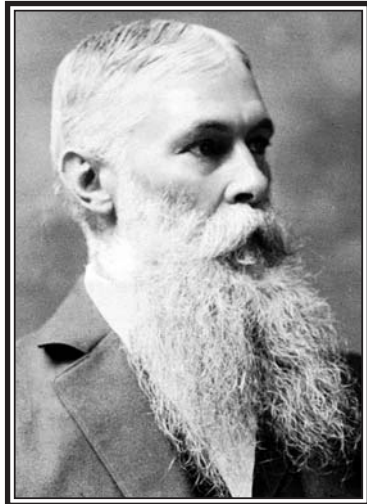




Biography Hawai'i: Five Lives

A Series of Public Remembrances



THE LEGACIES OF SANFORD BALLARD DOLE

FOUR DAYS IN JANUARY

from

Nation Within: The Story of America's Annexation of the Nation of Hawai'i

by Tom Coffman

January 14, 1893, Saturday: The queen sets out to announce her constitution, but the cabinet balks. She wavers. The Annexation Club approves a plan to form a provisional government. Thurston meets with John Stevens, who has just returned on the *S.S. Boston*, which had been at sea for gunnery practice. Stevens tells Thurston that if the annexationists control three buildings—'Iolani Palace, Ali'iolani Hale, and the Archives—he will announce American recognition of a new government.

January 15, Sunday: Thurston, after meeting far into the night at his house with the military subcommittee, announces that the monarchy must be abolished.

January 16, Monday: The queen circulates a statement retreating from her new constitution. The Annexation Committee asks Stevens by letter to do what it already knew he would do—call out the American troops. They hold a rally at the armory at two o'clock, attracting fifteen hundred or so people. Stevens calls the troops from the *S.S. Boston*.

January 17, Tuesday: Stevens tells the queen’s cabinet that he will protect the annexationists if they are attacked or arrested by government police. Sanford Dole agrees to serve as chairman of the executive council of a provisional government, resigning as a justice of the Supreme Court of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. Thurston rises from his sick bed to draft a proclamation asserting control of the government. Dole and the Annexation Committee walk into Ali‘iolani Hale, which is unguarded. They announce to the clerks that they are taking over. Henry Cooper reads the proclamation at the back door of the government building to no one in particular, as white militia belatedly move through the city toward Ali‘iolani Hale. . . .

During the much-remarked four days in January, Thurston, Dole, and the other annexationists poked along at a remarkably slow pace. Thurston was ill part of the time. Dole only slowly decided to preside over a provisional government. Together they evidently moved too slowly for Stevens, because he forced their hand. He told them he would bring in American marines at five p.m. Monday, January 16, the third day of the crisis. They asked him to wait. They were not ready. The marines actually landed two hours ahead of Stevens’s schedule. . . . Even with the marines ashore, after nearly four days of preparation, the annexationists failed to meet Stevens’s definition of control. Nor did they come close. They took over one building from clerks of the Kingdom—Ali‘iolani Hale. . . . Stevens then announced that the United States recognized the Committee of Annexation, renamed the Committee of Safety, as the provisional government of Hawai‘i. (*Nation Within* 121, 125)

THE AFTERMATH

by Alfred L. Castle

Many questions about this controversial period remain unanswered. Why was there not more Hawaiian resistance to the overthrow of a popular Queen? What were the dynamics in the American planter community which led to revolt rather than compromise? What specific economic forces in Hawai‘i and the United States help explain the events of 1893? How did general beginnings of progressive reform in the U.S. in the 1890s impact upon life in Hawai‘i during the Republic and early years of annexation? To what extent did the personal backgrounds of the leaders of the revolution determine the course of the event and to what extent did geographical, economic, demographic, and other material forces determine its direction? To what extent did Sanford Dole “lead” the revolt and shape the subsequent Provisional Government and Republic, and to what extent was he led by others? . . .

