

Remembering the Committee of Safety:  
Identifying the Citizenship, Descent,  
and Occupations of the Men Who Overthrew  
the Monarchy

RALPH THOMAS KAM

JEFFREY K. LYONS

“American and European sugar planters, descendants  
of missionaries, and financiers.”

—U.S. Apology Resolution, 1993

IN 1993, during the centennial year of the overthrow of Queen Lili-  
‘uokalani, a joint session of the U.S. Congress issued an apology reso-  
lution that in part attributed the change in sovereignty to “a Com-  
mittee of Safety that represented the American and European sugar

*Ralph Thomas Kam holds an M.A. and a Ph.D. in American Studies from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and a M.A. in Public Relations from the University of Southern California. He is co-author of Partners in Change: A Biographical Encyclopedia of American Protestant Missionaries in Hawai‘i and their Hawaiian and Tahitian Colleagues, 1820–1900 (2018) and author of “The Origin and Legacy of Na Himeni Hawai‘i,” in Kōkua Aku, Kōkua Mai: Chiefs, Missionaries, and Five Transformations of the Hawaiian Kingdom, (2018).*

*Jeffrey K. Lyons, Ph.D., is part-Hawaiian. He is a graduate of the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and Regent University, where he earned an M.A. and Ph.D. in Communication. He taught at Hawai‘i Pacific University, Argosy University-Hawaii, and Honolulu Community College. Lyons has written articles for this journal and is the author of, Evolution Myths: A Critical View of neo-Darwinism.*

The Hawaiian Journal of History, vol. 53 (2019)

planters, descendants of missionaries, and financiers.” It also included a paragraph specifically highlighting the missionaries: “Whereas the Congregational Church (now known as the United Church of Christ), through its American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), sponsored and sent more than 100 missionaries to the Kingdom of Hawaii between 1820 and 1850.”

While the apology resolution claimed the thirteen-person Committee of Safety “represented” planters, descendants of missionaries, and financiers, the group responsible for the revolution had only one direct representative of a sugar plantation (who also helped finance the operation), only three descendants of the men and women sent to Hawai‘i by the ABCFM, and just two individuals who worked for companies that fronted money for sugar plantations (who could be broadly construed to be financiers).

While most agree on the impact that the members of the Committee of Safety had on the history of Hawai‘i, few today can name the men who had such a profound effect and even fewer have knowledge of their lives. Their import warrants a closer examination to correct any misperception of who they were.

A report of the Committee of Safety, preserved by member William Owen Smith in the offices of the Waterhouse Trust, recorded the genesis of the committee:

Late in the afternoon [January 16, 1893] it was felt that bloodshed and riot were imminent; that the community could expect no protection from the legal authorities; that on the contrary they would undoubtedly be made the instruments of Royal aggression; an impromptu meeting of citizens was held. [...] The meeting unanimously passed a resolution that the public welfare required the appointment of a committee of Public Safety, of 13, to consider the situation and devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and the protection of life and property.<sup>1</sup>

Thirteen men comprised the Committee of Safety, usually referred to as the Committee of Safety: 1. Cristel Bolte, 2. Andrew Brown, 3. William Richards Castle, 4. Henry Ernest Cooper, 5. John Emmeluth, 6. Theodore F. Lansing, 7. John Andrew McCandless, 8. Frederick W. McChesney, 9. William Owen Smith, 10. Edward Suhr, 11. Lorrin Andrews Thurston, 12. Henry Waterhouse, and 13. William Chauncey Wilder. (Figure 1)



FIGURE 1. A collage of the Committee of Safety January 1893. Henry E. Cooper, Chairman, (center) Clockwise, starting with the picture directly above the top of the diamond around Cooper: Henry Waterhouse, Lorrin A. Thurston, Ed Suhr, F.W. McChesney, John Emmeluth, Wm. R. Castle, Wm. O. Smith, J.A. McCandless, C. Bolte, W.C. Wilder, Andrew Brown and Theodore F. Lansing. Courtesy Hawai'i State Archives [PP-28-7-003]

### OVERREACHING DESCRIPTION

The apology resolution implies much broader participation by the entities it includes in its characterization of the committee.

### AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP

While the apology resolution uses the modifiers, “American and European,” terms indicating nationality or citizenship, it fails to mention individuals with Hawaiian citizenship.

Even Lili‘uokalani, in *Hawaii’s Story By Hawaii’s Queen*, focused the blame squarely on citizenship:

Because neither the above-named commission nor the government which sends it [Provisional Government] has ever received any such

authority from the registered voters of Hawaii, but derives its assumed powers from the so-called committee of public safety, organized on or about the seventeenth day of January, 1893, said committee being composed largely of persons claiming American citizenship, and not one single Hawaiian was a member thereof, or in any way participated in the demonstration leading to its existence.<sup>2</sup>

The use of the word “Hawaiian” by Lili‘uokalani must be the same as the definition used in the U.S. apology resolution, because she could not be referring to Hawaiian citizenship. Of the thirteen members comprising the Committee of Safety, forty-six percent of them (slightly less than half but a plurality) shared Hawaiian citizenship: three by birth (Castle, Smith, and Thurston) and three by naturalization (Bolte, Waterhouse and Wilder). Bolte, a German, was naturalized on July 23, 1884; Waterhouse, a Tasmanian by birth and, therefore, a British citizen, took on Hawaiian citizenship on March 8, 1869; and Wilder, an American, became a Hawaiian citizen on August 20, 1888. Of the remaining seven members of the committee, five individuals had only American citizenship (Cooper, Emmeluth, Lansing, McCandless, and McChesney), one only German citizenship (Suhr), and one just British citizenship (Brown). Far from being dominated by Americans, fewer members had only American citizenship (38 percent) than had Hawaiian citizenship (46 percent). It must be noted, though, that among the members who possessed Hawaiian citizenship by birth or naturalization, none were descended from individuals living when the *Resolution* and *Endeavour* first arrived in the islands in 1778.

