's marks for the same semester were "Very Fair" for Mechanics and Physics, "Good" for Arts of Construction, and in Practical Chemistry the professor had penned "satisfactory, good progress." Pi'ianai'a also received "Good", ratings in General Conduct, Divinity, French, German, Chemistry, and History.

In October of 1884, after the young Hawaiians had been in England for two years, Manley Hopkins wrote a lengthy report concerning his three charges:

Their conduct to the present time has been irreproachable. They all work diligently during the term portion of the year; and where they go they always seem to make friends. I am now launching Mr. Makalua on his medical studies, always an expensive matter on account of prepayment of College and lecture fees, etc. . . . No previous examination is required at King's College, but what we were not aware of is that a student before entering the Medical Department there must have passed elsewhere an examination in Arts. I caused him to travel up from Devonshire to sit at Apothecaries Hall, which I understood was the easiest ordeal, but as he was quite unprepared for such test I was not surprised that he failed. The clergyman, himself a Headmaster of public school with

whom Makalua and Kamauoha were spending their holidays, immediately commenced instructing the former in Algebra. At the end of the vacation the two young men came to London and I placed them with a gentleman living in Russell Square and who is the Demonstrator of Anatomy at King's College. Makalua has begun reading with Mr. Adolphus, a training tutor—called in this country a “Coach.” He has also commenced as an “Occasional Pupil” to attend the Anatomy and Chemistry lectures at King's. . . .

Hopkins described how the young Hawaiians spent the long English school vacations:

During these summer and winter holidays I have to consider and provide for them pleasant changes of scene and wholesome and healthy recreation. The two elder young men have spent their two months past in Devonshire and in Shropshire, where they have had plenty of boating, tennis, and other out-door exercise. Piianaia has been again in Wales, a country which he seems to enjoy. . . .

Hopkins ended his report with his strategies for teaching Makalua and Kāmau'oha the value of money:

In order to teach the two elder youths economy and forethought I have told them that I now make a new arrangement with them. Being now come to manhood, they should provide their own wardrobe, and I limit them to a sum each per annum which I consider sufficient. . . . Kāmauoha is a particularly careful and prudent young man, but Makalua does not yet know the value of money so well, and he is more careful about external appearance. . . .³⁸

Hopkins's reports usually included bills for school necessities. One entry contained a list of books purchased for Pi'ianai'a. As with Booth's books in Italy, the titles and subject matter indicate the level of education the youths were receiving. Pi'ianai'a's books for one semester included: a Latin dictionary, a copy of Virgil, a text for English and one for Chemistry, a Bible and hymn book, and an Old Testament history.³⁹

In still another report, Hopkins wrote:

I hope Makalua will be ready for matriculation examination at King's College (Medical side) early in April. He is reading steadily with a Tutor. Piianaia is spending part of his Christmas vacation in Lincolnshire and we have invited him for a week at our house in Hampstead before school recommences. . . .

I am trying to instill economy, as to trip and pocket money into the minds of these youths, but one of the three shows a European desire to be carefully dressed at all times and this costs money.³⁹

Hopkins added a further dimension to the character of his charges, in another report to Gibson:

I am keeping a careful watch over the proceedings and characters of these young men. Kamauoha is prudent, studious, diligent: gives no ground for complaint in anyway, but is rather *dull* in conversation: indeed speaks but little. Mr. Makalua is just the contrary—quick, mercurial, all sided; able to do something of everything; and is very taking in society: *But* I fear without much backbone to his character. I had a letter from his Tutor two days ago complaining that he is not working as well as formerly: does not prepare his work, etc, etc. I have written at once to him very seriously, I told him that if he does not pass his matriculation examination (it is about six weeks hence) I do not see any use in his remaining in England. As all three are to spend next Sunday with us, I shall renew my grave remarks.⁴¹

Like Scotland, the British climate was proving troublesome to the Hawaiian youths. In October of 1885, Hopkins wrote to Gibson of his concerns regarding Kāmau'oha's health:

I have already mentioned to your Excellency that I thought the student J.A. Kamauoha was suffering somewhat in health. I wrote that he had had a little trouble with one hand, requiring a slight operation and that a chill had occasioned an inflammation in his eye. Since then he has had an attack of pleurisy, not severe, but not yet entirely removed. Nor is his eye quite in a healthy state. Kamauoha is a fine Hawaiian, and after his three years residence in this country, the climate appears to be too severe for him. He was under medical care during the later part of his vacation; and

I have now requested an eminent physician to examine him and report to me on his health. He and Makalua spent last Sunday with us and I was able to enquire more particularly about him.

He [Kamauoha] has now gone through a course of applied science at King's College. He is about to take up photography, and I am required to fit him up with the necessary apparatus. All these new branches of study add, of course, to expenses. I think he might now be recalled to his native land, and be made useful in land-surveying and electrical work.

Makalua proceeds with his studies and requires 'bones' books and anatomy subjects. These things, added to college fees, wardrobe, living, pocket-money, etc. leave no week in which demands are not made on me for money. . . .

After the Spring term I must bring the youngest one to King's College. He is now a tall and big young man, in his seventeenth year. Piianaia is intelligent, and should now apply himself to work fitted for his future course.⁴²

But Kāmau'oha's health did not improve, and in March of 1886, in a letter edged in black, Hopkins had the tragic duty of informing Gibson of the young Hawaiian's death:

In three or four late dispatches I have mentioned the declining health of Mr. J.A. Kamauoha; and now I have the painful duty of informing you of his death, which occurred at about mid-day yesterday. Very kind friends in the Boarding House at Torquay attended his bed-side, and he had every comfort. Thus we lose a fine, promising young friend of high moral character; a fresh proof that the European climate is unsuitable to the pure Hawaiian constitution. . . .

I am arranging for the funeral to which I shall endeavour to take with me to Torquay Mathew Makalua and A.C. Piianaia. The former begins his primary examination in Anatomy and physiology on Tuesday next. . . .

I beg you to present to His Majesty my private letter enclosed and I have the honour to remain, Your Excellency's most faithful servant.⁴³

Two weeks later, in a second black-edged letter, Hopkins described the sad journey he, Pi‘ianai‘a, and Makalua made to attend the burial of Kāmau‘oha:

Your Excellency’s last dispatch to me is dated 19th December 1885.