Whatever differences Dole had with his father and his father’s values, he shared some broad assumptions about the political capacity of the Hawaiians held by most of the American planter society. These very unrepublican ideas included the belief that all European countries owed their civilization to Teutonic political genius. This “genius” was transported to Hawai‘i in 1820 and had, in the eyes of Dole, won the day in 1893. Dole saw the overthrow of the Monarchy as the culmination of decades of progress due to the Americanization of Hawai‘i. He believed that the restriction of the right to vote to white Americans and northern Europeans during the years of the Republic could be justified in part by reference to his faith that only the Teutonic populace were capable of self-government and sophisticated political institutions. The device for “filtering out” Hawaiian, Asiatic, and other non-Teutonic groups from participating in government was to impose severe literacy and property qualifications. Thus Dole, in the name of the Republic, was instrumental in creating an oligarchy that would do much to repress the Hawaiian culture. The legacy of this repression would, of course, have consequences far beyond the short life of the Republic. (From a review of *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii’s Only President, 1844–1926*, by Helena G. Allen. *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 23 [1989]: 260–61)

THE LEGAL LEGACY

by David C. Farmer

Introduction: Sanford B. Dole’s legal legacy is far less significant than his historical role as a politician, diplomat, and statesman. He served five years as an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i and was the Territory’s first federal district judge for two six-year terms. However, his continuing influence as a jurist pales in comparison to the dramatic impact of his political roles in the revolutions of 1887 and 1893 and the ultimate annexation of Hawai‘i.¹

Educational Background: For a man of his considerable intellectual achievements and historical importance, Dole's formal secondary and college education was relatively brief. He attended Oahu College—now Punahou School, where his father served as the first principal—for only one year before taking on a succession of odd jobs. At twenty-two, he entered Williams College without having to take an entrance examination, and studied only one year, taking junior- and senior-level courses.² He studied law in a Boston law firm for the next year, passing the Suffolk County bar and returning to Hawai'i in 1868.

Practicing lawyer: A practicing attorney in Honolulu for almost twenty years, Dole was known for his outspoken criticism of the kingdom's immigrant contract labor system.³ Fluent in Hawaiian, he represented many native Hawaiians.⁴

Political Career: His political career began as a member of the Hawaiian League reformer group in the Legislature, where he served two terms.⁵ His second term ended October 16, 1886, when the session adjourned. The next year the Hawaiian League held a mass meeting that led to King Kalākaua's forced acceptance of a new Cabinet on July 1. The new Cabinet in turn forced a new Constitution on the King on July 7, without the consent or ratification of the Legislature. The new Constitution became known as the Bayonet Constitution.⁶

Supreme Court Justice: Because of the death of Justice Abraham Fornander in November 1887, the King reluctantly appointed Dole as the fourth associate justice in December. However, a special legislative session the same year had reduced the number of justices from five to three, effective December 31, 1887. Kalākaua, therefore, expected that the terms of both Dole and Justice Richard Bickerton would expire. The following year the three remaining justices declared the legislative act an unconstitutional infringement on the judiciary, leaving Dole and Bickerton in office.⁷

Dole's role on the bench was that of an outspoken dissenter who opposed the majority's tendency to look the other way in the face of the King's unchecked actions.⁸ For example, the court held that, under the new Constitution, only executive acts, not the King's veto power, required Cabinet approval.⁹ Dole vigorously dissented, arguing that the purpose of the new Constitution was "to attach responsibility to power in every case," and that the King's powers of every kind be checked.

Because of continuing uncertainty about its authority, the Cabinet asked the court for an advisory opinion when Kalākaua refused in August 1889 to accept the Cabinet's statement of principles as to its powers and responsibilities.¹⁰ A unanimous court held the principles were in accord with the Constitution.¹¹

The pendulum soon swung back when the court's majority held that Minister of Finance Samuel Damon could not withhold payment to the King's Chamberlin on the ground that the Cabinet did not approve the Chamberlin's appointment, because service to the King was strictly personal.¹² Dole's stinging dissent criticized the King for habitually ignoring the authority of the Constitution that was the only limited source of his powers.