#### OCCUPATIONS

The apology resolution lists two occupations to characterize the Committee of Safety: sugar planters and financiers. One of the few books that focuses on the Committee of Safety, *Taking Hawaii: How Thirteen Honolulu Businessmen Overthrew the Queen of Hawaii Monarchy in 1893, With a Bluff* (2014), gives in its title a more accurate phrase to describe the members of the Committee of Safety: “Honolulu Businessmen.”<sup>3</sup> The locations of their residences fell within a narrow sliver

of Honolulu, bounded mauka by Judd and Wilder streets, makai by King Street, 'Ewa by Liliha Street and Waikīki by Diamond Head. Beyond that broad description, however, the members shared little in common. The portrayal of the Committee of Safety as “American and European sugar planters, descendants of missionaries, and financiers” forms a convenient depiction that supports a popular narrative regarding the overthrow, but that description of the committee breaks down upon closer examination. Indeed, it would be more accurate to describe the committee as representing attorneys (Castle, Cooper, Smith and Thurston), or importers (Lansing, Machesney, Waterhouse and Wilder), than the categories used in the apology resolution.

#### AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN SUGAR PLANTERS

The first description of the members of the Committee of Safety used in the apology resolution, “American and European sugar planters,” is the weakest. Only one committee member, William Richards Castle, could be strictly identified as an “American or European sugar planter.” Castle was associated with 'Ewa Plantation, a fiscally fragile entity at the start of the overthrow. He could be called an American sugar planter, but that role was peripheral to his main profession as an attorney-at-law. Two other members were associated with companies related to the sugar industry, but were not actually employed by “American and European sugar planters.” The two, Cristel Bolte and Edward Suhr, worked for companies that served as agents for sugar plantations. The former by M.S. Grinbaum & Co. and the latter by the better-known Hackfeld and Co. (later renamed American Factors). Though Bolte was an officer of M.S. Grinbaum, and could accurately be construed to represent the company, the company itself was not a sugar planter but helped provide financing through sugar factors. M.S. Grinbaum also was agent to relatively few sugar plantations located mostly on Kaua'i. Hackfeld and Co. served as agent for more and larger sugar plantations. Suhr, however, worked for Hackfeld as a manager in the shipping department, he was not an officer and, therefore, would not be considered to legally represent Hackfeld and Co. John Andrew McCandless drilled wells for sugar planters, but was not one himself.

## DESCENDANTS OF MISSIONARIES

While “missionary” is an occupation, “descendants of missionaries” does not describe a line of work. Of the thirteen committee members, just three individuals could trace their roots to Hawai‘i missionaries: William Richards Castle, William Owen Smith, and Lorrin A. Thurston. They all shared an occupation—lawyer. A fourth individual, Henry Waterhouse, married a descendant of missionaries sent by the ABCFM, but he, himself, was not a descendant of them.

## FINANCIERS

As for financiers, just two of the committee members could be considered in that category. Though Bolte provided financing, he had a very narrow clientele of mainly German sugar plantations. William Castle did help finance the struggling ‘Ewa Plantation. Hackfeld & Co. did provide financing through sugar factors, but Suhr worked in the shipping department.

## BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF THE THIRTEEN

Given the difficulty of easily putting the members of the Committee of Safety into shared categories, short biographies may aid in showing just how disparate were the backgrounds of the men who joined together to topple the Hawaiian monarchy. Given the impact of the Committee of Safety on the history of Hawai‘i, relatively little has been written regarding the individuals. Only two members of the committee, Cooper and Thurston, were selected by historian A. Grove Day for *History Makers of Hawaii*. The thirteen men in alphabetic order were:

## 1. Cristel Bolte (1854–1919)

Cristel Bolte was born in Bremen, Germany, on January 18, 1853.<sup>4</sup> The National Register of the Republic of Hawai‘i, records that he arrived in Hawai‘i on January 29, 1879, at the age of 25.<sup>5</sup> The city directory at the time of the overthrow records his occupation as “general commission merchant, Kaauhumanu [*sic*] nr Queen.”<sup>6</sup>

On August 10, 1894, at the age of 41, Cristel Bolte was granted a

Certificate of Special Rights of Citizenship (#559), by the Republic of Hawai‘i. At the time Bolte had been living in the Hawaiian Islands for more than sixteen years. The certificate granted “special rights of citizenship” because the recipient “took active part or otherwise rendered substantial service in the formation of and has supported the Provisional Government of Hawai‘i.”<sup>7</sup> From January 17, 1893, to May 23, 1895, Bolte served on the Advisory Council of the Provisional Government.

The National Register of the Republic of Hawai‘i, dated May 26, 1896, states that he was married in 1896 and that he was a “manager merchant house,” and that he was in the employ of M.S. Grinbaum & Co.<sup>8</sup> His employer is confirmed in *Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*, which lists him as the “Treasurer of M. S. Grinbaum & Co. Ltd and Insurance Agent.”<sup>9</sup> An advertisement in the 1894/1895 city directory also records M.S. Grinbaum as “Agents for Kahuku Plantation Co., and Kaneohe Ranch, Hana Plantation co., Heeia Agricultural Co. Ltd, National Fire and Prussian National Insurance Companies.”<sup>10</sup>

Starting on June 23, 1895 through 1898 he served on the Council of State and was reappointed in 1896 and 1898.<sup>11</sup>

Under the Territory of Hawai‘i, he served a one-year term on the Tax Appeal Court, First Judicial Court, starting July 30, 1901.

In 1905 he was one of the defendants in the Hawai‘i Beef Trust case against his company American Sugar Company Limited. Also, with the company were Henry P. Baldwin, Henry Beckley, Samuel M. Damon, and Walter F. Dillingham among others.<sup>12</sup>

Cristel Bolte died on April 19, 1919. He is buried in O‘ahu Cemetery. His obituary called him a “kamaaina known from one end to the other of the Islands.”<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Andrew Brown (1849–1907)

Andrew Brown was born in Glasgow, Scotland on January 25, 1849,<sup>14</sup> and was a citizen of the United Kingdom when he participated in the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. When he was 20 years old he moved to Canada, working as a coppersmith. He later lived in San Francisco, employed by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.<sup>15</sup> He immigrated to Hawai‘i in 1880.<sup>16</sup> His wife, Sarah (Reade) Brown died

in Honolulu on October 11, 1887.<sup>17</sup> He started as a coppersmith at the Honolulu Iron Works about the same year.<sup>18</sup>

Initially a member of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Government, Brown left that position when he became the superintendent of Water Works on March 1, 1893.<sup>19</sup>

After the overthrow, Brown was granted “special rights of citizenship” by the Republic of Hawai‘i on July 21, 1894.<sup>20</sup> The status gave him the rights of Hawaiian citizenship without having to renounce his United Kingdom citizenship.