In mine, No. 7, written on the 27th of March last, I communicated the death of Mr. J.A. Kamauoha at Torquay. This town is two hundred and twenty miles from London. I sent for A.C. Piianaia from St. Chad’s in Staffordshire, and on the 30th ultimo I took him and Mr. Makalua to Torquay, to attend the funeral in the cemetery there. As I have mentioned some of the circumstances attending this affecting ceremony in a letter to the Commercial Advertiser I need not repeat them here. But I should wish to know your wishes or those of Mr. Kamauoha’s family as to having a cross or headstone placed at his grave, as most others have who have been buried in this cemetery. I would not undertake this additional expense to the heavy but necessary ones attending the illness, nursing, and the interment of our lamented young friend. You will doubtless give me instructions on this need. . . .

When Mr. [John T.?] Waterhouse returns to Honolulu I shall ask him to take charge of Kamauoha’s gold watch, a few trinkets, and a diamond ring: the former to be delivered to his mother or brother; the ring I believe belongs to Mr. Hugo Kawelo, who has gone back to his country from Glasgow. . . .⁴⁴

Later the same month Hopkins related his plans for Pi‘ianai‘a:

In October I shall enter him at King’s College. His inclinations are to follow Kamauoha’s lines of study in Physical Science, Land Surveying, etc. I think he will do well as he is a clever though quiet young man. He has just entered his 17th year. His school report is very good.⁴⁵

In September of 1886, Hopkins wrote that Pi‘ianai‘a had decided to study law at King’s College. In the same letter, he complained that Makalua was becoming too social.⁴⁶

In spite of Makalua’s weakness for socializing, a report dated January 1887 announced that he had successfully passed the

second portion of his preliminary examination at the school of medicine and planned to undertake the next examination the following June. "Mr. Piianaia," the report stated, "is not yet forward enough to come up for the preliminary legal examination, but will be sufficiently advanced to undertake this in the month of May next."⁴⁷

On July 1, 1887, R.A. Armstrong, Hawaiian Vice Consul in London, wrote to Gibson:

I am considering the propriety of placing in the usual course customary in this country, Mr. Piianaia in the office of a solicitor so that he should get a practical insight into the work of a lawyer's office. . . .⁴⁸

Pi'ianai'a's legal studies ended however, when the "Reform Cabinet" called him home in the Fall of 1887. Armstrong wrote:

Mr. Piianaia is en-route home on the White Star Line *Brittania* sailing from Liverpool to Honolulu via New York. It is with pleasure that I report on this young man's conduct, industry, and capacity. Mr. Piianaia has shown himself to be a steady, hard-working young man of good address and gentlemanly manners, and his departure is much regretted by his friends here. Both Mr. Hopkins and I regret that Piianaia could not remain to finish his studies.⁴⁹

Makalua had also been summoned home, but in November of 1887, Manley Hopkins wrote the Hawaiian government asking that Makalua be allowed to finish his training, explaining that if he returned to Hawaii now all would be lost.⁵⁰ Makalua and several of his instructors also wrote asking permission for him to finish medical school.

On January 14, 1888, the London Consulate acknowledged receipt of a telegram advising them that Makalua should remain in London until completing his studies. Mathew thanked the Hawaiian government and told them he would probably earn his diploma in July of 1890.

Then, in the summer of 1888, the young Hawaiian medical student fell in love. Makalua announced his desire to marry a Miss Dewar, the daughter of a minister of the Church of England. Armstrong, who was violently opposed to Makalua's marriage at this time, described Miss Dewar as considerably Makalua's senior in years, adding that she had a dower of 150 pounds per annum which could not support a household and Makalua's education. Armstrong reprimanded Makalua and asserted that he would not provide any Hawaiian funds if the marriage took place before the couple had the permission of the Hawaiian government.

The young woman's father, Reverend David E. Dewar, wrote to the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs to prevail upon him to telegraph permission for the marriage, stating that his daughter's health was failing due to the postponement.⁵¹

When permission for Makalua to marry finally arrived in London on September 2, 1888, Makalua and Miss Dewar had already wed. Perhaps feeling remorse for disobeying Armstrong, Makalua wrote to assure the Hawaiian government that he had every intention of returning to Hawai'i as soon as he earned his diploma.

Manley Hopkins continued to report to Hawai'i's Minister of Foreign Affairs regarding Makalua's progress:

I find Mr. Makalua is very exact in his transactions. I enclose . . . his collegiate report. He seems advancing steadily and rather rapidly. Work appears to come easily to him and he does not fear it. On his return to Honolulu equipped for his professional life I think the government and his friends will be pleased and satisfied with their countryman. His appearance and manner are much in his favour, and I trust he will play a distinguished part in his honourable vocation.⁵²

Makalua earned two prizes for Hygiene and Medical Sanitation as well as the First Certificate of Honor for "Medical Jurisprudence" for the year 1888-1889.⁵³

In the fall of 1890, Makalua announced the birth of his son on August 8, 1890. Makalua described the child as "the jolliest parcel

of humanity I have ever seen." In the same letter, he requested an increase in his quarterly allowance, and he applauded Manley Hopkins for his "extreme kindness" during the years Makalua had been in London. Makalua ended by acknowledging a letter Hopkins had received from the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jon Austin, stating that "as soon as Makalua has passed his examination in January of 1891 he must at once return to the Sandwich Islands."⁵⁴

In December of 1890, Makalua asked for an extension of his time in London until July 1891, confessing he had failed his examination and would not be able to repeat it until June.

Makalua's last communique, written in January 1891, expressed "his extreme regret over His Majesty's death from Bright's disease in San Francisco." Makalua ended with the comment that he had only one more examination, in Surgery, and he would be through with his studies in July 1891.⁵⁵

CHINA AND JAPAN

In the Fall of 1882, James Kapa'a, James Haku'ole, and Isaac Harbottle sailed from Hawai'i to San Francisco where they boarded the *City of Peking* bound for the Orient. The boys were accompanied by John Kapena, Kalākaua's Envoy Extraordinaire and Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan, and John Lota Kauluko'u, Kapena's secretary for the current assignment.

Chinese immigrants had worked as contract laborers on Hawai'i's sugar plantations since 1852. In 1882, Kalākaua's government negotiated to bring Japanese to the Islands for the same work. The government planned that the Hawaiian youths would be trained in the Asian languages and culture and then use their knowledge to aid in the government's immigration plans.

Two of the boys disembarked in Japan, while the third young man, James H. Kapa'a, sailed on to Canton, China. On Kapa'a's arrival in China, F. Buikley Johnson, Hawai'i's Consul General in Hong Kong, had telegraphed R.W. Lewin, Hawai'i's Consul in Japan, to learn of Hawai'i's plans for Mr. Kapa'a. Lewin, in

a letter to Gibson, stated that he in turn asked Johnson to have Kapa'a "instructed in the dialects spoken by emigrants from Canton to Hawai'i and to place him, if possible, with a Chinese family at Canton."⁵⁶

A few accounts submitted by Messrs. Jardine Matheson & Company for Kapa'a's expenses provide the only information concerning the young Hawaiian's education abroad. There are entries for house rent and articles of furniture for the house, as well as entries for a teacher's salary and for servants' wages. It appears that Kapa'a never enrolled in a formal school but instead received private instruction. A final entry, dated January 10, 1885, listed a return passage to Honolulu.

