Hawaii

An International Crime



By H. G. Creel



PRICE 25 CENTS

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas

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Hawaii An International Crime

By H. G. CREEL

Author of "Tricks of the Press," "Newspaper Frauds," "Prostitution for Profit," "Fact and Fraud," "Tricks of the Translators," "Hands Up," Etc.

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PREFACE

At the risk of being misunderstood I must emphasize the fact that the individuals responsible for present conditions in Hawaii are missionaries or their descendants. Since these articles appeared as a newspaper serial they have been condemned by religious papers of various denominations and by political and commercial organs seeking to becloud the issue by charging me with an attack upon religion. On the other hand at least one religious journal, *The Restitution Herald* of Oregon, Ill., has defended the missionary chapter, editorially stating that it contains "much truth."

Preceding chapter VI will be found an editorial statement that appeared in Appeal to Reason calling upon the American Board of Foreign Missions and upon the Congregational church to investigate the truth of the charges against Theodore Richards, present treasurer of the Hawaiian Mission Board. Readers of the paper were urged to communicate with the two bodies. Shortly before this book went to press I received the following letter. I have not the writer's permission to use his name, so withhold it:

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan .:

Dear Sirs—In your paper, Appeal to Reason of January 30, you published an article, "HAWAII, AN INTERNATIONAL CRIME," in which Mr. H. G. Creel makes some charges against one Theodore Richards of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. I wrote the American board and received a reply from the main office at Boston saying they never had a missionary by that name. What do you say about it? Very truly,

Upon receipt of that letter the following was dispatched to the Boston office of the American Board:

Dear Sirs—I have recently returned from Hawaii where I found an unlooked for condition relative to missionaries. I learned that the present treasurer of the Hawaiian board, Mr. Theodore Richards, is owner of some of the worst property in Honolulu and until very recently was

owner of the notorious "Camp 2." Will you please advise if Mr. Richards has any connection with your organization? I understand that he is not an ordained minister.

With best wishes, I am, very truly,

H. G. CREEL.

To that letter the following reply was received:

Boston, Mass., May 20, 1915.

Mr. H. G. Creel, Girard, Kan.:

My Dear Mr. Creel—Mr. Theodore Richards of Honolulu has no official relations with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Sincerely,

JAMES L. BARTON.

I have not my correspondent's letter to the Board, so do not know the exact wording of that communication. However, the reply he received could readily be misconstrued as a sweeping denial of my charges, generalized under the broad statement that the Board had "never had a missionary by that name." At best the reply is evasive. I charged that Mr. Richards was "treasurer" of the Hawaiian Board, handling and disbursing its funds; that he held a position of power and authority with the consent and by the sanction of certain missionaries; not that he, personally, had been sent to Hawaii by the American Board.

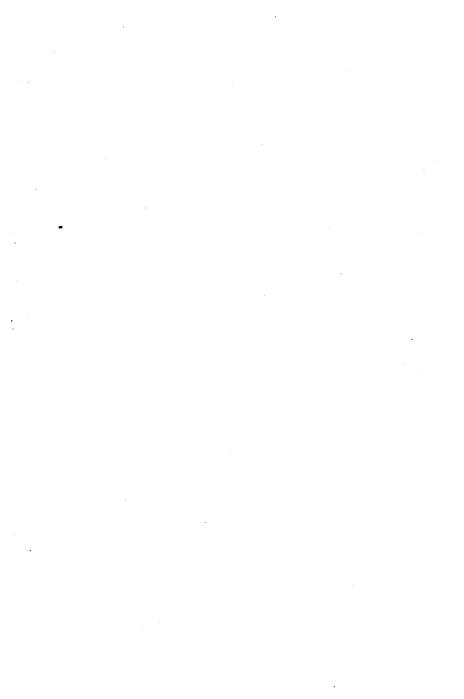
In answer to my very definite letter specifically asking if Mr. Richards had "any connection" with the organization, the Board replies that he has no "official relations" with it. In view of the answer to my correspondent I am justified in assuming that the American Board draws a fine distinction between "connection" and "relations."

Chapter VI stands today exactly as upon the day it was written. It is the cold-blooded truth and neither evasive letters nor denunciation can change the hitherto suppressed facts of the situation.

H. G. C.

CONTENTS

Chapt	er. Pa	ge.			
I.	Early Hawaii	ç			
II.	Heathen Religion and Customs	14			
III.	Early Missionaries.	19			
IV.	Religious Clashes	23			
v.	"Business" Versus Missions	27			
VI.	Modern Missionaries	33			
VII.	Why We Were Annexed	4 2			
VIII.	The Japanese Canefield Strike	4 6			
ĪX.	The Japs and Russians Meet	53			
x.	Taming the Russians	59			
XI.	Leprosy	64			
XII.	Law and Industry	68			
XIII.	The Social Evil	74			
XIV.	Conclusion	79			
APPENDIX					
Presid	ential Message on Attempt to Illegally Annex Hawaii in				
	1893	83			
Milita	ry Conscription for Hawaii in 1915	89			
Inale I	Josk London on Hawaii				



HAWAII

An International Crime

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HAWAII.

LOHA!" The greeting to the stranger touching Hawaii, the word he hears most while there and the farewell shouted by natives as he steams away is "Aloha."

It means love, affection, good wishes, kindly concern, sympathy, rejoicing, sorrow, greeting, goodbye. Anything and everything good that you could possibly wish the one dearest your heart is expressed in "Aloha."

It is typical of the native Hawaiians. They are the most kindly, the least resentful and probably the most cruelly outraged of all peoples civilized within recent times. The history of their exploitation, the blight of capitalism and the present condition of their islands is enough to make every white man in creation hide his face for shame.