Superintendent for nearly a decade, Brown wrote an article, titled “The Water System and Supply,” in the January 1, 1902, issue of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.<sup>21</sup> Just two years later, he was asked to resign in March 1904 after it was discovered that he had known about embezzlement by one of his employees and had “allowed the alleged shortage to be made up.”<sup>22</sup>

Andrew Brown died on February 19, 1907, after an illness that had lasted two years. The notice of his death called him “a well-known kamaaina” and “one of the men who dethroned the Queen in 1893.”<sup>23</sup>

His funeral was held the day following his death, at the Masonic Temple, “the deceased having been a prominent member of Hawaiian Lodge No. 21.”<sup>24</sup> He was survived by his second wife, Catherine “Kate” Brown (1859–1927). He and his wives are buried at O‘ahu Cemetery.

### 3. William Richards Castle (1840–1935)

If any one individual fit the description of the committee members in the apology resolution, William Richards Castle filled the bill. He was a planter, missionary descendant, and financier. Born in Honolulu on March 19, 1840, Castle was son of Samuel Northrup Castle and Mary Ann Tenney Castle, who arrived in Hawai‘i as part of the Eighth Company of missionaries sent by the ABCFM. He was named for William Richards, a missionary in the Second Company. He married Beatrice Lowrey in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on October 12, 1875.

Despite his role in the overthrow of the monarchy, he served the royal family under King Kalākaua as attorney general from February 15, 1876 to December 5, 1876. On December 6, 1876, he was



appointed to the Commission to Increase the Original Hawaiian Race, which had been formed by a resolution of the Legislative Assembly on September 9, 1876. He served as a member of the House of Representatives from 1878 to 1886 and House of Nobles from 1887 to 1888.

Although he is called “Lawyer and Financier” in *Story of Hawaii and Its Builders*,<sup>25</sup> he is also praised for his sugar industry leadership; Castle “financed and made possible the creation of ‘Ewa Plantation, a task which in the late 80’s and early 90’s strained the resources of those engaged [in] it almost to the breaking point.”<sup>26</sup> While working with the sugar plantations, Castle was involved with a struggling industry, not the economic behemoth of future decades. Even with his affiliation with the sugar plantations, the city directories from the year of the overthrow record his main profession: “atty at law.”<sup>27</sup>

Following the overthrow, Castle served on the Advisory Council for the Provisional Government until January 18, 1893, when he was appointed as a special commissioner to Washington to press for annexation. He was named president of the Board of Education on February 19, 1894, and reappointed a year later. On June 3, 1895, the Republic of Hawai‘i named him Envoy Extraordinary to the United States. An editorial in *The Independent* commented: “The supporters of the republic even denounce his appointment, and we are inclined to believe that his appearance in Washington will not be hailed with unmingled satisfaction by the government to whom he is accredited.” His predecessor in the position, Lorrin A. Thurston, had been declared *persona non grata* by the Cleveland administration.<sup>28</sup> Soon after the annexation of Hawai‘i, on June 27, 1898, Castle was appointed to the Tax Commission and as a commissioner of Public Lands on July 18, 1899.

Castle shared his reminiscences over the new technology of the radio on station KGU in 1924.<sup>29</sup> In his seventy-sixth year, Castle and his wife celebrated their golden wedding anniversary.<sup>30</sup>

He died in Honolulu on June 5, 1935.<sup>31</sup>

#### 4. Henry Ernest Cooper (1857–1929)

Henry E. Cooper, the son of William Giles Cooper, was born at New Albany, Indiana, on August 28, 1857.<sup>32</sup> Cooper graduated from Boston University in 1878, he was admitted to the bar the same year

and worked with the Suffolk Co., Massachusetts. He married Mary E. Porter of San Diego, California, on October 2, 1883. He arrived in Hawai'i in 1890.<sup>33</sup>

The city directory gives his occupation at the time of the overthrow: "Cooper Henry E, atty at law and mgr Hawaiian Abstract and Title Co, res Kapiolani Park, Waikiki."<sup>34</sup> He established the Hawaiian Abstract and Title Company on June 10, 1892. He had started a similar company five years earlier, in San Diego.

After the overthrow, on March 7, 1893, he was appointed as Second Judge, First Circuit Court. The city directory for 1894/1895 records his position as well as his residence: "Cooper H E, circuit judge, chambers Court House, r King nr Punahou."<sup>35</sup>

Cooper served as Chairman of Committee of Safety from January 14-17, 1893.<sup>36</sup> It was he, who on January 17, 1893, "Read proclamation abrogating monarchical government in Hawaiian Islands and establishing provisional government."<sup>37</sup> From January to March 1893, he was a member of the Advisory Council, Provisional Government.<sup>38</sup>

He was second to swear an oath of allegiance to the Republic of Hawai'i.<sup>39</sup> On July 21, 1894 the Republic of Hawai'i issued him a certificate (#32) granting him "special rights of citizenship."<sup>40</sup>

From 1895 to 1899 Cooper served as Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Republic of Hawai'i. He served as Acting President of the Republic of Hawai'i from January 9 to March 1898.<sup>41</sup> Cooper died in Long Beach, California, on May 15, 1929. The Associated Press in announcing his death called him "the liberator of Hawaii."

##### 5. John Emmeluth (1853-1910)

John Emmeluth was born May 6, 1853, in Cincinnati, Ohio.<sup>42</sup> Lorin Andrews Thurston wrote that Emmeluth, was 38 years old at the time of the overthrow in 1893. Thurston added that Emmeluth "was head of the firm of J. Emmeluth & Company, the leading plumbing and house furnishing concern of the city and hardware importers. Mr. Emmeluth is one of the principal owners and Vice-President of the Hawaiian Fruit and Packing Company."<sup>43</sup>

John Emmeluth testified: "I [. . .] came to this country in February 1878, and have been here since that time engaged in my business of tinsmith and plumber. I have accumulated some property and am married to a resident of the Islands."<sup>44</sup> The testimony of Emmeluth

may be a year off. Passenger manifests have J. Emmeluth, a tinner, arriving on February 28, 1879, from San Francisco on the *Discovery*. When he participated in the overthrow fourteen years later, Emmeluth was a citizen of the United States.