On January 13, 1885, the Hawaiian Consulate in San Francisco wrote that Mr. James Kapa'a, the student sent to China for two years, was returning home via San Francisco. James's baggage, however, was not placed on the ship in Canton, and the ship's purser kindly furnished the young Hawaiian with the necessary essentials for his homeward voyage.⁵⁷

Isaac Harbottle and James Haku'ole, 11 and 10 years old respectively, were the two boys who disembarked in Japan in the fall of 1882. They were brothers and of *ali'i* stock. Their mother Naha was the granddaughter of John Harbottle and his *ali'i* wife, Pāpapa'upu (also called Hanepu). The boys' father was Haku'ole of Maui. Isaac's grandfather, Isaac Harbottle, had legally adopted young Isaac (a common practice among Hawaiians), and, therefore, the boys had different last names. Isaac and James spent their early years in Kīpahulu, a favorite vacation spot of Kalākaua, and it was probably during these visits to Maui that the King became acquainted with the boys.⁵⁸

Gibson appointed R.W. Lewin to act as the boys' guardian in Japan. In December of 1882, Lewin reported to Gibson concerning the arrangements he made for Isaac and James upon their arrival:

I have rented a small Japanese house for the youths Isaac and James Harbottle, have dressed them in Japanese costume, and they now eat Japanese food. They are rapidly learning to read and write Japanese. When they can talk sufficiently I will place them

in a public school. They are very intelligent and in three years they will be good Japanese scholars. They are very happy and contented. I have done everything I could to render them so.⁵⁹

In 1883, Lewis again reported on the brothers' progress:

These young gentlemen are now at the Nobles School (Kuuzoku Gakko) and are becoming very proficient in their knowledge of the Japanese language and customs. Should we succeed in obtaining Japanese emigrants, these young men will be very valuable. They live entirely at the school, associate only with Japanese young gentlemen with whom they talk, play and fight. They dress in uniform and are very clean and orderly. They were both ill during the summer but are now well and strong. . . . They speak Japanese with great fluency. I recommend that they should remain here at least three years longer. They are contented and happy.⁶⁰

In September of 1884, after James and Isaac had been in Japan for almost two years, Lewin wrote:

The Hawaiian boys . . . now speak Japanese perfectly. They can read and write tolerably well. They have improved so rapidly that their pronunciation is *perfect*. Indeed they always speak to each other now in Japanese, very rarely using their native tongue. Their progress is most satisfactory.⁶¹

In one of his annual reports to Gibson from Japan, written October 1, 1885, Lewin included a paragraph about Isaac and James:

They are very young in their ways and manners but they have shown no vices up to this time. I trust their future careers will prove the wisdom of the government's course in sending them to be educated.⁶²

A year and a half later, in a February 1887 communique, Lewin, learning from the Italian experience, explained some unusual expenses he had incurred in caring for his two charges and described their adjustment:

The extra expense during the Cholera Epidemic . . . was incurred deliberately and resulted successfully. I sent these young men into the Mountains where there were Hot Springs and sent with them a Japanese doctor, cook and servants, so that they had always foreign food during the Epidemic. They returned to Tokio in strong, good health. Your Excellency will remember the lamentable death of the young Hawaiian gentleman of Cholera in Italy. I bore this in mind in my action. These young men are both becoming tall, fine looking young gentlemen; but I am compelled to have them under some surveillance. Hence Mr. Onoka's services. Mr. Onoka acts as secretary to me and attends only at this legation. I pay him 50 yen per month; but have only charged 25 yen per month, as proportion of his services.

Should His Majesty approve, I have now the honor to recommend Your Excellency that one of these young men be placed in the Imperial Japanese Military University and one in the Imperial Japanese Naval College. I have no doubt the Japanese Government will accede: but of course our Government will have to pay all expenses, as at present.⁶³

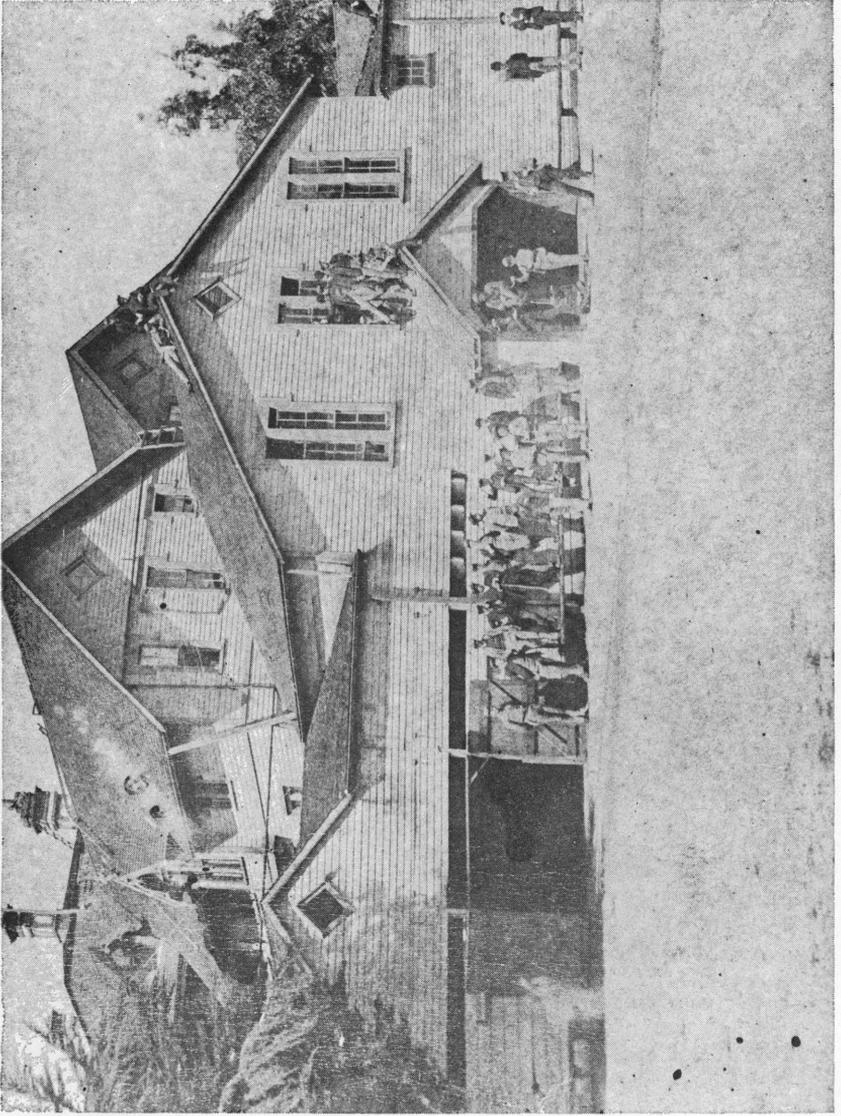
The "Reform Cabinet" interrupted Lewin's plans for Isaac and James by summoning them home early in 1888.