There are ten islands in the group, only eight of which are habitable. Their total area is 6,100 square miles, most of it extremely mountainous.

The natives, men and women, are splendidly built, strong, lithe and well featured. They have straight, black hair and their skin is neither black nor brown, but a shade between the two.

Captain Cook discovered the islands in 1778. He was received kindly by the natives who thought him a god. He and his crew soon disgusted the Hawaiians, however, with their licentious treatment of native women and later, when a fight ensued between them, he was killed.

Cook estimated the island population at approximately 400,-

000. Today the natives number less than 30,000. That is one thing civilization has done for them.

There was practically no disease among them when the white man came. Cook's crew introduced the curse peculiar to civilization which, coupled with measles, also imported, swept away 200,000 of them in 58 years. The Chinese brought them leprosy.

To this day there is not a venomous reptile nor a poisonous plant or vine in all Hawaii. Flies and mosquitoes were unknown till the ships of the white man brought them.

Wild fruits grew in abundance. For the mere trouble of gathering them the native had cocoanuts, dates, bananas, guavas, plantain, yams, mountain apples, water lemons and bread-fruit. The waters teemed with fish and the forests yielded hogs and wild fowl. There was plenty for all and to spare. Today there are 110 charity organizations in Honolulu alone, a city of less than 60.000.

Polygamy was practiced, a man having from one to a dozen wives. Women did most of the work and men lived off their labor as is common among savages—before and after the age of sugar plantations, canning factories, laundries, cotton and silk mills, department stores, restaurants, etc., etc. Women could not eat in the same house with men nor at the same time as the men. They were forbidden to eat dainties, plantain, bananas, cocoanuts and certain varieties of delicately flavored fish, sacred to their lords.

As late as 20 years ago it was the custom that a guest be furnished one of his host's daughters for his entertainment. Hospitality decreed that the host first offer one of his wives. Etiquette required that she be refused by the visitor, whereupon a daughter was offered and accepted. This was the custom exactly as we give a guest the best room in the house. Due to this practice, and the general looseness of personal morals, descent was always traced from the mother. It was seldom known who was the father of a child, but there was never any doubt as to who was his mother. Therefore, children took their mothers' names, and ancestry was always traced through generations of women.

The men were warriors. They fought without shields, dodging the lances and war clubs or catching them with bare hands.

Their dress was even scantier than that of the women, consisting of nothing but a narrow loin cloth. This was the dress of commoners. As their rank ascended they wore more and more tapestry.

The tabu (from which we get out word "taboo") was a vicious custom used to keep the people in subjection to rulers and the native priesthood. It was a command to do certain things or not to do certain things. The meaning of tabu is "do or die." Death was the usual penalty for violation of a tabu.

There was a perpetual tabu upon crossing the king's shadow, standing in his presence or approaching him in any manner except on the knees. But this did not apply to certain chiefs and priests who had tabu rights. Beautiful paths through the forests, bathing places and certain streams were tabued to the private use of nobles and priests. If a king, noble or priest happened upon an especially desirable spring he announced that it was tabu, and from that time on the common people could not use it. (In another chapter you shall learn of the modern, highly civilized method of tabuing springs.)

Hawaiians were never cannibals, though in their savage state they offered human sacrifices. This was generally done before engaging in war. The first prisoners taken in any battle were held until another war broke out, when they were promptly put to death to insure victory.

The largest extinct volcano in the world is in the group. Its crater is more than 20 miles in circumference. The largest active volcano, also, is on the islands. In early times the volcanos were supposed to be inhabited by a number of deities, chief of whom was Pele, a spirit that frequently took on the form of a beautiful woman, mingled with human society and had many and wonderful love affairs. When a volcano was in eruption Pele was supposed to be angry because the natives had not thrown sufficient offerings of meat and fruit into the crater. Human beings were never sacrificed to her. Nevertheless Pele was one of the most feared of all their heathen gods.

A curious thing happened in 1882. A volcano was in violent eruption and a broad stream of fiery lava had flowed 25 miles from its crater. The river of fire was moving slowly, but with terrible certainty straight for the village of Hilo. Trenches



were digged and walls were raised, but the molten mass filled the ditches and consumed the walls. It was within a few miles of Hilo. The village was doomed.

In Honolulu lived an old chiefess, Ruth, a sister of two for-She liked the whites so little that she refused to either learn or speak their language. She scorned their religion and was a bitter foe of the missionaries. When she learned of the danger to Hilo she said. "I will save the village. Pele will listen to one who has not forsaken the gods of Hawaii." The next day she went to Hilo, accompanied by a number of attend-In her company was Princess Liliuokalani, destined later to reign over the islands as queen. Ruth's attendants erected an altar straight in the path of the on-coming fire. The aged woman ascended the altar, faced the lava and began her worship of Pele. At her direction fruits, fowls, pigs and other offerings were thrown into the stream. And then, with arms uplifted, Ruth sent forth the wild chants of her ancestors and supplicated the heathen She begged forgiveness for the sins of her people in forsaking the gods of Hawaii for the gods of the whites. With impassioned voice she asked for a miracle that they might be turned again to the worship of their native gods. At nightfall Ruth bade the people have no fear and she returned to Honolulu.

Before daybreak the stream of lava stopped!

No, it isn't a fairy tale. Neither is it a heathen legend. The hardened front of the lava stream now stands like a wall before Hilo. The whole thing happened but 32 years ago, during the life of, and was witnessed by, many white people now residents of Hawaii. Even the missionaries admit it. They say it was an act of the devil to undo their work among the natives.

Explain it? I can't. You try.

One thing is certain: It did much to revive the natives' faith in their heathen forms of worship.