When comparing the statements by Thurston and Emmeluth, it seems that Emmeluth was much more than simply a tinsmith and plumber. The city directory at the time of the overthrow recorded his name, place of business and residence: “Emmeluth John, hardware, Nuuanu and Merchant, res Judd nr Liliha,” and another entry for his business: “Emmeluth J & Co, stoves, ranges, tinware, and plumbing, cor Nuuanu and Merchant, res Judd nr Liliha.”<sup>45</sup> At the same time he was conducting his business, Emmeluth served on the Advisory Council to the Provisional Government, from January 16, 1893, to May 22, 1895.

On July 25, 1898, Emmeluth was granted a certificate (#167) entitling him to “special rights of citizenship.” The certificate, established in Article 17, Section 2, of the Constitution of the Republic of Hawai‘i, entitled the individual “to all the privileges of citizenship without thereby prejudicing his native citizenship or allegiance.” Emmeluth thereby avoided the conflict of dual citizenship.

After annexation by the United States, Emmeluth, a U.S. citizen, was nonetheless a supporter of “home rule” and was elected to the first legislature of the Territory of Hawai‘i.<sup>46</sup>

As with many of the Committee of Safety members, few today remember his name. Without a monument to the committee, a street sign is one of the few places that recognizes his name; Emmeluth Lane in Kapālama is named for him.

John Emmeluth died in Honolulu on May 20, 1910, at The Queen’s Hospital following bladder surgery. At the time of his death, he was secretary of the executive committee of the Democratic Party.<sup>47</sup>

#### 6. Theodore F. Lansing (1852–1949)

Theodore F. Lansing was born in Galway, New York,<sup>48</sup> on January 7, 1852. According to the Passenger Manifest index, T.F. Lansing and his wife, ages 33, and 24 respectively, arrived in Hawai‘i on July 31, 1883, aboard the *Mariposa*. His occupation is listed as clerk. By 1892/1893, the city directory records that he was a “bookkeeper M Phillips & Co.”<sup>49</sup> The same publication recorded the M. Philips

and Company sold “wholesale dry goods, clothing, men’s furnishing and fancy goods” from a store at Fort and Queen.<sup>50</sup>

Lansing received a certificate (#527) granting “special rights of citizenship” from the Republic of Hawai‘i on August 8, 1894.

*Husted’s Directory of Honolulu and the Territory 1905–1906* lists Lansing as an insurance agent.<sup>51</sup> The 1922 city directory listed him as an insurance agent.<sup>52</sup>

He died on June 1, 1949, at the Pā‘ia Hospital on Maui aged 97 years.<sup>53</sup>

#### 7. John Andrew McCandless (1853–1930)

John Andrew McCandless was born in Indiana County, Pennsylvania on June 11, 1853, the son of Thomas M. McCandless and Eliza (Newman) McCandless. He married Ella Thompson in West Virginia on September 4, 1877. John McCandless arrived in Honolulu in 1881 and was employed in drilling artesian wells.

On July 20, 1894, McCandless received a certificate (#1) granting him “special rights of citizenship” from the Republic of Hawai‘i. From 1894 to 1898 McCandless served as a member of the Senate of the Republic of Hawai‘i.<sup>54</sup>

McCandless was a businessman and an entrepreneur. He is listed as a well-borer. He dug wells to provide water for the sugar cane industry. He used his profits to invest and as a result, grew a small fortune in Hawai‘i. His occupation was listed as “Capitalist” in the *Who’s Who on the Pacific Coast*, 1913, and “financier” in *Men of Hawaii* (1921). He was an investor and a member of McCandless Bros., vice president of Pioneer Mill Company and vice president of Oahu Sugar Company, and president of Home Insurance Company.<sup>55</sup> He was a member of the Masons and Shriners.<sup>56</sup>

When he died in January 30, 1930, his estate was valued at \$4 million. His will designated \$100,000 for the Shriners Hospital.<sup>57</sup>

#### 8. Frederic Walter McChesney (1858–1902)

Frederic Walter McChesney, the son of Robert Watson McChesney, was born September 22, 1858, in Iowa.

McChesney was a member of the Honolulu Rifles, an organization closely linked to the overthrow. In 1887 F.W. McChesney participated in battalion target competition as a member of Company B of the Honolulu Rifles. Coming in second was private Thurston. S.G. Wilder,

Jr., nephew of William C. Wilder, also participated in the competition.<sup>58</sup>

McChesney married Una Jobe in Yellville, Arkansas, on June 19, 1888.<sup>59</sup> She was the daughter of George Washington Jobe of Prairie township, Arkansas, McChesney returned with his new wife on July 24, 1888, from San Francisco on the *Australia*.<sup>60</sup>

Frederic W. McChesney worked in his father's company, M.W. McChesney and Sons. The city directories from 1892 to 1895 describe the company as: "McChesney M W and Sons (R W, F W, and J M) importers, wholesale grocers and leather dealers, Queen opp Kaahumanu (See Adv Page 18)"<sup>61</sup>

He served on the Advisory Council from January 16, 1893, to June 22, 1893, his sole government appointment. On June 28, 1893, he left on the *Belgic* Honolulu bound for San Francisco. He returned to Honolulu on November 4, 1893, aboard the *Australia*. McChesney was granted a certificate of "special rights of citizenship" (#508) on Aug 7, 1895.

He died in Kona on September 23, 1902, at age 45. The announcement in *The Friend* called him "a leading merchant of Honolulu."<sup>62</sup> Although not a sugar planter when he was a member of the Committee of Safety, McChesney later served as an officer in a sugar company headed by his brother. In 1902, F.W. McChesney is listed as treasurer of the Mill of the Onomea Sugar Company.<sup>63</sup> He died after falling between a cane car and the engine. He had been viewing the property of the Kona Sugar Company from atop the car. His wife was visiting her mother in Prairie, Arkansas, at the time of his death.<sup>64</sup> His funeral took place at his Wilder street residence on September 26, 1902. He was interred in Nu'uaniu Cemetery.<sup>65</sup> His estate included 180 shares of Kona Sugar Company.<sup>66</sup> The Kona Sugar Company was eventually sold at a receiver's sale. The sugar company properties included land that had been conveyed to it by Prince David Kawanakoa in 1899 [Liber 195, p. 30].<sup>67</sup>

#### 9. William Owen Smith (1848–1929)

William Owen Smith was born at Koloa, Kaua'i, on August 4, 1848, son of John William Smith and Millicent Knapp Smith.<sup>68</sup> At the time of the overthrow, Smith was an attorney-at-law. The city directory also lists his other affiliations: "Smith W O, secretary Hobron, Newman &

Co (limited) and Hawaiian Carriage Manufacturing Co (limited) and attorney at law, 66 Fort, res Nuuanu.”<sup>69</sup> The next city directory shows the transition from businessman and attorney to government official: “Smith W O, Attorney General, Republic of Hawai‘i and law office 318 Fort, r Nuuanu cor Bishop lane.”<sup>70</sup>

Smith died April 13, 1929.