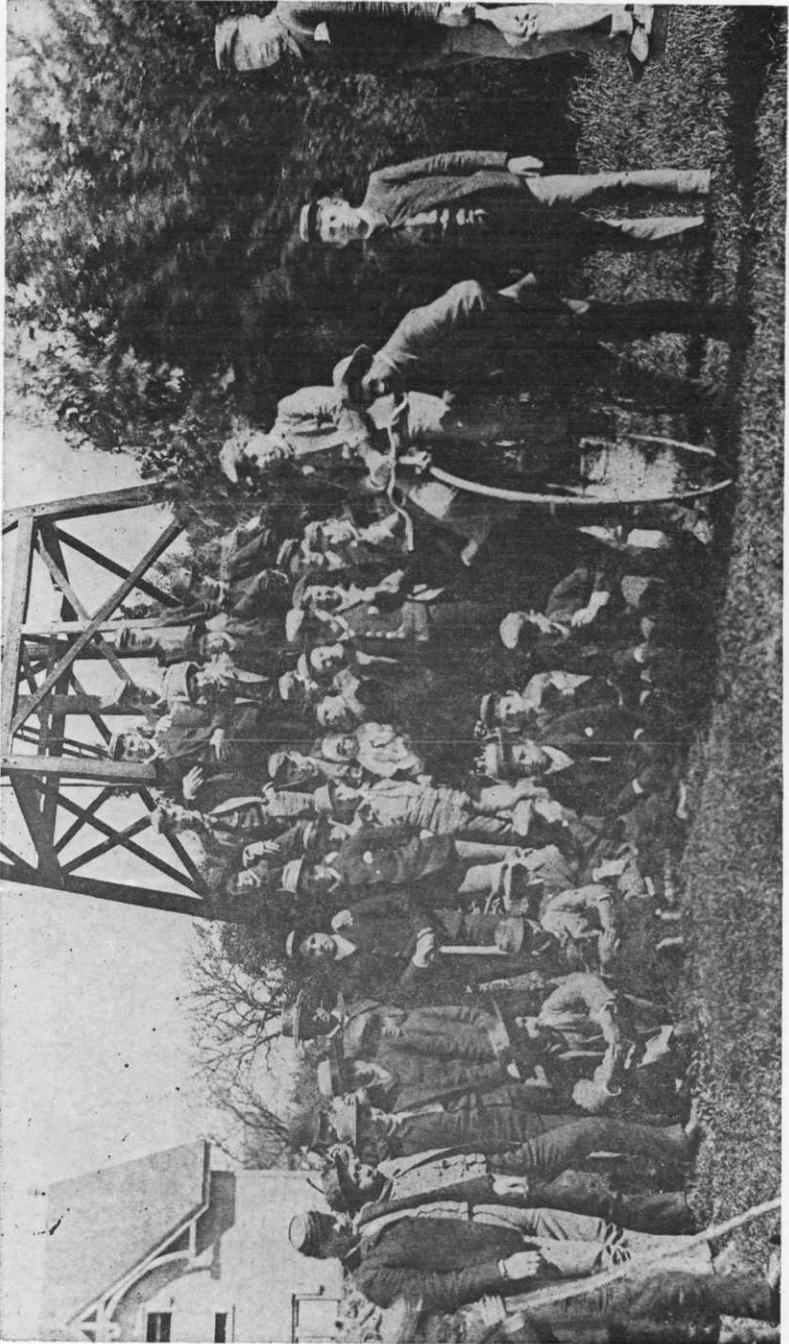
UNITED STATES

Thomas Spencer was the Hawaiian youth whom Colonel Judd enrolled in St. Matthew's School (figs. 9 and 10) in San Mateo, in 1882, on his way to Great Britain with the other six young men. Unfortunately, almost nothing exists in the State Archives files regarding Spencer's education at St. Matthew's except a few bills submitted by the Hawaiian Consul in San Francisco during 1883 that provide evidence of Spencer's participation in Kalākaua's program.

The School itself was mentioned in *The Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1885*: "St. Matthews School in San Mateo is one of the

FIG. 9. St. Matthews Military Academy, San Mateo, California, in the 1880s. (Bishop Museum collection.)





best schools in California, and acknowledged to be the best military-discipline school in the state.”⁶⁰

In 1885, two more Hawaiians, Prince David Kawānanakoa and Thomas P. Cummins, also enrolled at St. Matthew's. Both young men had previously attended Punahou school. Born on Kaua'i in 1868, the Prince was a nephew of Queen Kapi'olani. Thomas Cummins's father served as a member of Kalākaua's government. At the Cummins sugar plantation and home in Waimānalo, the Cummins family entertained lavishly for occasions that often numbered 50 to 100 guests, including Hawaiian royalty, visiting dignitaries, and ships' officers with whom the elder Cummins did business.

One report on the Prince and Cummins from St. Matthews, dated May 1885, stated: “These boys are doing themselves great credit and Mr. Brewer, the Principal, is very proud of them.”⁶⁵

In a later message, Principal Brewer wrote to recommend that Prince David, then age 19, “be given practical training, as it is late for him to pursue more academic studies.”⁶⁶ Prince David was scheduled to travel to England to continue his education in the fall of 1887 after the “Reform Cabinet” had come to power. Before the Prince could leave, however, Colonel I'aukea sent word that the Queen did not wish Prince David to proceed to Europe until after she returned from England. The Prince's education abroad was postponed for several years.

The files contain no further information concerning Cummins's activities at St. Matthews.

Henry Grube Marchant, the last participant to be appointed in Kalākaua's program, embarked on his education abroad several months after the “Reform Cabinet” had been nominated. Marchant was to be trained in Boston in the art of engraving, and Lawrence Bond, His Hawaiian Majesty's Consul for Boston, handled Marchant's arrangements there. Shortly after Marchant's arrival, Bond reported:

FIG. 10. Prince David Kawānanakoa, leaning against bicycle wheel, and Thomas Pual'i Cummins, seated center front, at St. Matthews Military Academy, c. 1885. (Bishop Museum collection.)