And because their early forms of worship were marvelously like those of the Old Testament Bible they were made to play an important part in the white man's exploitation of the island people. You'll be amazed to learn that a thousand years before the white man came they had legends of and believed in a trinity of gods. They had legends of the creation of the world, the creation of man and the making of woman from one of his ribs.

Their stories tell that these two displeased the gods and were driven from a beautiful garden. The older son of their union killed his younger brother. Their chants tell of a universal flood, the building of an ark, the sign of the rainbow, etc., etc. Ten hundred years before they saw white men they had a legend of a Hawaiian Joshua who caused the sun to stand still and a story of an island Jonah, upset in his canoe, swallowed by a great fish and later cast up on the beach.

And here's even a greater wonder: By no manner of means could these legends have been given them by Christians. Then where did they get them?

CHAPTER II.

HEATHEN RELIGION AND CUSTOMS.

THE following Hawaiian legends are authentic and accurate in detail I have them from very old natives, educated and uneducated, from the poorest up to members of the royal family. I have verified their versions by personal talks with missionaries, by printed histories and by documents in the archives of Hawaii.

The legends are strikingly like Old Testament Bible stories, yet they were not given the Hawaiians by Christians. They have been handed down in story and song for more than a thousand years, centuries before the white man came.

Here is their story of creation:

In the beginning there were three gods, Kane, Ku and Lono. These three were one. The name of the trinity was Hikapoloa. There was no earth, no light, sun, moon nor stars. Chaos ruled the universe. The trinity willed that light appear and it came. Then they made three heavens, a dwelling place for each. And then, in the following order, the earth, sun, moon and stars.

Next they made many angels to serve them.

After all that was done they created man. His body was fashioned from red dust or earth, mixed with the spittle of Kane. His head was formed from whitish clay brought by Lono from widely separated parts of the earth. The man was fashioned in the image of Kane who, when the work was completed, breathed the breath of life into his nostrils and the red dust and whitish clay became a living being.

Sometime after the man fell into a deep sleep, a rib was taken from his side and from that rib woman was made.

The man and the woman were placed in a beautiful garden through which ran three streams of life-giving water. All sorts of tropical fruits grew in the garden, among which was the *tabued* (forbidden) "breadfruit tree" and the "sacred apple tree." In some way not made clear by the legends these trees were responsible for the fall of the man and woman and their expulsion from the garden.

Another legend tells that the Hawaiian satan crept into the

garden in the form of a lizard (snakes are unknown in Hawaii) and tempted the man and woman.

They had three sons in this order—Laka, Ahu and Ka Pili. The legend says that "Laka was a bad man and killed his bother, Ahu."

In course of time the trinity decided to destroy the earth by water. But there lived a man whom they wished to save. His name was Nuu. They told him to build a great canoe and put a top on it. When it was finished he and his wife entered, his three sons and their wives and a male and female of every living thing. Then the waters came and covered the earth. How long the ark floated is not told, but after awhile the waters went down and it rested on top of a mountain.

When Nuu came from the ark he saw the moon shining and, mistaking the light for the god, Kane, offered a sacrifice to the moon. This angered Kane who made a rainbow by which he descended to earth and upbraided the Hawaiian Noah. Nuu convinced him that he had honestly mistaken the moon for the god, however, and Kane relented. As a perpetual reminder of his forgiveness he left the rainbow in the sky.

I asked a Hawaiian how both the moon and a rainbow could be visible at night. He told me of the "lunar" or moonlight rainbow (which I have since seen) and then asked me if there were any horses in the white man's heaven. I told him no. Immediately he demanded to know what became of the horses that carried Elijah's chariot to heaven!

Unlike most savages the Hawaiians did not believe that their islands were the entire world. There are several legends about the creation of the group. One is that a great bird laid an egg in the Pacific ocean. It was hatched by the warm winds of the tropics and so the islands came into existence. Another chant says that originally there were but two islands, that they married and all the others are their children.

There is an account of a Hawaiian Jonah who displeased the gods, was upset in his canoe, swallowed by a great fish and later cast up on the beach.

Maui is the name of the Hawaiian Joshua. His mother, Hina, made kapas, cloth beaten from the bark of trees. The process required considerable dampening of the cloth which must



Hawaiian Dancing Girls.

be thoroughly dried in the sun before ready for use. But the days were too short. There was much more darkness than light. The sun "moved" too quickly. Maui, through love for his mother, determined to make the sun "go" more slowly. Its rays or beams were supposed to have been "legs" by which it "walked" across the earth. The man wove a strong cord from the fiber of cocoanut husks. With this he went to the top of a mountain where the sun "started" each morning, made a noose and snared one of its "legs." Having caught the leg he broke it off. He repeated this day after day until the sun "stopped" to parley with him. Maui agreed to break off no more "legs" if the sun would consent to "walk" more slowly. The bargain was entered into and so, says the legend, the days became longer. The mountain where all this took place can still be seen in Hawaii; its native name means "sun snarer."

Let me repeat that the whites did not give these tales to the natives for until the missionaries came in 1820 Hawaiians had never heard the story of Jesus. Christians, even had an unrecorded company landed there a thousand years ago, would not have related the Old Testament to the people and completely ignored the New. There are a number of theories, the most likely of which is that originally the Hawaiians came from some of the old tribes of Israel and brought their Israelitic legends with them. In the course of centuries these were modified to fit existing conditions and in that form were handed down from generation to generation. I met missionaries who said they believed the Hawaiians a part of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

Native houses were constructed of grass, woven twigs and leaves over a framework of upright and horizontal poles. An ideal "home" consisted of six separate houses; one was an idol house; another, an eating house for males; another, an eating house for females; another, the private eating house of the native's favorite wife; another, the work house of the women and still another was set aside as a nursery. If a native could not afford so many houses he did with less, sometimes reduced to one large dwelling in which case it was partitioned off to meet these requirements. I shall remind you of this in a coming chapter when we visit the tenements of Honolulu and see the

miserable, crowded conditions under the white man's civilization. It is a shameful contrast with "savage" conditions.