#### 10. Edward Suhr (1852–1922)

Edward Suhr was born in Germany in 1852. Suhr received a certificate (#1341) that granted him “special rights of citizenship” on October 5, 1894.

Edward Suhr was one of the few members of the Committee of Safety who actually worked for a “sugar planter,” albeit only as a middle manager. The city directory for 1892/1893 lists him as “Suhr Ed, mgr shipping department H Hackfeld & Co.”<sup>71</sup> “Suhr Ed, mgr shipping dept H Hackfeld & Co, r Nuuanu.”<sup>72</sup> Hackfeld & Co. (after World War I called American Factors) was one of the dominant companies in Hawai‘i referred to as the “Big Five” corporations. Hackfeld & Co. were agents for Lihue Plantation Company, Grove Farm Plantation, Hanamaulu Sugar Plantation, Koloa Sugar Plantation, Kekaha Sugar Company, Meier and Kruse Plantation, Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company, Lahaina Plantation, Kipahulu Sugar Company, Kukaiau Plantation Company.<sup>73</sup> Edward Suhr eventually was a director of H. Hackfeld & Co., but at the time of the overthrow was a mid-level manager.

Suhr returned to his home country of Germany and died in Wiesbaden, Germany on October 9, 1922, at the age of 70.

#### 11. Lorrin Andrews Thurston (1858–1931)

Lorrin Andrews Thurston was born in Honolulu on July 31, 1858, to Asa Goodale Tyerman Thurston and Sarah (Andrews) Thurston. Lorrin Andrews Thurston was the grandson of Asa Thurston and Lucy Goodale Thurston, members of the First Company of missionaries sent by the ABCFM to Hawai‘i, who arrived in 1820. He was also the grandson of Lorrin Andrews and Mary Ann Wilson Andrews, members of the Third Company.

In 1872 he attended Punahou School, where he was a classmate of the sons of Alexander Cartwright, the father of modern baseball. In 1875 seventeen-year-old Thurston was elected vice president of

the Athlete Base Ball Club, formerly the Wideawakes. On the field he played left field. An early game against the Undaunted team, played on a field on Kulaokahu'a (most likely Cartwright Field in Makiki) resulted in the Wideawakes scoring nineteen points more than their opponents.<sup>74</sup>

In 1878, Thurston served as recording secretary of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.<sup>75</sup> He was approved September 8, 1879, as an agent for the Office of the Registrar of Conveyances by the Minister of the Interior, Samuel Gardner Wilder, brother of Committee of Safety member, William Chauncey Wilder.<sup>76</sup>

Thurston attended Columbia Law School for two years before returning to Hawai'i in 1881. In 1883, the *Saturday Press* announced the legal co-partnership of Thurston and William Owen Smith, a future member of the Committee of Safety. Their firm, at 38 Merchant Street was called Smith & Thurston.<sup>77</sup>

He married Margaret Clarissa "Clara" Shipman, daughter of ABCFM missionaries William C. Shipman and Jane (Stobie) Shipman, in Hilo, Hawai'i, on February 21, 1884.

He served in the House of Representatives in 1886, the year before King Kalākaua was compelled to approve the Constitution of 1887, nicknamed the "Bayonet Constitution," a document he helped author. He served as Minister of the Interior under the new constitution, from July 1887 to June 1890. Thurston was also a member of the Board of Health during the same years.

On May 5, 1891, he experienced personal tragedy when his wife, Clara Shipman died while giving birth in Honolulu.

The city directory at the time of the overthrow clearly establishes the occupation of Thurston at the firm of "Thurston & Frear (L A Thurston and W F Frear) attys at law, over Bishop's Bank." [1892/1893, 221] Walter F. Frear would later serve as the third territorial governor, appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt.

As with many of the Committee of Safety members following the overthrow, Thurston served on the Advisory Council of the Provisional Government. He was a member of the commission sent to Washington, D.C., to press for annexation by the United States, an effort that initially failed.

He married for a second time to Harriet Potter on April 5, 1894, in St. Joseph, Michigan.<sup>78</sup>

On October 5, 1895, Lorrin Thurston, an architect of the Hawaiian

revolution, applied for membership in the Sons of the American Revolution based on his descent from Abner Goodale of Marlborough, Massachusetts, a participant in the Battle of Lexington. He received his certificate the following year.<sup>79</sup>

His purchase of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in 1898 gave Thurston a vehicle to promote Hawai'i and its major industries. He served as the catalyst behind the creation of the Volcanoes National Park. The idea of protecting the top tourist destination had been proposed earlier, in 1903, by another Committee of Safety member, William Richards Castle, who had written in the guestbook of the Volcano Hotel: "The time has come when the United States might well reserve the whole region from Mokuaweoweo to the sea in Puna."<sup>80</sup> Edyth Tozier Weatherred, a travel journalist, proposed a national park for the entire area around the volcano.<sup>81</sup> Thurston's newspaper, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, included an editorial in March 1906 that favored the idea: "The advantages of having the volcano district put into a Federal reservation, are well worth thinking about."<sup>82</sup> The editorial concluded: "Mrs. Weatherred is to be thanked for the suggestion."<sup>83</sup> Thurston knew of the potential economic impact of the park. He had served as secretary of the Kilauea Volcano House Company, Limited.<sup>84</sup> The editorial also noted: "Probably, as is the case in the Yellowstone Park, two or three hotels would be built and a post of military caretakers established."<sup>85</sup> He worked with his former law partner, Walter F. Frear, by then territorial governor, to support making the Volcano National Park.<sup>86</sup> An April 1911 editorial would quote the support of the proposal by President Theodore Roosevelt; conservationist John Muir; and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.<sup>87</sup> He explored Kilauea in 1913 with a party that included volcanologist Thomas Augustus Jaggar.<sup>88</sup> A lava tube in the proposed park was named for Thurston. The park received congressional support and was created on August 1, 1916.