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of October 19th, [1887] announcing the prospective departure for Boston of Mr. Henry G. Marchant; also the letter handed me by Mr. Marchant on his arrival in Boston, Nov. 15th. The young man has made a most excellent impression upon all who have met him, and I have no doubt the Hawaiian Government will in the future have ample cause for satisfaction in his success in his chosen vocation. Investigation has completely satisfied me that the establishment of Mr. S.S. Kilburn affords the choicest opportunity in Boston, and probably in the United States, for instruction and practice in the art of wood engraving. . . .

Bond commended Marchant for his efforts, stating that he “spends nine hours per day at his work, to his own and his instructor’s satisfaction.” Bond added:

I am now making arrangements whereby he will soon begin to attend three evenings in the week one of the excellent classes in drawing established by the City of Boston for the benefit of the taxpayers of the city and their children.⁶⁷

Henry Marchant continued to study with Kilburn for the next year, and in February of 1889, Consul Bond sent examples of Marchant’s work to Honolulu. Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs Jon Austin then instructed Bond to forward other examples of Marchant’s work to Paris to be included in Hawai‘i’s exhibit at the Paris Exposition, which Bond later acknowledged he had done.

In the Fall of 1889, Bond requested that Marchant be allowed to remain for a time in Boston, “to learn the art of photographing upon the wooden block and such other branches of business that would enable him to become a good wood engraver in all branches of his work.” In the letter granting Bond’s request, Austin related

FIG. 12. Young students in San Francisco *en route* to Japan and China in 1882, accompanied by John Kapena, King Kalākaua’s Envoy Extraordinaire and Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan. Seated left to right: John Lota Kauluko‘u, James Haku‘ole, and Kapena. Standing left to right: unidentified man, Isaac Harbottle, and (probably) James Kapa‘a. (Bishop Museum collection.)





that several of Marchant's prints would appear in forthcoming issues of *Paradise of the Pacific* (figs. 14 and 15).⁶⁸

CONCLUSION

Although Kalākaua's program came to an end with the legislative acts of 1887 and 1890, the students' lives continued. One wonders about their reception in Hawai'i after being away from home for as long as seven years and how they applied their hard-earned knowledge. Only a few fragments of information have been uncovered concerning the lives of some of Kalākaua's students after their recall. Research will have to continue for the story to be completed.

We do know that in 1888, when most of Kalākaua's students returned home, they encountered a political climate that did not encourage young Hawaiians who wanted to make a contribution to their country. Those in power did not hold pro-Hawaiian sentiments.

When Robert Wilcox returned to Hawai'i with his Italian bride he had expected to find suitable work to support a family. In his own testimony, given before the 1890 legislature, Wilcox related the treatment he had received. Wilcox recalled Minister Thurston's comments during an interview between Thurston and the Wilcoxes:

... the Minister advised that we had both better go back to sunny Italy as my wife would feel more at home and [be] better satisfied.⁶⁹

And Wilcox described another interview when he was offered job teaching school at a salary, as he sarcastically observed, that he presumed would be "... enough to pay for my salmon and poi" ⁷⁰

Kalākaua and his sister Lili'uokalani, heir apparent to the throne, tried to help the Wilcoxes. Kalākaua offered him a

position as Major in his Household Troops, but the appointment was refused by the ministry. Later, Lili'uokalani and several prominent Hawaiians gathered funds to help the Wilcoxes move to San Francisco and become established there. During his year in San Francisco, Wilcox was employed as a surveyor and a daughter was born to the couple. But Wilcox felt compelled to return to Hawai'i, and Mrs. Wilcox decided to return to Italy with her daughter, who died *en route*.⁷¹

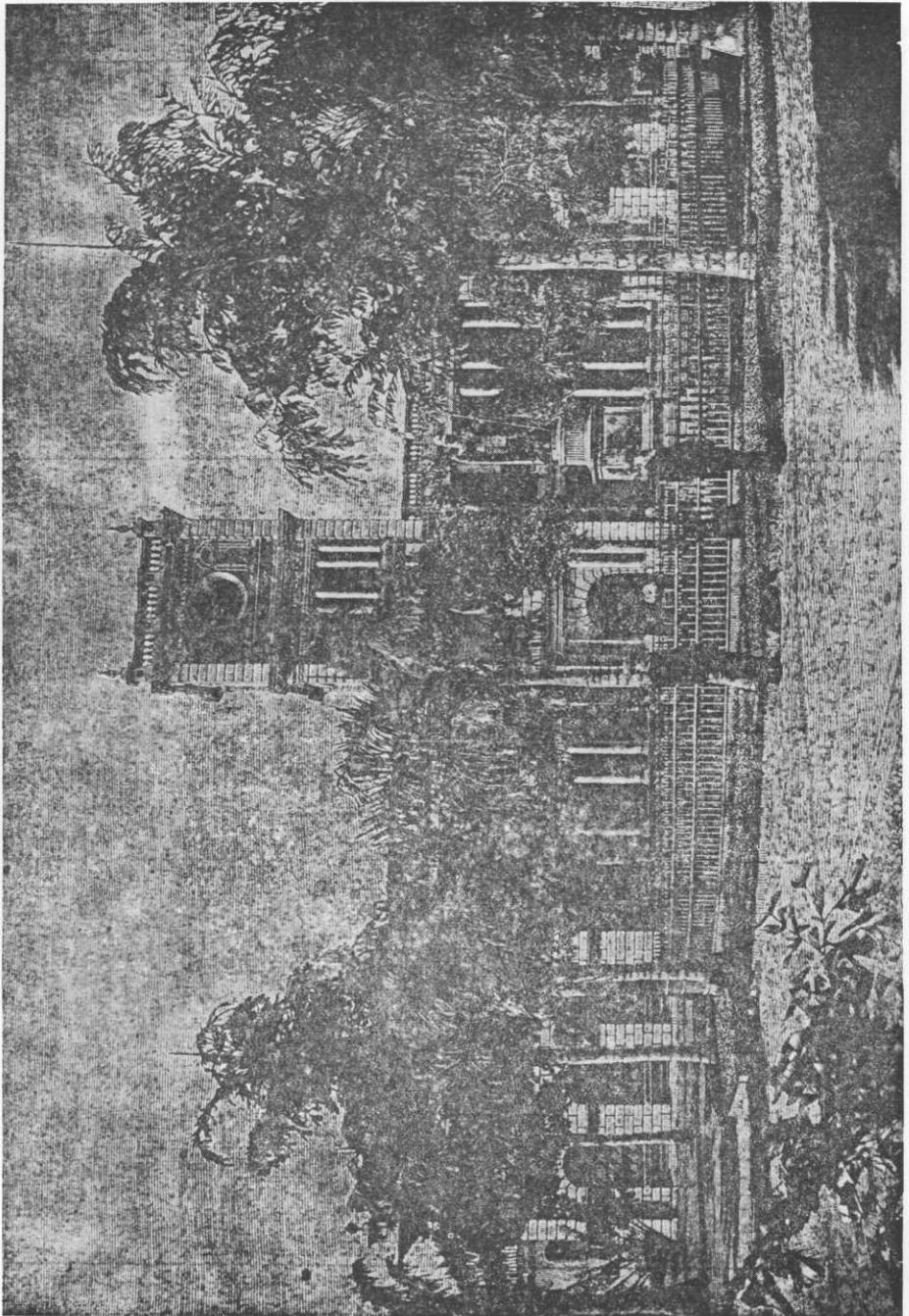
Back in Honolulu, Wilcox organized an opposition group to overturn the 1887 Constitution and to reinstate the Constitution of 1864. In 1889, Wilcox was arrested and tried for treason after leading an attack on the Palace, but the jury acquitted him. After the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, Wilcox in 1895 led another rebellion, this time to restore the Monarchy.