They were, and are, the finest swimmers in the world. Native boys now swim out to meet incoming vessels and dive for coins thrown into the sea.

An early superstition was that a native priest could bring death upon any one by praying for it. But to do this he must have something intimately associated with the intended victim—a lock of his hair, a bracelet, a finger nail or even some of his spittle. Therefore, the position of *ipukuha* (spittoon bearer) to a king, a noble or a chief was a place of distinction and responsibility.

Men, women and children wore garlands of flowers with which the islands abounded. The custom is still retained. The Hawaiian will do without food to purchase a *lei* (pronounced "lay") or wreath of flowers to adorn a friend or himself.

As natural musicians they are unequaled. If you want to know something more about this side of the natives step into some music store and ask to hear the Hawaiian record, "Aloha oe."

Music and flowers were their two great passions. Even now the soft Hawaiian twilight is a signal for the wonderful delicate "thruming" of native instruments, the crooning of indescribably sweet lullabyes and, finally, full throated song under the wonderful tropical moon. Seated beneath the palms they seem to slip back into the ages, five hundred and a thousand years ago, back to the days of their ancestors and in fancy they worship at the shrines of the gods of their fathers.

And that, "the gods of their fathers," brings us down to April 19, 1820, when the first missionaries landed. They came from New England, from the state of Massachusetts. Certain things happened after, and because of, their coming.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY MISSIONARIES.

AWAII is owned, controlled and ruled by missionaries. The first to land were Protestants and came from the United States in 1820. From that time to the present nothing of importance has happened in the islands but missionaries or their children have taken a prominent part, if not the leading role.

Today they live in the finest houses, drive the fastest automobiles, have the largest strings of servants, own most of the property, are the most lavish entertainers and the greatest exploiters of labor in the territory.

If the average Hawaiian wishes to express all the contempt of which he is capable; if he wants to crowd into one word all the rancor and ill-will of his being he calls his enemy a "missionary." That, to him, is the most expressive term in his mixed vocabulary. When applied by one native to another it means fight.

The record of missionary activity in Hawaii is not a pleasant one. I do not know if the same record applies to other foreign fields or not. In writing these articles I have no prejudices and no interest other than to reach rock-bottom, reveal actual conditions and show the causes of the impending international crime. I mean to be absolutely fair.

To be fair, then, the missionaries should be given full credit for reducing the Hawaiian language to written form, establishing schools, teaching the natives to read and write and instructing them in sanitation and medicine. They did this and did it well. But on the religious side the fruits of their labors have been disappointing.

When the missionaries came they taught the natives in substance as follows:

"Your religion is all wrong and ours is all right. If you believe in our God you'll go to heaven. If you do not believe in our God you will go to hell."

"Then all our forefathers are burning in hell," wailed the natives.

"No! no!" consoled the white men. "God is merciful. He does not damn the heathen who have never heard the gospel and,

therefore, never could have disbelieved. Your forefathers are all in heaven. They could not have disbelieved."

Then the native sat under a cocoanut palm and reasoned it out like this:

"If I believe in the white man's God I'll go to heaven. If I do not believe in the white man's God I'll go to hell. But if I never hear of the whiteman's God I cannot disbelieve and I'll go to heaven anyway. By refusing to hear the missionary I'll make sure of heaven."

Not all took that position, of course, but many did. I met some who told me they ran whenever a missionary tried to talk with them. "Don't you want to hear about heaven?" I asked. "No," they replied. "We want it to be a surprise. We'll all go to heaven if we never hear the missionary."

A few natives are wealthy and some of them well educated. Said one of the latter to me:

"If your religious philosophy is correct missionaries have never saved a single heathen soul, but have actually sent countless thousands to eternal torment. They knew before they came that some of us could not believe and that others would not believe. All who do not believe, you tell us, are burning in a lake of fire. Yet heaven would have been peopled with 'heathen' had the missionaries stayed away."

I asked a missionary about it.

"Yes," he remarked, "we've heard it before. And there's an element of logic in what they say. But that does not relieve us of our responsibility. We are commanded to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every living creature. If we disobey we must answer with the loss of our own souls. Our duty is clear."

When I repeated that to my Hawaiian acquaintance he observed:

"Exactly! It's their souls or ours. There are thousands of us—there used to be hundreds of thousands of us—and a handful of missionaries, in an effort to save their individual souls, are willing to risk damning thousands of us to hell. Do you think God will reward such selfish people? We do not."

Right or wrong this is the philosophy with which the missionary must contend.

In a Honolulu Joss house the Chinese priest showed me through and invited questions. He even urged that I pick flaws in idol worship. I did so.

Before half a dozen idols great feasts were spread. There were dozens of bowls of rice with chop sticks, platters of chicken breast and duck, choice cuts of pork, fruit in profusion, dishes heaped with dainty cakes and other delicious-looking food in abundance.

"What is that for?" I asked, pointing to the food.

"All same eat," responded the priest.

"For the god to eat? that one there?" I questioned, pointing.

"You savy," he smiled. "All same eat. No be hungry then. All same."

"How often do you put out fresh food?"

"Ever' day."

"Does he ever eat it?" I asked, my lip curling.

"No."

"Don't you grow tired putting it there each day when he never eats? Don't you sometimes think that maybe your god is just wood and not a god at all?"