Thurston died in Honolulu on May 11, 1931. The debate regarding his actions would continue to the present. His grandson, Thurston Twigg-Smith defended the overthrow in his book, *Hawaiian Sovereignty: Do the Facts Matter?* (1998).

## 12. Henry Waterhouse (1845–1904)

Henry Waterhouse, son of John Thomas Waterhouse, was born in Hobart, Tasmania in 1845, making him a British citizen by birth.<sup>89</sup> A *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* article suggested a possible source for



his participation on the Committee of Safety: “John Thomas Waterhouse, the father of [Henry Waterhouse] was a strong annexationist and became an American citizen, though a typical Englishman in manners and appearance. Henry Waterhouse inherited or shared his father’s political views and was an ardent supporter of the American movement here.”<sup>90</sup>

Although not Native Hawaiian, Waterhouse spoke the Hawaiian language fluently. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported after his death: “He had a ready command of the native tongue. In fact he was a more fluent speaker and more at ease in Hawaiian than in English. For a period of nearly two years he preached regularly to the congregation of Kaumakapili during a period when the church was without a settled pastor.”<sup>91</sup>

Technically, Henry Waterhouse was a “missionary descendant” but not the missionaries referred to in the U.S. apology resolution; his grandfather was a Methodist missionary to Tasmania. Waterhouse, nevertheless, did have close ties with the Protestant missionaries sent by the ABCFM; he married on March 9, 1869, Julia Hawkins Dimond, daughter of Henry Dimond and Ann Maria (Anner) Dimond, missionaries in the Seventh Company sent to Hawai‘i by the ABCFM. While Waterhouse was not a descendant of the missionaries sent by the ABCFM, he would later serve as president of the Hawaiian Board, the successor to the Hawaiian Mission of the ABCFM.

At the time of the overthrow, the city directory lists his occupation as “importer gen mdse, Queen nr Nuuanu.”<sup>92</sup> Although not a “sugar planter” at the time of the demise of the monarchy, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* noted: “Henry Waterhouse took up the commission and sugar factor business and established the commercial and financial house of Henry Waterhouse, later Henry Waterhouse & Company, and a few months ago transformed into the corporation of the Henry Waterhouse Trust Company.”<sup>93</sup> The Henry Waterhouse Trust Company, Limited, eventually became part of Bishop Trust Company, Limited.

Henry Waterhouse died in Honolulu on February 20, 1904.<sup>94</sup>

### 13. William Chauncey Wilder (1835–1901)

William Chauncey Wilder was born on January 1, 1835, in Port Hope, Ontario, Canada, to American parents, William Chauncey Wilder and Harriet (Waters) Wilder, making him an American citizen

from birth.<sup>95</sup> When the U.S. Civil War began, Wilder enlisted in the First Illinois Infantry and later organized a cavalry in July 1861 where he rose to the rank of captain. In the midst of the war, on November 12, 1861, he married Eliza Scott in Geneva, Illinois. Returning to battle, he served under General Sherman until March 1863, when he resigned his commission due to ill health.<sup>96</sup> He returned to Geneva, where Wilder's first child, a son named Gardner Knight Wilder, was born in 1864. Gardner was also the middle name of his older brother. Two years later his wife gave birth to twin boys, Charles Thomas Wilder and William Chauncey Wilder.

William C. Wilder first came to Hawai'i in May 1869 at the request of his eldest brother, Samuel Gardner Wilder, who founded the eponymous steamship company. Following the demise of the Kualoa plantation where he worked, William C. Wilder left the islands, returning home to Illinois. Several years later, after he established a lumberyard, S. G. Wilder once again asked his younger brother to return to Hawai'i. In 1873, William C. Wilder sailed to Hawai'i with his wife and three boys. Their last child, Harry Asbury Wilder, would be born more than a decade after his brothers, on January 7, 1877. Eliza Wilder gave birth to him at age forty-two in Honolulu.

William C. Wilder took over the lumber and steamship companies following the death of his older brother on July 28, 1888. The 1892/1893 city directory lists him and his two companies: "Wilder William C (Wilder & Co) and president Wilder's Steamship Co, res Pensacola near Wilder ave." [1892/1893, 230] The same directory lists the first company as "Wilder & Co., Importers and Dealers in Lumber and All Kinds of Building Material." [1892/1893, advertisement after 230.] The second is recorded as "Wilders Steamship Co. Steamer Kinau [. . .] Steamer Claudine." [1892/1893, advertisement before 231]. Wilder thus falls squarely into the broad category of merchant.

The oldest of the committee members (He was fifty-eight years old when the overthrow took place), Wilder was the first of the thirteen to die, on July 11, 1901, at age sixty-six. He died at 8 p.m., the result of a stroke. John A. McCandless, another member of the Committee of Safety served as a pall-bearer at his funeral.<sup>97</sup>

COMMITTEE OF SAFETY MEMBERS

Name	Missionary Descendant	Sugar Co. Agent	Financier	Lawyer	Importer Merchant	Trades	Citizen on Jan. 17, 1893	Place of Birth
Bolte, Cristel		X	X				Kingdom of Hawai'i	Bremen, Germany
Brown, Andrew						X Coppersmith	United Kingdom	Glasgow, Scotland
Castle, William Richards	X	X	X	X			Kingdom of Hawai'i	Honolulu, Hawai'i
Cooper, Henry E.				X			USA	New Albany, Indiana
Emmeluth, John					X	X Tinsmith and Plumber	USA	Cincinnati, Ohio
Lansing, Theodore F.					X		USA	Galway, New York
McCandless, John A.						X Well Borer	USA USA USA	Indiana, Pennsylvania Iowa, USA
McChesney, Frederic Walter					X		Kingdom of Hawai'i	Koloa, Kaua'i
Smith, William Owen	X			X			Germany	Germany
Suhr, Edward		X		X			Kingdom of Hawai'i	Honolulu, Hawai'i
Thurston, Lorrin Andrews	X						Kingdom of Hawai'i	Hobart, Tasmania
Waterhouse, Henry	X by marriage				X		Kingdom of Hawai'i	Port Hope, Ontario, Canada
Wilder, William Chauncey					X		Kingdom of Hawai'i	Ontario, Canada

## AFTER THE OVERTHROW

Not content simply to overthrow the existing order, members of the Committee of Safety formed the core of the Provisional Government and supported its attempts to secure annexation. Though Sanford Ballard Dole would head the government, his advisory committee would include all but Lansing. When the political climate forestalled their efforts, members of the Committee of Safety worked together to shape a more permanent government. Six of the Committee of Safety members were among the signers of the Constitution of 1894 that established the Republic of Hawai‘i, namely Wilder, Smith, Bolte, Emmeluth, McCandless, and Waterhouse.<sup>98</sup> Unlike the Committee of Safety, which included no *kanaka maoli*, the constitutional convention delegates this time included Native Hawaiians, including Prince Albert Kūnuiākea, the son of Kamehameha III.