Dole also expressed his more liberal dissenting views in contract labor cases. The majority, for example, upheld the validity of the assignment of a Japanese laborer contract from the Board of Immigration to Hilo Sugar Company.¹³ Dole argued such contracts should not be enforceable because, upon assignment, they are no longer contracts between the original parties. Moreover, they reduce a human being to chattel, create a form of involuntary servitude, and violate the constitutional protection that guarantees the freedom to choose one's own employer.¹⁴

Federal Court Bench: Dole's last service on the bench was his two terms as the Territory of Hawai'i's district court judge.¹⁵ Although additional judges joined him to assist with the docket,¹⁶ Dole authored most of the decisions contained in the approximately 1,900 pages of the three volumes of court reports covering his tenure on the federal bench.¹⁷ Most were criminal and admiralty cases,¹⁸ but Dole also decided immigration, customs, bankruptcy, equity, eminent domain, and adverse possession cases.

No less than seven reported decisions between 1911 and 1913 dealt with the condemnation of Fort Street properties to construct the first federal building. Ultimately, of course, the properties were not condemned, in favor of the Merchant and Richards Streets location.

Although well known in his later years as a liberal on behalf of many causes,¹⁹ he rejected a constitutional challenge to the Territory's leprosy law that allowed the Health Department to require Kalaupapa patients to work as part of their therapy.²⁰

The Bottom Line: Diplomat, politician, statesman: Sanford Dole's place in Hawai'i's history is assured. Selected President of both the Provisional Government after Lili'uokalani's overthrow in 1893, and of the Republic of Hawai'i,²¹ he also served as the first Territorial Governor from 1900 to 1903.

As a jurist, however, his legacy is less secure. Although a few nineteenth century supreme court decisions are occasionally cited for continuing principles of jurisprudence, Dole's ringing dissents in constitutional interpretation cases and his liberal contract labor law decisions are no longer relevant to twentieth century legal or social realities. Similarly, although his federal court decisions deal with more stable law—especially admiralty and maritime law—they are not often cited, and their precedential value is marginal at best.²²

However, as one of the leaders of the 1887 revolution that resulted in the Bayonet Constitution, and of the annexation movement that paved the way for the Organic Act, Dole's legal and political influence and accomplishments—whether viewed today with favor or disfavor—remain seminal.