"Now me all same savy you (I'll make you understand)," beamed the priest. "Him no eat, test Chinaman's faith. You savy? All same you pray. God no answer prayer. You say 'All light (all right), God know best. God all same test Christian's faith.' You catch um? (Do you understand?) All same China god no eat, test Chinaman's faith. Savy? Some day him be hungry. Then, if Chinaman been all same faithful, plenty good food ready. You savy faith? China god all same test Chinaman's faith. Chinaman no fool. Chinaman all same have plenty faith. Savy?"

I "savyed." Also I gained a wholesome respect for the Chinese religionist's point of view, mistaken though it seems.

Sixty-six years ago all land was owned by the king and his chiefs and the mass of the Hawaiian people were landless. Missionaries brought about a readjustment by which the king retained one-third, one third was divided among the chiefs and the remaining third distributed among the common people. Foreigners could not own land at the time of the readjustment. Today

missionaries are the largest landlords on the islands and the mass of the Hawaiian people are again landless.

Missionary influence and evidence of their work is everywhere. A Japanese Salvation Army—a branch of the Booth organization—was one of the first things to attract my attention in Honolulu. Soldiers, songs, prayers, sermons and testimonies were all in Japanese. The only thing that looked like home was the collection. United States coins landed on the drum with a familiar "thump." In another part of town I saw four intoxicated men, each tightly grasping a quart bottle of beer by the neck and singing in unison, "Nearer, My God, To Thee."

A feature of early missionary work was "missionary marriages" back in the United States. None but married couples were sent out by the American mission board—and most of the applicants were single. I quote the following from the December, 1902, number of *The Friend*, official organ of the Hawaiian mission board, published in Honolulu:

"The candidates . . . upon offering themselves to the board were somewhat surprised and even startled when confronted with the decided matrimonial policy it had adopted. . . . The board virtually said to the candidates, 'You are enlisted, but get married by the middle of next week.' . . . The board, itself, served as a matrimonial bureau and . . . a candidate . . . was confidentially allowed to inspect the list of females who had signified their willingness to join the mission. . . It was assumed that the nature of the cause justified these hasty marriages."

In another chapter you'll be dumbfounded to find these same men and women denouncing "hasty marriages" among the Hawaiians.

To their credit, though, it must be recorded that they prevailed upon the king to issue an edict forbidding the practice of furnishing crews of visiting vessels with native girls and women to despoil. This was done as an act of hospitality, never as a commercial proposition. The new law had been in effect two years when the United States armored schooner "Dolphin" cast anchor in Honolulu harbor and its commander threatened to shell the city unless the old order were restored. His demands were finally complied with,

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS CLASHES.

ROM Captain Cook's discovery in 1778 down to 1824 Hawaii had special fascination for crews of whalers, tramp vessels, buccaneers and pirates. Native hospitality decreed that male guests be furnished females for their entertainment. When a visitor, native or white, put up at a Hawaiian's home for the night he was offered one of his host's wives. Politeness required that he refuse the wife, whereupon a daughter was offered and accepted. This was the custom exactly as we offer a guest the best room in the house during his stay. The practice was not only immoral, but was spreading disease and death. Missionaries prevailed upon the king to forbid it.

It remained for the United States armored schooner, "Dolphin," Lieutenant John Percival in command, to secure the law's repeal. This vessel anchored in Honolulu harbor January 23, 1826. When Percival and his men learned of the new law which had then been in force for two years they were furious. The lieutenant called on the queen regent in person and demanded that the old order be restored, threatening violence.

"My vessel is small, but she is just like fire," he said.

A few days later his crew attacked the royal dwelling place and did considerable damage to the mission property also. That evening Percival repeated his demands, saying his ship would shell the town if the law were not repealed. Intimidated by his threats the measure was abolished, the crews of all vessels given full license and native women were again turned over to the lust of visitors. The "Dolphin" stayed in port two months taking full advantage of the restored "privileges."

Up to 1827 only Protestant missionaries came to Hawaii. The first Catholic missionaries came on the French ship, "Comet," which reached Honolulu July 7, 1827. Immediately there began a rivalry between the two, Protestant missionaries bringing strong pressure to bear on the king which finally resulted in an order for the deportation of the Catholics. They were not deported at once, however.

On the 8th of August, 1829, an order was published forbid-

ding natives to attend Catholic worship. Those who disobeyed were imprisoned and punished with hard labor. This was meted out to men and women alike. A Prussian vessel happened in port and the king appealed to the commander to take the Catholic priests abroad and thus put an end to religious antagonism. But the captain, seeing the dilemma of the king, demanded a cash payment of \$5,000. When this was refused he sailed without the priests. Later a native vessel was fitted out at an expense of several thousand dollars and in this the priests were deported and landed safely at San Pedro, Cal., January 28, 1832.

In 1837 the same priests returned and were again deported. The persecution of natives who had embraced Catholicism continued and was supported by Protestant missionaries. They told the king that the new religion would lead him and his people back to idol worship. This is proved by a letter in the Hawaiian archives written in 1838 by the king to the captain of a British sloop-of-war. "What shall we do?" asked the king. "Shall we return to idolatry and the shedding of blood?"

The French sixty-gun frigate, *Artemise*, Captain Leplace in command, settled the religious controversy on July 9, 1839. On that day the captain presented the following demands to be accepted "either by force or by persuasion":

"1. That the Catholic worship be declared free throughout all the islands subject to the king.

"2. That a site at Honolulu for a Catholic church be given by the government.

"3. That all Catholics imprisoned on account of their religion be immediately set at liberty.

"4. That the king place in the hands of the captain of the *Artemise* the sum of \$20,000 as a guarantee of his future conduct toward France; to be restored when it shall be considered that the accompanying treaty will be faithfully complied with.