What drew these thirteen men together to commit treasonous acts, men of varied social classes, different occupations and ages, remains elusive. As seen in the brief recaps of their lives, the members on the Committee of Safety cannot be categorized without difficulty. It is easy in hindsight to imply that the overthrow was spurred by economic powers that dominated the early twentieth century—the Big Five corporations, primarily sugar companies and their interlocking boards of directors, often composed of missionary cousins. After all, these people and companies benefited substantially from the new form of sovereignty and the change in tariffs that occurred with the inclusion of Hawai‘i as a U.S. territory. The Committee of Safety, however, gathered before these fundamental changes took place. Modern attempts to characterize the Committee of Safety as American and European sugar planters, missionary descendants, and financiers ultimately fail upon closer examination.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> “Provisional Government – 1893.01.16 – Committee of Safety Report,” W.O. Smith Papers, *Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive*, accessed December 30, 2018, <https://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/885>.
- <sup>2</sup> Liliuokalani, *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1898) 355.
- <sup>3</sup> Stephen Dando-Collins, *Taking Hawaii: How Thirteen Honolulu Businessmen Over-*

- threw the Queen of Hawaii Monarchy in 1893, With a Bluff* (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 2014).
- <sup>4</sup> Cristel Bolte. U.S. Passport Application (May 28, 1906), Roll #20, Volume 034, Hawaii to Hobart, Tasmania, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D. C..
- <sup>5</sup> Cristel Bolte. Certificate of Registration (1896), National Register of the Republic of Hawaii, Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections, digitalcollections.hawaii.gov.
- <sup>6</sup> *Directory and Hand-book of the Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892/1893) 142.
- <sup>7</sup> Cristel Bolte. Certificate of Special Rights of Citizenship (Aug. 10, 1894), Certificates of Special Rights of Citizenship, AH.
- <sup>8</sup> Cristel Bolte. Certificate of Registration (1896), National Register of the Republic of Hawaii, Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections, digitalcollections.hawaii.gov.
- <sup>9</sup> *Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands* (San Francisco: George Bowser & Co., 1894/1895).
- <sup>10</sup> [Advertisement] *Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*, 1894/1895, 447.
- <sup>11</sup> *PCA*, Apr. 19, 1919.
- <sup>12</sup> "Beef Trust Hit Now," *PCA*, October 22, 1905, 2.
- <sup>13</sup> "C. Bolte," *PCA*, Apr. 19, 1919.
- <sup>14</sup> Andrew Brown, "The Water System and Supply," *PCA*, Jan. 1, 1902, 54.
- <sup>15</sup> Brown, "The Water System and Supply," *PCA*, Jan. 1, 1902, 54.
- <sup>16</sup> 1900 United States Federal Census.
- <sup>17</sup> "The late Mrs. A. Brown," *DB*, Oct, 12, 1887, 3.
- <sup>18</sup> Brown, "The Water System and Supply," *PCA*, Jan. 1, 1902, 54.
- <sup>19</sup> "Local and General," *HG*, Feb. 28, 1893, 9.
- <sup>20</sup> *PCA*, Feb. 20, 1907.
- <sup>21</sup> Brown, "The Water System and Supply," *PCA*, Jan. 1, 1902, 54.
- <sup>22</sup> "Andy Brown is Out of Water-Works Office," *PCA*, Mar. 12, 1904, 1.
- <sup>23</sup> Brown, "The Water System and Supply," *PCA*, Jan. 1, 1902, 54.
- <sup>24</sup> "Death of Andrew Brown," *PCA*, Feb. 20, 1907, 3.
- <sup>25</sup> George Nellist, *Story of Hawaii and Its Builders* (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin, 1925) 335-337.
- <sup>26</sup> Nellist, *Story of Hawaii and Its Builders* (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin, 1925) 335-337.
- <sup>27</sup> *Directory and Hand-book of the Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892/1893) 115; *Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*, 1894/1895, 119.
- <sup>28</sup> "The New Minister," *Independent*, Jun. 11, 1895, 3.
- <sup>29</sup> *HA*, Feb. 12, 1924.
- <sup>30</sup> *HA*, Oct. 12, 1925.
- <sup>31</sup> *SB*, June 6, 1935, 1.
- <sup>32</sup> "Kamaaina of Hawaii dies," *SB*, May 15, 1929, 1:7.

- <sup>33</sup> Siddall, J. W., ed., *Men of Hawaii: Vol. 1* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1917).
- <sup>34</sup> *Directory and Hand-book of the Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892/1893) 119.
- <sup>35</sup> *Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*, 1894/1895, 124.
- <sup>36</sup> Siddall, J. W., ed., *Men of Hawaii: Vol. 1* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1917) p. 75.
- <sup>37</sup> Siddall, J. W., ed., *Men of Hawaii: Vol. 1* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1917) p. 75.
- <sup>38</sup> Siddall, J. W., ed., *Men of Hawaii: Vol. 1* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1917) p. 75.
- <sup>39</sup> Hawaii. Certificates of Special Rights of Citizenship. Records re Special Rights of Citizenship. AH.
- <sup>40</sup> Hawaii. Certificates of Special Rights of Citizenship. Records re Special Rights of Citizenship. AH.
- <sup>41</sup> Siddall, J. W., ed., *Men of Hawaii: Vol. 1* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1917) p. 75.
- <sup>42</sup> "Affidavit of John Emmeluth," Dec. 15, 1893, Papers re: Provisional Government, 1892-1895, William Owen Smith Collection, M-133, AH.
- <sup>43</sup> Thurston, L. A. (1893, Jan-June). *The Leaders of the Revolution in Hawaii - Who they are and what they are*. 1893 Overthrow, Sundry Documents, FO&Ex., AH.
- <sup>44</sup> "Affidavit of John Emmeluth," Dec. 15, 1893, Papers re: Provisional Government, 1892-1895, William Owen Smith Collection, M-133, AH.
- <sup>45</sup> *Directory and Hand-book of the Kingdom of Hawaii*, (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892/1893) 127.
- <sup>46</sup> "John Emmeluth Dies at Hospital," *EB*, May 21, 1910,
- <sup>47</sup> "Funeral Yesterday of Late John Emmeluth," *PCA*, May 23, 1910, 4.
- <sup>48</sup> Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Honolulu, Hawaii, compiled 02/13/1900 - 12/30/1953; National Archives Microfilm Publication: A4156; Roll: 124; Record Group Title: Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004; Record Group Number: RG 85, National Archives and Records Administration; Washington, D.C.
- <sup>49</sup> *Directory and Hand-book of the Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892/1893) 172.
- <sup>50</sup> *Directory and Hand-book of the Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892/1893) 201.
- <sup>51</sup> *Husted's Directory of Honolulu and the Territory of Hawaii 1905-1906* (Honolulu: F.M. Husted, 1905) 589.
- <sup>52</sup> *Polk-Husted Directory Co.'s Directory of Honolulu and the Territory of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1922) 1649.
- <sup>53</sup> *HA*, June 2, 1949.
- <sup>54</sup> Siddall, J. W., ed., *Men of Hawaii: Vol. 2, Revised* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1921) 275-276.
- <sup>55</sup> Siddall, J. W., ed., *Men of Hawaii: Vol. 1* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1917) 185.