NOTES

1. The basic facts about Dole's life are found in his own *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, and in the biographies by Helena G. Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President*, and Ethel M. Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii, with an Analysis of Justice Dole's Legal Opinions* (for more information, see the bibliography on the bottom of page 7). Dole's opinions as an associate justice appear in *Hawai'i Supreme Court Reports*, Volumes 7 and 8 (1888–92), and his opinions as the first Hawai'i federal district court judge in *United States District Court of Hawai'i Reports*, Volumes 2, 3, and 4 (1903–1915).
2. Located in Williamstown, Massachusetts, Williams was not unlike many other New England colleges where the classical curriculum and a moral atmosphere served as the basis for training young men for professional life. The college turned out its share of clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and teachers, serving the needs of Western Massachusetts and surrounding communities in New York and Vermont. Although it aspired to be a place to which "young gentlemen from every part of the Union" resorted, the reality was otherwise when Dole attended. Nathaniel Hawthorne, attending the commencement exercises in 1838, observed in his notebook that he saw: "Country graduates—rough, brown-featured, schoolmaster-looking. . . . A rough hewn, heavy set of fellows from the hills and woods in this neighborhood; unpolished bumpkins, who had grown up as farmer-boys." The Hawai'i connection was the American Foreign Mission Movement, which brought Dole's parents to Hawai'i as missionaries, and which traces its roots at Williams to 1806.
3. Dole wrote anonymously in issues of "The Punch Bowl," which he edited, as well as under his own name in pieces published in *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.
4. Dole was recognized for his ability to speak, read, and write Hawaiian. Besides serving as a translator for legal matters and at public meetings, he translated a number of Hawaiian works, including Samuel Kamakau's accounts of Polynesian voyaging (see *Nation Within* 145).
5. In 1884 and 1886.
6. As a result of these irregularities, some argue that the Constitution of 1864 and the Session laws of the Legislature enacted since October 16, 1886, still remain in full force and have legal effect in the Hawaiian Kingdom until today. See, e.g., www.hawaiiankingdom.org/constitutional-history.shtml.
7. *The King v. Testa*, 7 Haw. 201 (1888) (Judd, C.J. and McCully and Preston, J.J.).
8. Dole's critical views of the King's behavior were well established by the time he became a justice, evidenced not only by his membership in the Hawaiian League and his participation in its activities, but also by his little-known comic operas—*Vacuum. A Farce in Three Acts. Written by S. B. Dole During the Reign of Kalakaua*, and *The Grand Duke of Gynbergdrinkenstein*—which poke fun at what he considered the corruption and incompetence that Kalakaua allowed to flourish around him. See, e.g., (Honolulu, 1886). Both plays show Dole's contempt for and suspicion about how Kalakaua handled financial matters, as well as what Dole took to be Kalakaua's vanity and over-inflated sense of self-importance. For an extended discussion of Dole's comic operas, see Michael G. Vann's article, "Contesting Cultures and Defying Dependency: Migration, Nationalism, and Identity in Late 19th Century Hawaii" (*The Stanford Humanities Review* 5.2 [1997]: 146–73; also available at www.redboat.com/mikevann/hawaiiarticle.html).
9. *Everett v. Baker*, 7 Haw. 229 (1888).
10. *In re Authority of the Cabinet*, 7 Haw. 783 (1889).
11. "There can be no dual government. There can be no authority without responsibility. The King is without responsibility. The Constitution confers the responsibility of government upon the Cabinet; they, therefore, have the authority." *Id.* at 784.
12. *Macfarlane v. Damon*, 8 Haw. 19 (1889).
13. *Hilo Sugar Co. v. Mioshi*, 8 Haw. 201 (1891). The Organic Act ultimately repealed these laws.
14. *Chong Chum v. Kobala Sugar Co.*, 8 Haw. 425 (1892). Dole, sitting as a circuit court judge, had considered the impact of an 1890 Act that restricted Chinese nationals to working as agricultural workers for a limited time, and that required an employer to deduct one-quarter of any wages until the return fare to China was accumulated. Chong Chum had contracted with the sugar company to work, but before being allowed to disembark the ship, he was required to sign a contract agreeing to the Act's requirements or face immediate return on a ship not provisioned for the return—and thus face probable death. Chong Chum signed and then sued on constitutional grounds. Dole declared the entire Act unconstitutional. On appeal, the majority held only the Act's section withholding wages was unconstitutional. In a terse one-sentence opinion, Dole simply said: "I agree with the conclusions of the Court, under the reasoning of the decision appealed from."
15. From November 18, 1903, to November 18, 1909, and from November 18, 1909, to December 16, 1915. In 1900, President William McKinley established the District Court for the Territory of Hawaii, which had the jurisdiction of other federal district courts and whose decisions could be appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. With statehood, the territorial United States District Court became an Article III court, and Hawaii became a federal judicial district with two district judges, the Honorable Martin Pence and the Honorable C. Nils Tavares.
16. George W. Woodruff (6/16/09–12/31/09), Alexander G. M. Robertson (1/25/10–3/9/11), and Charles F. Clemons (from 3/9/11).
17. From *U.S. v. Miyamura*, 2 Rpt. 1 (1903) (criminal case) to *Inter-Island Steam Navigation Co. v. Schooner Halcyon*, 4 Rpt. 640 (1915) (admiralty).
18. Admiralty courts handled cases involving seamen and high sea vessels: seamen's wages, smuggling, piracy, prize (the confiscation of enemy ships and their cargo during wartime), shipwrecks, salvage, insurance, freight and passenger contracts, bottomry (using a ship as collateral), and contracts between merchants and mariners. However, it also had civil and criminal jurisdiction over anyone having any connection to maritime transactions, including shipbuilders and dockworkers.
19. For example, he supported efforts to disseminate birth control, and refused to accept the invitation of a mainland bar association with a policy that refused admission to Negroes.
20. *In re Mikala Kaipu*, 2 Rpt. 215 (1904) (finding no involuntary servitude).
21. Some sources have incorrectly claimed that Dole maintains the singular distinction of having been the only American to serve as the chief executive of an independent foreign nation. Although the son of American citizens, Dole was born a subject of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, and was not an American subject. The only candidate for that distinction is Sam Houston, who was born an American citizen in Virginia in 1793, and served two terms as the President of the Republic of Texas.
22. Indeed, some early decisions of the federal district court, while perhaps correct at the time, were embarrassing even when decided. See, e.g., *In re Ocampo*, 4 U.S.D.C. Haw. 770 (1916), which held that Filipinos were not eligible for naturalization under existing immigration and naturalization law.