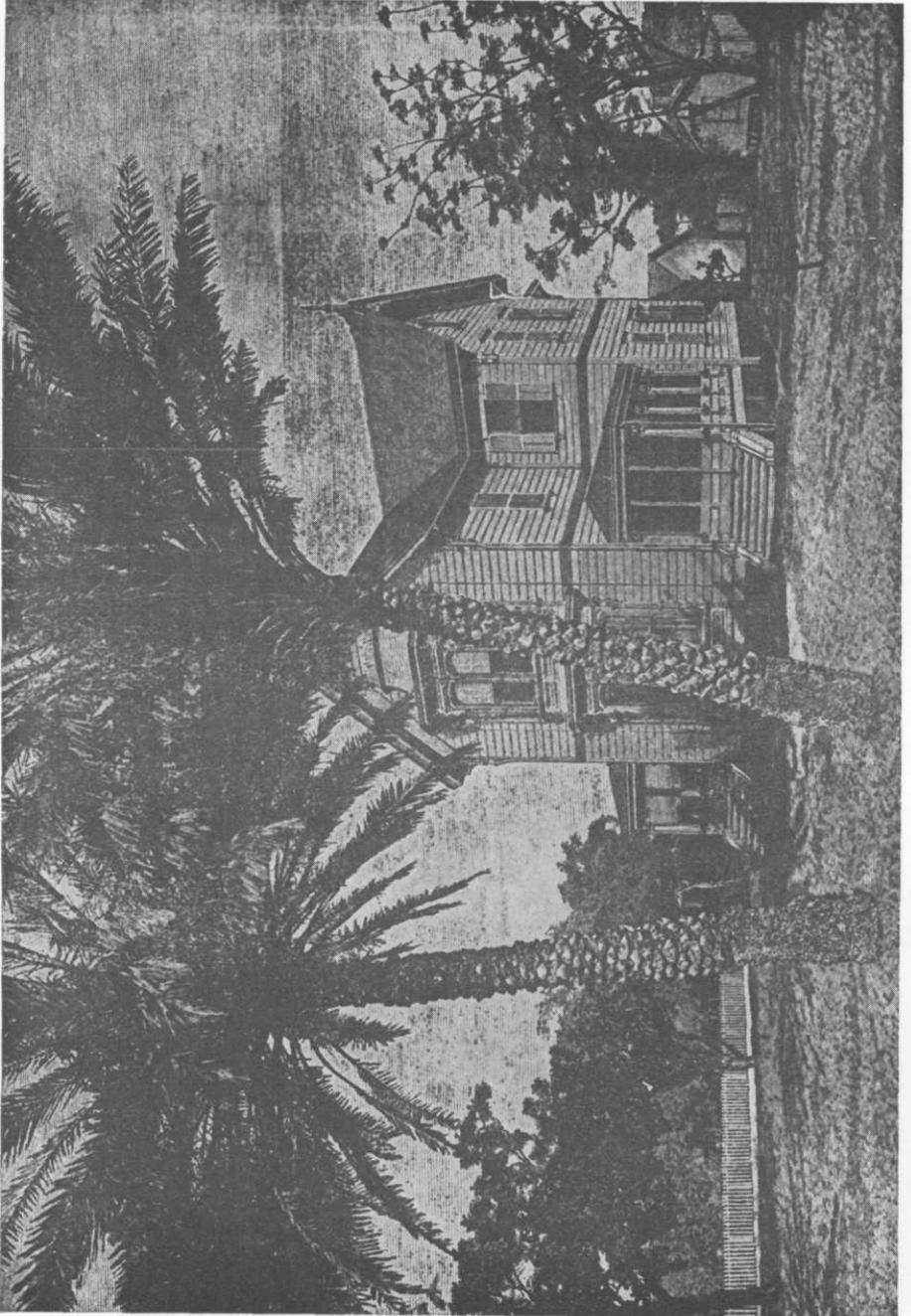
Wilcox continued his political activities. In 1900, as a candidate for the Home Rule Party, he was elected Hawai'i's first delegate to the U.S. Congress. Two years later he lost his seat in Congress to Prince Jonah Kūhiō. Wilcox died in 1903.

Wilcox's story has an epilogue. The State of Hawai'i has proposed naming a downtown Honolulu park after him and erecting a statue of him there. The proposal was challenged, and Wilcox's descendants rose to his defense, declaring that he had risked his life for his country and his beliefs. The fate of the park and the statue are to date unresolved.

Robert Boyd joined Wilcox's opposition group and participated in the 1889 rebellion. Although Boyd is said to have fired the rebellion's first shot, he was not brought to trial. Several years later, Robert Boyd married Josephine Williams, and for many years he worked in Honolulu as a surveyor. Boyd took an active part in politics, and he died giving a speech at a political rally in Mō'ili'ili. Robert Boyd's granddaughter, Kina'u Boyd Kamali'i, has shared her grandfather's interest in politics. She served as a member of Hawai'i's House of Representatives for several years.

FIG. 14. Henry Grube Marchant engraving of Ali'iōlani Hale, 1889. (George Bacon photo.)





Kamali'i is currently the Administrator for the State Health Planning and Development Agency.