- <sup>56</sup> Franklin Harper, ed., *Who's Who on the Pacific Coast* (Los Angeles, California: Harper Publishing Co. 1913) 360.
- <sup>57</sup> "Generous Bequest Made By Late John A. McCandless Including \$100,000 for Shrine Hospital," *HA*, Feb. 5, 1930, 1.
- <sup>58</sup> "Honolulu Rifles," *PCA*, May 25, 1887, 3.
- <sup>59</sup> *The Mountain Echo* (Yellville, Arkansas), Jun. 23, 1888.
- <sup>60</sup> "Local and General," *PCA*, Jul. 25, 1888, 3.
- <sup>61</sup> *Directory and Hand-book of the Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892/1893) 184; *Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*, 1894/1895, 191.
- <sup>62</sup> "Deaths." *F*, Oct. 1902, 10.
- <sup>63</sup> "Mill of the Onomea Sugar Company," *EB*, Nov. 30, 1901, 26.
- <sup>64</sup> *The Mountain Echo* (Yellville, Arkansas), Oct 10, 1902, 3.
- <sup>65</sup> "Funeral of Late F.W. McChesney," *PCA*, Sept. 26, 1902, 7.
- <sup>66</sup> "McChesney Estate," *Hawaiian Star*, Oct. 16, 1902, 3.
- <sup>67</sup> "Important Public Notice, The Kona Sugar Company, Ltd., Receiver's Sale," *PCA*, Nov. 19, 1902, 12.
- <sup>68</sup> *F*, May 1929, 104:1.
- <sup>69</sup> *Directory and Hand-book of the Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892/1893) 215.
- <sup>70</sup> *Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*, 1894/1895, 227.
- <sup>71</sup> *Directory and Hand-book of the Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892/1893) 218.
- <sup>72</sup> *Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*, 1894/1895, 231.
- <sup>73</sup> *Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*, 1894/1895, 491.
- <sup>74</sup> "Base Ball Flourishes," *PCA*, May 29, 1875, 3.
- <sup>75</sup> "Mission Children's Society," *PCA*, Dec. 28, 1878, 5.
- <sup>76</sup> "By Authority," *PCA*, Sept. 13, 1879, 3.
- <sup>77</sup> "Local Items," *Saturday Press*, May 5, 1883, 3.
- <sup>78</sup> Michigan, County Marriage Records, 1822-1940 [database on-line], ancestry .com
- <sup>79</sup> Son of the American Revolution Applications, 1889-1970, ancestry .com.
- <sup>80</sup> Stephen Feinstein, *Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park: Adventure, Explore, Discover* (Berkeley Heights, New Jersey: Enslow Publishers, 2009) 53.
- <sup>81</sup> Stephen Feinstein, *Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park: Adventure, Explore, Discover* (Berkeley Heights, New Jersey: Enslow Publishers, 2009) 53.
- <sup>82</sup> "Volcano National Park," *PCA*, Mar. 11, 1906, 4.
- <sup>83</sup> "Volcano National Park," *PCA*, Mar. 11, 1906, 4.
- <sup>84</sup> "Election of Officers," *PCA*, Dec. 20, 1904, 9.
- <sup>85</sup> "Volcano National Park," *PCA*, Mar. 11, 1906, 4.
- <sup>86</sup> "National Park for Kilauea," *EB*, Oct. 15, 1910, 1.
- <sup>87</sup> Stephen Feinstein, *Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park: Adventure, Explore, Discover* (Berkeley Heights, New Jersey: Enslow Publishers, 2009) 55.
- <sup>88</sup> Stephen Feinstein, *Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park: Adventure, Explore, Discover* (Berkeley Heights, New Jersey: Enslow Publishers, 2009) 57.

- <sup>89</sup> "Henry Waterhouse Died After Lingerinɡ Illness," *PCA*, Feb. 21, 1904, 2.
- <sup>90</sup> "Henry Waterhouse Died After Lingerinɡ Illness," *PCA*, Feb. 21, 1904, 2.
- <sup>91</sup> "Henry Waterhouse Died After Lingerinɡ Illness," *PCA*, Feb. 21, 1904, 2.
- <sup>92</sup> 1892/1893, 227.
- <sup>93</sup> "Henry Waterhouse Died After Lingerinɡ Illness," *PCA*, Feb. 21, 1904, 2.
- <sup>94</sup> *PCA*, Feb 21, 1904, 2.
- <sup>95</sup> Hawaiian Historical Society, *A Genealogy of the Wilder Family of Hawaii*, (Honolulu, T. H.: Paradise of the Pacific Press, 1916).
- <sup>96</sup> "Hon. William C. Wilder Is Lying at the Point of Death, the Result of Apoplexy," *PCA*, July 11, 1901, 1.
- <sup>97</sup> "Hon. William C. Wilder Died Early Last Evening," *PCA*, July 12, 1901, 1.
- <sup>98</sup> United States Congressional Serial Set, House Executive Document No. 256., Fifty-third Congress, Second Session, July 31, 1894. Issue 3294, Vol. 32, p. 1371.