COLONIALISM IN THE PACIFIC TO 1900

by *David Hanlon*

The colonization of the Pacific Islands proved stunning in its dimensions and belated intensity. In 1875, the only islands under foreign rule were Spanish Guam, the French territories of New Caledonia and eastern Polynesia, and the British colonies of New Zealand and Fiji. By 1900, every island in Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia had come under some form of formal European jurisdiction. The reasons behind the acquisition of Pacific colonies varied. In some islands, small groups of foreigners exerted an influence disproportionate to their number, creating disorder and confusion that brought on colonization by the home countries of these groups. In Fiji, Samoa, and Tahiti, for example, foreign interests undermined efforts at indigenous, island-wide government, which themselves suffered from internal divisions and competing factions.

Rivalries among European nations drove the colonization process as well. A fear of an enhanced French presence in the Pacific, coupled with the lobbying of settlers and traders, resulted in the annexation of New Zealand, once known as Aotearoa. Arguments about the need to save Maori society from the ravages of foreign disease, guns, and alcohol placed a humanitarian veneer over the crasser objectives of colonization. Historians of British imperialism have used the word “reluctant” to describe the colonization of Pacific territory by an already over-extended, declining world power. Reluctantly or not, the Union Jack also flew over the Papua area of New Guinea, most of the Solomons, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (now Kiribati and Tuvalu), Pitcairn Island, and the Cook Islands by the end of the nineteenth century.

France responded in kind to the British colonization of the Pacific. Proponents of French expansion rationalized claims on Tahiti, the Marquesas, and New Caledonia in terms of a mission to civilize. Other nations articulated their ambitions more bluntly. Germany, late to the imperial game, viewed the acquisition of colonies as a necessary requirement for any nation-state with aspirations of greatness. As a consequence, Samoa, parts of Melanesia, and most of Micronesia came under German control. The United States disavowed any role as a colonizer, but the events of 1898—and with them the acquisition in the Pacific of Guam, the Philippines, and Hawai‘i—gave lie to this disclaimer.

The histories of colonialism in the Pacific begin not with the establishment of formal colonial rule, but with the advance agents of a decidedly different way of being in the world. Christianity and capitalist market practices brought Western notions of commerce, governance, and religion to island shores. Civilization was to be colonialism’s “gift” to the Pacific. The gift of civilization entailed enormous and disruptive change, however. The ethnographic historian Greg Dening points to the alteration of time as the most profound and fundamental of changes. In *Islands and Beaches*, he writes with specific reference to the Marquesas: “Civilizing them in essence was giving them a different sense of time. This new sense of time was not just a concern for regularity, although that was important. Making seven days in a week and one of them a Sabbath, making meal times in a day, making work time and leisure time, making sacred time and profane time laid out time in a line as it were” (Honolulu: UP of Hawaii, 1980: 264). The civilizing process, then, sought to create an emptiness in the souls of its subjects, an emptiness to be filled by a future concerned with very alien notions of order, progress, productivity, and profit. Death, however, proved the most immediate form of change. Beginning with the very first instances of contact, infectious disease brought by foreign ships caused major population decline throughout the region, with Guam, the Marquesas, and Hawai‘i experiencing a catastrophic loss of life. This depopulation continued into the twentieth century, most notably in Samoa.

Not surprisingly, violent resistance to colonialism, often sectional or localized in character, occurred. Between 1845 and 1872, a series of wars broke out between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand. There were revolts in 1878 and 1887 against French colonial rule in New Caledonia. In the eastern Carolines, Pohnpeians literally drove Spanish colonizers off their island in 1887. Resistance also showed itself in other forms, including absenteeism from mine or plantation work, the defiance of colonial laws, the persistence of cultural practices, and the disengagement or withholding of cooperation from government initiatives. In other instances, accommodation and appropriation characterized Islanders’ responses to the arrival of Euro-American ideas, methods, technologies, and material goods. The histories of colonialism in the Pacific, then, include the deflection or management of dominance, as well as its imposition.