"5. That the treaty, signed by the king, as well as the money, be brought on board the frigate *Artemise* by a principal chief; and that the French flag be saluted with 21 guns."

The king was given 24 hours in which to sign. He was on a neighboring island and knew nothing of the demands. Natives hurriedly manned a canoe and made all speed to reach him. It was impossible for the canoe to return to Honolulu within the

limit of 24 hours, but the frigate delayed bombardment another half day during which the king arrived. He was told bluntly that he must sign or witness the devastation of his islands and the slaughter of his people. He agreed to the conditions, signed the demands and scraped his treasury to deliver the \$20,000.

The next morning Captain Leplace picked 150 men from his crew who, with loaded guns and fixed bayonets and accompanied by the ship's band, marched to a thatched building belonging to the king. There a grand military mass was celebrated by missionaries who came from the war ship. The impressive service concluded with the *Te Deum*.

But the French captain had not finished. The next night he presented another set of demands which the king was told he must sign before breakfast or suffer bombardment. When he asked for time in which to consult with his chiefs it was refused. Thoroughly cowed and utterly helpless, the king signed. The most important clause was the sixth which provided that—

"French merchandise, especially wine or brandy, shall not be prohibited, nor pay a higher duty than five per cent ad valorem."

The foregoing is a concrete case in which the same vessel carried missionaries and rum to the Hawaiian people. Having established new brands of intoxicants and religion the *Artemise* sailed without exacting further concessions or cash payments.

It was about this time that S. N. Castle and Amos S. Cooke, two Protestant missionaries, came to the islands. Their descendants are probably the most powerful political and economic factors in Hawaii. The firm of Castle and Cooke is a close corporation capitalized at \$2,000,000. It is but one of the many holdings of the two families.

From the introduction of religious differences the record of what happened to the Hawaiian people has been a disgrace to civilization. This is not said with regard to any particular religion or church. Catholic France made the demands above given. They were followed by similar demands from Protestant England (even to the salute of 21 guns to the British flag) and wrung from the natives under the guns of the British frigate, Carysfort. Among other things the British demanded \$80,000, making the French robbery merciful by comparison. Missionaries advised the king to refuse the amount and cede his kingdom to France

and the United States—the two countries from which the missionaries came—but he, beginning to distrust them, refused to do so. Instead, he signed a provisional cession of the islands to Lord George Pailet, an Englishman, "subject to the decision of the British government." The decision of the British government was that it did not care for the islands, so they remained in the king's possession—for a while.

It is a fact that a very definite plot was then engineered to deprive the natives of their land. In that plot missionaries actively at work preaching the gospel were used as willing or as unwilling tools. In the archives of Hawaii I found letters nearly one hundred years old, correspondence between missionaries, clinching and proving the conspiracy. The letters are admitted to be absolutely genuine, yet they have never appeared in any history of Hawaii. They, the plot they disclose and the interests that have kept them buried in the archives, form a chapter by themselves.

The evidence produced in the next chapter will be turned to any missionary board that requests it or to any church governing body that cares to learn, definitely, what use was made of money contributed to the support of missionaries sent to Hawaii.

CHAPTER V.

"BUSINESS" VERSUS MISSIONS.

HIS is an actual account of how the penny contributions of children, the proceeds of ladies' aid societies and the missionary donations of earnest men and women were made to serve the ends of Big Business in Hawaii. I was threatened, pleaded with and begged to suppress what I am about to write, yet none of those who talked with me even pretended that my story would be untrue in any particular.

By 1840 children of the first missionaries were beginning to reach young manhood and young womanhood. While retaining much of the missionary spirit (which they foster to this day) they also possessed a decided Yankee spirit for accumulating wealth. Some of the later arrivals, too, seem to have been more interested in laying foundations for fortunes and in teaching the natives commercialism than in teaching them Christianity. These two, the rising generation of missionaries and the later arrivals, sent out by the American mission board, looked about and saw a wonderfully fertile country going to waste. That is, it was going to waste as far as the whites were concerned, for the Hawaiians, growing skeptical, had decreed that no foreigner could own land in fee simple.

In the Hawaiian archives I dug up personal correspondence between missionaries—original letters, not copies nor duplicates—and reports between various missionary stations written in 1846. These letters and reports not only verify the scheme to render the Hawaiian people landless, they constitute the plot. They have never been published in any history of Hawaii because, as the Honolulu librarian smilingly told me, "All the histories have been written by missionaries." While this is not literally true it is essentially so and those few histories not actually written by missionaries have been written under missionary influence and censorship. The suppressed list of questions I shall quote was sent to all missionary stations in Hawaii in 1846 by R. C. Wylie, Hawaiian minister of foreign affairs. There is nothing in the rapidly decaying documents to indicate for whose benefit the information was obtained



Cocoanut palms.

When Mark Twain visited Hawaii he said the cocoanut palm reminded him of a feather duster struck by lightning. except the absolute certainty that it was not for the benefit of the people who gave of their meager means to support the missionaries nor for the benefit of the mass of Hawaiian people.

From the list of 116 questions I shall quote the most important, giving the questions in italics and answers to a few of them in roman type. The names following answers in quotations are the names of missionaries signed to these reports. My comments are enclosed in parenthesis. To get the full significance of the scheme it must be kept in mind that no foreigner could own land in Hawaii when this list was sent out and that that fact was known to every man who had anything to do with asking, answering or tabulating the questions. The document is entitled

Questions.

Which each missionary is respectfully requested to answer, so far as possible, according to the best of his knowledge and belief and afterwards, from his station every year, arranging with the missionaries at the adjoining stations so as, if possible, to embrace the whole islands.