Soon after Abraham Pi'ianai'a returned to Hawai'i, he met Fanny Malulani Kaho'ali'i, a ward of Queen Emma's. The two were married at a colorful ceremony, attended by King Kalākaua and Queen Kapi'olani, at St. Andrew's Cathedral.⁷² Abraham and Fanny raised four children, while Pi'ianai'a taught school at Waiāhole Elementary, a school he helped to set up. Several notable Pi'ianai'a descendants live and work in Honolulu today. Pi'ianai'a's grandson and namesake recently stepped down as Director of Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai'i. His great grandson, Gordon Pi'ianai'a, heads the Hawaiian Studies Institute at The Kamehameha Schools. Gordon has captained the voyaging canoe *Hōkūle'a*, and he and his father were crew members during several legs of *Hōkūle'a*'s recent 15,000 mile journey throughout Polynesia. Pi'ianai'a's great granddaughter, 'Ilima, is the Director and Chairperson of the Hawaiian Homes Commission. Another of Pi'ianai'a's great grandsons, St. Chad, was named for the school Abraham attended in England in the 19th century.

Mathew Makalua continued to receive stipends from the Hawaiian government until March of 1894, when he secured medical employment at Hastings, England. For many years he enjoyed a fashionable and lucrative practice as a physician in London and St. Leonards. Makalua never returned to Hawai'i, although the Hawaiian government set aside funds for his passage should he ever decide to return home. He died in St. Leonards on January 1, 1929. The *St. Leonards Observer* of January 5, 1929 carried the following obituary:

A popular and highly esteemed member of the medical profession, Mr. Matthew P. Makalua died on Tuesday at 30 Warrior Square. He was noted for his philanthropy and both he and his wife, who died recently, were intensely interested in all work among the poor.

FIG. 15. Henry Grube Marchant engraving of a Honolulu residence, 1889. (George Bacon photo.)

Dr. Makalua was the originator of the scheme for the Druids tinfoil cot in the Royal East Sussex hospital, and he watched with enthusiasm its healthy growth. He was medical officer of the L.G.O.C. Convalescent home, Caple-ne-Ferne, where his popularity was great.⁷³

There is a postscript to Makalua's story. In 1929, a letter was discovered in the Hawai'i State Archives from Makalua to Kalākaua. The letter arrived in Hawai'i in 1891 after the King had gone to California where he died. The letter was found among Queen Lili'uokalani's papers, probably misplaced there in the flurry of confusion after Kalākaua's death. Makalua's letter had been written in response to Kalākaua's inquiry regarding the treatment of leprosy by electro-homeopathy instituted by Santer of Geneva.⁷⁴

After returning to Hawai'i from Scotland via San Francisco, John Lovell married Mary Makainai. Lovell's training in Glasgow served him well, for he worked for many years in Honolulu as an engineer.

Isaac Harbottle returned to Hawai'i after five years in Japan, entered The Kamehameha Schools, and graduated in 1893. Isaac married Mary Pi'ikoi Oku'u, and they had nine children. After teaching school for two years in Kīpahulu, Maui, the place of his birth, Isaac returned to Honolulu in 1895 to become a law clerk for Paul Neumann, Lili'uokalani's trusted adviser and one of the best attorneys of his day. When the Immigration Department under the Honolulu Customs Service was opened, Harbottle was employed as a Japanese interpreter. Then on March 1, 1902, he became Clerk and Hawaiian and Japanese Interpreter and Translator in the Honolulu Tax Office. Later, Isaac served as an official searcher of land titles and subsequently a Deputy Assessor and Collector for the Honolulu district. Isaac Harbottle died in Honolulu in May of 1948 at the age of 77.⁷⁵

One of Isaac Harbottle's grandson's, Myron Thompson, is a Trustee of the Bishop Estate/Kamehameha Schools. Another grandson, Henry Thompson, is a retired hospital administrator. Isaac Harbottle's great grandson, Nainoa Thompson, mastered

the ancient art of non-instrument navigation and had a key role in navigating the recent voyages of the Polynesian voyaging canoe *Hōkūle'a*.

Isaac Harbottle's brother, James Haku'ole, married Lydia Kaukau and fathered four children. James was appointed Japanese Interpreter in the Custom House and for many years served as a Japanese interpreter for the Circuit Court of Honolulu. He also reported for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. Haku'ole died in 1937, from injuries suffered in an automobile accident.

Prince David Kawānanakoa, while attending the Royal Agricultural College in Cirencester, England, traveled to many of the royal courts of Europe. In 1900, he ran unsuccessfully against Robert Wilcox for Representative to the U.S. Congress. Kawānanakoa continued to take an active part in the Democratic Party for the remainder of his life. He married Abigail Campbell in 1902, and they had three children. Kawānanakoa died in 1908 at the age of 40.⁷⁶ Today, one of Prince David's granddaughters, Abigail Kekaulike Kawānanakoa, plays an important part in the restoration of 'Iolani Palace and is a staunch advocate of Hawaiian rights.

Perhaps the most tragic fate to befall any of the surviving participants of Kalākaua's program was August Hering's. In 1890, August Hering returned to Honolulu, was married, and fathered a child.⁷⁷ On May 26, 1893, Hering was convicted of the murder of his wife's lover, a man by the name of D. L. Huntsman, and sentenced to ten years in prison. After serving five years of his sentence, Hering wrote to the Parole Board asking to be pardoned. The files contain no information that Hering's request was granted.⁷⁸

NOTES

¹ *Laws, Kingdom of Hawai'i 1880*: 61, AH

² All primary source documents referred to herein are held in AH, unless otherwise indicated, in two files: Foreign Officials Abroad (hereafter FOA) and Hawaiian Youths Abroad (hereafter HYA).

³ *Laws Kingdom of Hawai'i 1890*: 114-16.