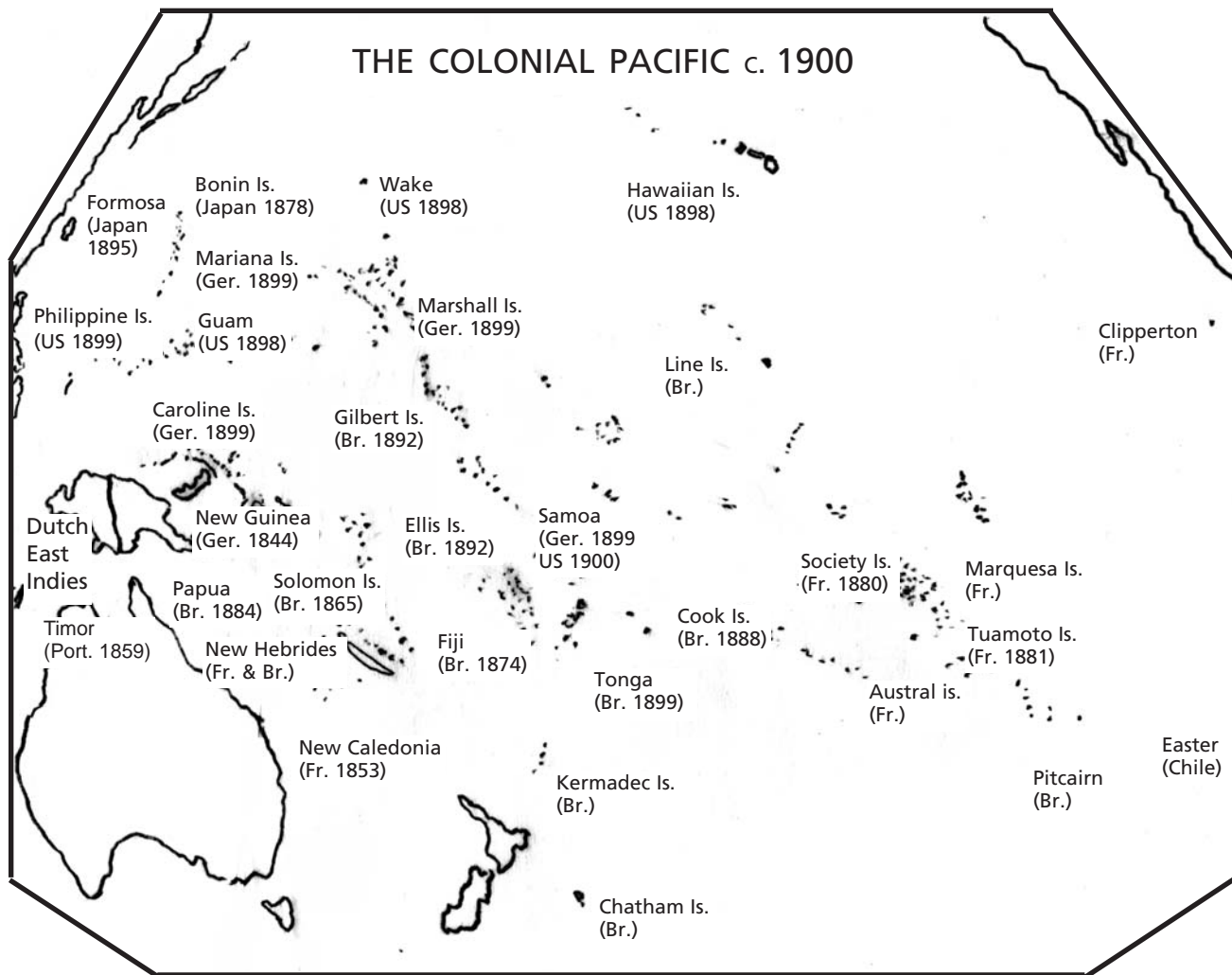
Styles of colonial rule differed. Germany initially relied on commercial enterprises such as the Jaluit Company in the Marshall Islands and the New Guinea Company in the Bismarck Archipelago area to administer its territories. Before the end of the nineteenth century, this strategy of absentee government gave way to on-site rule. Indeed, for those island polities with decentralized or diverse systems of governance, colonial administration tended to be direct.