- 1. How many males under ten years of age?
- 2. How many females under ten years of age?

(The next 12 questions are similar and refer to a census of natives.)

- 18. Laborers, able bodied, male and female?
- 20. Daily wages paid to laborers computed in cash, not including provisions?

(Twelve and one-half cents a day was the reported average.)

21. Sum required for food by a laborer per day?

(The estimates ranged from two cents a day to ten cents a day.)

25. How the moral and physical welfare of the natives is affected by excessive unpaid labor exacted of them?

(Somebody was using missionaries to learn if slavery in Hawaii would be profitable.)

32. What amount of foreign merchandise may be consumed yearly in your district?

"Some six thousand dollars probably for the last year or two; probably more. Mr. McLane's fifty or more laborers consume at least half of this sum."—Lyman.

48. Have the natives any means for buying land or cattle, that is, can they pay for them?

"Why not? Horses they can and do purchase. Could they not easily buy cattle and a few acres of land and pay for them? So I tell them."—Green.

63. Prevailing vices with their causes and suggestions for their removal.

"Licentiousness is the prevailing vice in this district as it is of the entire islands. More married persons than unmarried are guilty of the sin, thus adding adultery to uncleanness. Of the causes that lead to this destructive vice I will say something. 1. The haste and thoughtlessness with which people enter into the marriage relation."—Green.

73. Cause of the decrease in population?

"Conversing with the late Kuokini on a particular occasion, he asked me, 'Why did not our children die as frequently in the time of our dark-heartedness as they do now?" This question puzzled me at the time and it does now. One of the physicians now living in the United States attributes the decrease in population to oppression."—Coan.

102. If capitalists should apply their capital to any considerable extent to the purpose of agriculture, could they depend upon a sufficiency of native labor and at what wages per day?

116. Have the natives generally, who are church members, become in reality such Christians as to understand and regard the obligations of an oath the same as other Christians and would an oath have the same effect upon their conduct?

The most remarkable thing about this document, from a missionary point of view, is that in a list of 116 questions relative to the heathen there is not one word about their souls' salvation nor the slightest intimation that such a person as Jesus Christ ever lived or died. Missionaries sent to preach the gospel were being used as tools by a gang of commercial pirates who might "apply their capital."

For pure gall and triple-plated nerve I refer you to question 48, "Have the natives any means for buying land?" etc. It was the natives' land that the question referred to. Captain Cooke had discovered it less than 38 years before. According to native law none but Hawaiians could legally buy land. But interested parties were looking ahead to the time when they should rob the native and then sell back to him his own land taken by force or trickery.

Do you wonder that for one native to call another a "missionary" means fight?

In his answer to question 63 Missionary Green denounces "hasty marriages" among natives and overlooks the fact that the same thing was then taking place among candidates for the foreign field.

Histories of Hawaii have much to say about infanticide and the terrible manner in which Hawaiians killed their children. This is a sample:

"Infanticide was fearfully prevalent, and there were few of the older women at the date of the abolition of idolatry who had not been guilty of it. It was the opinion of those best informed that two-thirds of all the children born were destroyed in infancy by their parents."

It is from Alexander's "Brief History of the Hawaiian People," published by the American Book Company, the school book trust, and used in the public schools of Hawaii. Missionary Coan's answer to question 73 says nothing about infanticide. Instead, he quotes a native father who cries that more children die "now" than in the day of their idolatry or "darkheartedness." Mr. Coan admits this and says it puzzles him. Evidently neither the missionary nor the native knew much about infanticide in that early time, 1846. But histories of today are replete with stories of it and the great service rendered to humanity by missionaries when they prevailed upon natives to abandon it.

At a monster meeting in the Hawaii opera house, Honolulu, I put the question to the audience and natives vehemently denied that their forefathers were given to the slaughter of

children. Missionaries in the audience were just as positive that the practice obtained. The oral testimony of aged natives, verified by the written testimony of Mr. Coan, lends weight to the Hawaiians' complaint that their history and the record of the lives of their fathers, have been written by the white man and colored by him to suit himself. That is why many of them cling to their old legends and will have none of the written history.

Question 102 shrieks its own comment and the fact that it has been suppressed in all Hawaiian histories shows to what extent commercial interests have dictated the written record of the islands and their development.

Just how sincere were those Yankee business interests which, from time to time, donated to foreign missions is shown by the last question, No. 116. It is asked, pointedly, if the heathen have been Christianized to the point where they can bind them with an oath.

The questions were sent to the missionaries in 1846. By 1848 the answers had been received and passed on to those interested. During the next two years more pressure was brought to bear on the king and in 1850 came the readjustment in land laws by which foreigners could buy and hold land in fee simple.

Then began the real exploitation of the islands and their people.

CHAPTER VI.

MODERN MISSIONARIES.

(The following offer, made in Appeal to Reason for January 30, 1915, was accepted by neither organization:)

In this installment Mr. Creel makes what are probably the most series charges ever preferred against a set of commercial pirates hiding their villainy under the cloak of self-sacrifice, charity and religion. If the charges are untrue Creel should be exposed and jailed. If they are true the rascals implicated should be torn from cover and held up to the scorn of civilization. Nor should the fact that these men are missionaries shield them from exposure. Indeed, that is all the greater reason why they should be called to account. Upon application the Appeal to Reason will send Mr. Creel before the American Mission Board or before the governing body of the Congregational church, of which the Theodore Richards mentioned in this article is a member, there to lay all the facts before them and wholly substantiate his charges. This offer is made in an earnest effort to co-operate with these two jurisdictional bodies in stamping out a condition with which the Appeal honestly believes they are unacquainted. Many Appeal readers are members of the Congregational church and many more are directly or indirectly connected with organizations affiliated with the American board. We urge such readers to communicate with the authorities of the two bodies asking that the Creel articles be investigated. —Editor Appeal.