- ⁴ Curtis Pi'ehu I'aukea and Lorna I'aukea Watson, *By Royal Command*, ed. Niklaus R. Schweizer. (Honolulu: Hui Hanai, 1987) 105.
- ⁵ Mary Charlotte Alexander and Charlotte Peabody Dodge, *Punahou 1841-1941*. (Berkeley: U of California P, 1941) 335.
- ⁶ Albert Pierce Taylor, *Under Hawaiian Skies* (Honolulu: HA, 1926) 418-19.
- ⁷ Thomas Nakana'ela, *Ka Buke Mo'olelo o Hon. Robert William Wili'oki*, trans. Nancy J. Morris. (Honolulu: K.H.P.: Loke Me Nakano'ela, Na Luna Ho'opuka, 1890) 15.
- ⁸ Nakana'ela *Ka Buke Mo'olelo* 16.
- ⁹ Nakana'ela *Ka Buke Mo'olelo* 16.
- ¹⁰ King Kalākaua, letter to His Royal Majesty and Emperor of Prussia, FOA 1880.
- ¹¹ Nakana'ela *Ka Buke Mo'olelo* 17
- ¹² Nakana'ela *Ka Buke Mo'olelo* 17.
- ¹³ William Armstrong, *Around the World With a King* (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1903) 202.
- ¹⁴ Robert Wilcox, letter to Michael Cerulli, 20 July 1882, HYA.
- ¹⁵ Robert Boyd, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 20 July 1882, HYA.
- ¹⁶ I'aukea and Watson, *By Royal Command* 105.
- ¹⁷ Michael Cerulli, letter to Robert Wilcox, 19 July 1884, HYA.
- ¹⁸ Robert Boyd, letter to King Kalākaua, 27 Mar. 1884, HYA.
- ¹⁹ Robert Wilcox, letter to Michael Cerulli, 15 July 1884, HYA.
- ²⁰ Michael Cerulli, letter to Robert Wilcox, 19 July 1884, HYA.
- ²¹ Robert Wilcox, letter to King Kalākaua, 26 July 1884, HYA, in *Hawaiian* and translated by AH.
- ²² Robert Wilcox, letter to King Kalākaua, 26 July 1884, HYA.
- ²³ Michael Cerulli, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 14 Sept. 1885, HYA.
- ²⁴ HYA.
- ²⁵ Walter Murray Gibson, letter to Robert Wilcox, Sept. 1885, HYA.
- ²⁶ James Boyd, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 20 June 1887, HYA.
- ²⁷ Sam Nowlein, letter to Godfrey Brown, 1 Sept. 1887, HYA.
- ²⁸ Certificate of Marriage, 15 June 1887, HYA. There is some question as to the year Robert Wilcox was born. Nakana'ela, *Ka Buke Mo'olelo* 1, states that Wilcox was born in 1855. However, Wilcox's marriage certificate, June 15, 1887, shows his age as 27, which means Wilcox would have been born in 1860.
- ²⁹ D. A. McKinley, letter to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1888, FOA.
- ³⁰ Bernard Aspinwall. *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920*. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen U P, 1984) xi-13.
- ³¹ Aspinwall *Portable Utopia* 9-10.
- ³² Renny Watson, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 1 Nov. 1883, HYA.
- ³³ Account entries, Watson Mirrlees & Co. 1885, HYA.
- ³⁴ Renny Watson, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 7 Oct. 1885, HYA.
- ³⁵ D. A. McKinley, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, Nov. 1886, HYA.

- ³⁶ Clarice B. Taylor. "Tales About Hawai'i: Hidden Ali'i" *HSB*, 28 June-1 July 1953.
- ³⁷ I'aukea and Watson, *By Royal Command* 98.
- ³⁸ Manley Hopkins, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 9 Oct. 1884, HYA.
- ³⁹ Manley Hopkins, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 9 Oct. 1884, HYA.
- ⁴⁰ Manley Hopkins, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 8 Jan. 1885, HYA.
- ⁴¹ Manley Hopkins, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 22 Jan. 1885, HYA.
- ⁴² Manley Hopkins, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 13 Oct. 1885, HYA.
- ⁴³ Manley Hopkins, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 27 Mar. 1886, HYA.
- ⁴⁴ Manley Hopkins, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 13 Apr. 1886, HYA.
- ⁴⁵ Manley Hopkins, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 20 Apr. 1886, HYA.
- ⁴⁶ Manley Hopkins, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 11 Sept. 1886, HYA.
- ⁴⁷ Robert Armstrong, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 27 Jan. 1887, HYA.
- ⁴⁸ Robert Armstrong, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 1 July 1887, AH, HYA.
- ⁴⁹ Robert Armstrong, letter to Godfrey Brown, 22 Sept. 1887, HYA.
- ⁵⁰ Manley Hopkins, letter to Godfrey Brown, 18 Nov. 1887, HYA.
- ⁵¹ David E. Dewar, letter to Jon Austin, Sept. 1888, HYA.
- ⁵² Manley Hopkins, letter to Jon Austin, 8 Feb. 1889, HYA.
- ⁵³ Mathew Makalua, letter to Jon Austin, 26 July 1889, HYA.
- ⁵⁴ Mathew Makalua, letter to Jon Austin, 28 Nov. 1890, HYA.
- ⁵⁵ Mathew Makalua, letter to Jon Austin, 26 Dec. 1890, HYA.
- ⁵⁶ R. W. Lewin, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 21 Dec. 1882, FOA.
- ⁵⁷ D. A. McKinley, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 13 Jan. 1885, HYA.
- ⁵⁸ Henry Nainoa Thompson, personal interview, 14 July 1987.
- ⁵⁹ R. W. Lewin, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 21 Dec. 1882, FOA.
- ⁶⁰ R. W. Lewin, annual report to Walter Murray Gibson, 1883, FOA.
- ⁶¹ R. W. Lewin, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 13 Sept. 1884, FOA.
- ⁶² R. W. Lewin, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 1 Oct. 1885, FOA.
- ⁶³ R. W. Lewin, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 22 Feb. 1887, FOA.
- ⁶⁴ *HAA 1885*: 78.
- ⁶⁵ Principal Brewer, letter to Charles Creighton, 22 Oct. 1886, HYA.
- ⁶⁶ Principal Brewer, letter to Walter Murray Gibson, 23 May 1887, HYA.
- ⁶⁷ Lawrence Bond, letter to Godfrey Brown, 29 Nov. 1887, HYA.
- ⁶⁸ Jon Austin, letter to Lawrence Bond, 11 Nov. 1889, HYA.
- ⁶⁹ Robert W. Wilcox. *Reply of Hon. R.W. Wilcox to Statements of Minister Thurston Before the Hawaiian Legislative Assembly June 10, 1890* (Honolulu: HG, 1890) 6.
- ⁷⁰ Wilcox, *Reply of Hon. R.W. Wilcox* 6.
- ⁷¹ Nakana'ela, *Ka Buke Mo'olelo* 23.
- ⁷² Clarice B. Taylor. "Tales About Hawaii: Hidden Alii," *HSB* 2 July 1953.
- ⁷³ Leopold G. Blackman. "Schoolboys of the 80's: A Chapter of Hawaiian History," *HSB* 20 Nov. 1937.

⁷⁴ "Old Letter to King is Unearthed," *HA* 13 Feb. 1929.

⁷⁵ "Protege of King Kalākaua Dies, Age 77," *HA* 25 May 1948.

⁷⁶ A. Grove Day. *History Makers of Hawaii*. (Honolulu: Mutual, 1984) 73.

⁷⁷ "Herring Trial," *HA* 20 March 1893; *HA* spells Hering's name with two r's but all other references use one r.

⁷⁸ August Hering, letter to Board of Pardons, 18 July 1898, Pardons Mtg. 1898, Council of States, AH.