In Fiji, the British practiced a more indirect form of government that relied in part upon the support of an existing chiefly system. British rule in Fiji is notable too for its “invention of tradition,” whereby colonial officials codified for administrative purposes an allegedly traditional land tenure system that bore no resemblance to local land practices. The oddest form of colonial governance showed itself in the New Hebrides, now Vanuatu, where the British and French formed a joint administration or condominium distinguished by its haplessness. The actual effectiveness of colonial administration also differed across the Pacific. Areas such as the New Guinea Highlands or the more remote Micronesian atolls remained largely untouched in the short term by colonial regimes that claimed jurisdiction over their peoples and resources.

To admit to the unevenness of colonialism’s reach is not to deny the effects it did have. Colonial policies worked to reshape the practices of everyday living: health, sanitation, marriage, parenting, and motherhood were all redefined. Colonialism also promoted economic modernization, directing, sometimes coercing, the participation of island peoples in a market economy, and in the process, altering social relationships, ties to the environment, and the very meaning of work. In settler colonies such as New Zealand and New Caledonia, pressing demands for land led to disputes, violence, and the displacement of indigenous peoples. The establishment of plantations or mines meant a more regulated process of economic activity that required a dependable, dependent source of labor, often recruited from islands or areas elsewhere.

Colonialism is by no means merely a political artifact of the nineteenth century Pacific. It persists as a political reality into this twenty-first century, and continues to affect as well the descendants of settler or colonizing populations. Much of our understanding of the Pacific, including the names given to various island groups and the very categories of analysis through which many of us have come to know them, are colonially constructed.

In the histories of colonialism to the end of the nineteenth century, however, there exists no other instance in which an independent, self-governing, constitutionally chartered government, such as the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, was overthrown by a population of resident foreigners with strong missionary ties and business interests.



A Sanford Dole Timeline

1844 Born at Punahou, son of 9th Company missionaries Daniel and Emily Dole; Emily dies four days after Sanford's birth	1887–1888 Bayonet Constitution; Dole appointed to Supreme Court
1855 Moves to Kōloa, Kaua'i, where his father establishes a new school	1893 Overthrow of the Monarchy; Dole becomes President of the Provisional Government
1866 Attends Williams College	1894 President of the Republic of Hawai'i
1868 Passes the Massachusetts Bar, returns to practice law in Honolulu	1900 Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i
1873 Marries Anna Cate	1903–16 Presiding Judge, Federal District Court of Hawai'i
1879 Accepts Lizzie Napoleon as <i>hānai</i> daughter	1918 Anna dies
1884 Becomes legislative representative for Līhu'e, Kaua'i	1921 Lizzie Napoleon Low dies
	1926 Dole dies in Honolulu



In September [1893], Sanford Dole fell ill and retreated from his government position to live with a Hawaiian family on the island of Hawai'i. The image of Dole as president had been perfect for Thurston's ends, at least in part because of Dole's relationships with Hawaiians. Now Dole was sick, perhaps in part because of the stress resulting from his relationships with Hawaiians. The story begins with a Hawaiian woman named Pāmaho'a, who had a large number of children, one of whom was named Puiki, or—as she was to be known subsequently—Lizzie. At the age of six, Lizzie appeared in Sanford's Sunday School class. When she was thirteen, Sanford asked Pāmaho'a if he could adopt her as “a friend and companion” (in [Ethel] Damon's words) for his wife, Anna, who often was in frail health. Pāmaho'a would not agree to a Western adoption but did agree to a Hawaiian *hānai* relationship. Although Lizzie frequently ran away from Sanford and Anna's house, each time Sanford would find her at Pāmaho'a's and patiently explain to her why she was cared for and needed. . . .

By the time Dole first worked with Thurston, Lizzie was reaching adulthood. By the time of the overthrow of the crown she was married to a part-Hawaiian rancher on Hawai'i Island, Eben Low. Sanford's wife, Anna, was uncomfortable with the relationship, but she nonetheless wrote Sanford a letter in care of Lizzie and Eben Low's house in Kohala, Hawai'i, instructing him, “Get strong and well, Sanford . . . do not use your head at all.” Anna told her friends that Sanford was suffering from overwork. He also was described as “seriously ill with ‘brain fever.’” Lili'uokalani said he was suffering from an attack of conscience.

When he recovered sufficiently to go out, he went hunting rather than return to Honolulu. With a party that prominently included Hawaiians, he rode up the east slope of Mauna Kea, the enormous peak that dominates northern Hawai'i. He described riding through groves of native trees and seeing native bird species, such as the 'iwi, with their orange-red bodies and black wings, about which he had written in his earlier life with scholarly assuredness. “All our cooking was done at the fireplace,” Dole wrote, “and we had good appetites for the good food. . . . I went on one cattle hunt—unsuccessfully, but shot a number of wild hogs and some plover.”

In Honolulu, a protégé of Dole, Francis Hatch, who held the title of vice president, served in Dole's place. It was a period of standoff between the royalist Hawaiians and the Provisional Government, and finally in mid-October Dole returned to his job as president, after an absence of more than six weeks. (*Nation Within* 146–47)

There is of course an overwhelming amount of material, in English and in Hawaiian, on the history of Hawai'i from 1844 to 1926, ranging from nineteenth century newspapers to videos and websites. The following texts are English-language starting points, chosen either because Dole is their primary focus, or because they discuss him at length as part of their historical treatment, or because they were written by Dole himself. Not surprisingly, this bibliography also lists some of the work of our speakers.

- Allen, Helena G. *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawai'i's Only President 1844–1926*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1988.
- Castle, Alfred L. “Advice for Hawaii: The Dole-Burgess Letters.” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 15 (1981): 24–30.
- . Review of *Sanford Ballard Dole*, by Helena G. Allen. *Hawaiian Journal of History* 23 (1989): 259–62.
- . “US Commercial Policy and Hawai'i, 1890–1894.” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 33 (1999): 69–82.
- Coffman, Tom. *Nation Within: The Story of America's Annexation of the Nation of Hawai'i*. Honolulu: EPICenter, 1998.
- Dole, Sanford Ballard. *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*. Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing, 1936.
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Biography Hawai'i: Documentary Lives & Public Events

Biography Hawai'i is a television documentary series that focuses on residents whose lives have had a lasting impact on these islands. Featuring people from different ethnic groups and walks of life, but with an emphasis on Hawaiian subjects, *Biography Hawai'i* will appeal to a statewide and national audience through the informative and engaging format of visual biography.

The primary sponsoring organizations are Hawai'i Public Television and the Center for Biographical Research of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. For more than a quarter of a century, Hawai'i Public Television has produced and provided programs that enlighten, enrich, and entertain the island community. The Center for Biographical Research is dedicated to the interdisciplinary and multicultural study of life writing through teaching, publication, and outreach activities.

The first six subjects will be Margaret Maiki Aiu Lake, Harriet Bouslog, Koji Ariyoshi, Princess Ruth Ke'elikōlani, Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole, and Sanford B. Dole.

Biography Hawai'i: Five Lives is a series of life history presentations cosponsored by the Center for Biographical Research and the King Kamehameha V—Judiciary History Center. These events commemorate people from diverse backgrounds, time periods, and cultural positions who have had lasting impacts on Hawai'i's history, culture, and society. The subjects for these biographical explorations are Harriet Bouslog, Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole, Princess Ruth Ke'elikōlani, Sanford B. Dole, and Margaret Maiki Aiu Lake. The public events feature discussions and commentary enhanced by readings, performance, and audiovisual material. Historical displays and informational guides complement the public events, which encourage a look at Hawai'i's history, culture, and society through the lens of biography.

For more information about either program, contact the Center for Biographical Research, 1800 East-West Road, Henke Hall 325, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822; telephone/fax: (808) 956-3774; biograph@hawaii.edu.

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*If you enjoyed this evening,
please join us for*

Maiki Aiu Lake

Thursday, November 14,
7:00 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.

Art Auditorium
2535 McCarthy Mall
UH-Mānoa Campus