THE Hawaiians were, and are to this day, an intensely hospitable people. The Hawaiian will give anything he possesses to one he accepts as a friend. It was the natural thing for the natives to give their land outright to their friends, the missionaries. That was the beginning of the present missionary fortunes in Hawaii. Some missionaries made no effort to acquire land other than that given them freely by individual natives. But others adopted sharp practices to bring more and more acres under their ownership.

The Rev. Mr. Paris on the island of Hawaii is claimed by natives to have collected money from them with which to purchase church sites. The money was given readily, but Paris bought the lands in his own name. The Paris estate now owns thousands of acres.

A feature of the new land law was that whoever paid taxes on a piece of land for 20 years became its legal owner. Later the term was shortened to 10 years. Few natives understood this and they gratefully and trustingly accepted the

white man's generosity when he offered to pay their taxes. At the end of the stipulated time the white man took the land. Many missionaries adopted this plan, the natives tell me.

They divide the missionaries into two the "bad." "good" "good" and the The missionaries were who taught and labored for the uplift of the people—performed the service for which they were the "bad" were those who took advantage of their ignorance and exploited them. They tell me that "bad" missionaries continually admonished them and their forefathers not to lay up treasure on earth, but to dispose of all or most of what they possessed here and make sure of a home in heaven. sult was that great tracts of land passed into possession of missionaries for ridiculously small sums.

A white man, a retired whaler, related the following to me in the presence of witnesses:

"On the island of Oahu lived a native who owned a particularly valuable piece of land. Like all of them he was improvident and like many of them he was given to the excessive use of liquor. One day he was offered \$800 for his place, which was considerably less than it was worth, even in that early day. He refused the offer. But the thought of so much money got into his blood and he told me he was going to consult his good friend, W. R. Castle (a missionary still living in Honolulu), and ask his advice. Castle advised him not to sell. but suggested that he mortgage the place to him for \$300. explained that all the native had to do was to 'write his name on a piece of paper' and that by the terms of a mortgage he did not release ownership of the land and could still have the \$300. This was exactly what the native wanted so he signed a mortgage. He went on a protracted drunk with the money, as all of us knew he would do, was arrested and sentenced to a term in jail. When released he was penniless and hunted up his good friend, Castle. The mortgage was not yet due, so the missionary gave him another \$50 and exchanged the mortgage for a deed."

This plan of tricking a native into a mortgage was a favorite one with all classes who sought to rob them. Seldom had the native a definite idea of what a mortgage amounted to until after the trap was sprung.

The Hawaiians are emphatic in saying that not all missionaries abused their confidence and took advantage of their ignorance but they call attention to the fact that "good" missionaries are poor, lacking political and economic power, while "bad" missionaries own practically all the property and rule the islands.

In the Kona district there is a stone wall or fence reaching a distance of approximately 20 miles. It was erected to subdivide certain lands. The wall is six feet high, two feet wide at bottom and about one foot wide at top. It was erected by natives working under the direction of missionaries. For each running six feet of stone wall he erected the native was paid one missionary tract, printed in Hawaiian, the actual cost of which was probably one two-hundredth part of a cent!

Love of the white man's liquor (a former chapter told how it was forced upon them) soon poisoned the Hawaiians' veins and thousands of acres were transferred at a purchase price of one quart flask of whisky or gin for a valuable tract of tropical soil.

An earlier chapter told of the ancient tabu by which kings, chiefs and native priests held for themselves the choicest lands, springs, etc. A modern tabu (and this is but one of many) was practiced not long ago by Frank Cooke, a missionary and a principal in the Palolo Land and Improvement Company. Cooke's company owned a stretch of hillside near Honolulu on which a fine spring was located. It was tabu to all but the Cooke crowd. That is, being located on private property it The spring water could not be used by the people generally. was needed for the public good, but Cooke refused to sell. Finally under the law of eminent domain, the government forced him to sell at a price fixed by the court—\$40,000. This was perfectly legitimate business (even to compelling the owner to part with his private property for the greatest good to the greatest number) and I mention it not as any reflection upon Mr. Cooke, but to show the difference (or similarity) between heathen tabus and the civilized variety. I heard the court's action in this case denounced as "rank Socialism." I think, however, had Mr. Cooke been dealing with a Socialist court. after he calmly admitted that he had been keeping from a great

number of people the very water of life, the arbitrary purchase price would have been fixed at 40 cents instead of \$40,000.

Mr. Cooke is much given to preachments of morality, uprightness and brotherly love. He is one of a band that conducts Sunday morning prison services for the benefit of inmates of the Hawaiian penitentiary.

And now comes an almost unbelievable case, common knowledge in Honolulu, having to do with the present treasurer of the Hawaiian Mission board, Theodore Richards. I give it as related to me by dozens of Honolulu residents.

In 1900 Honolulu was visited by bubonic plague. The first cases made their appearance in the Chinese quarter. In the campaign to stamp it out the authorities fired the houses in which it was found. But the flames grew beyond control and swept through the city. Thousands of dollars' worth of property was destroyed and hundreds of people were made homeless. Almost in an instant whole families lost all they owned but the clothes they wore. Throughout a considerable portion of the city light and water were shut off. Crime grew rampant and ran unchecked. It was such a time as comes only with war, flood, or, as in this instance, devastating fire; a time when the hearts of strong men bleed with pity and the purse strings of confirmed misers are loosed to relieve the suffering.

Only gouls can plan to profit from such misery and distress.

To provide immediate shelter the authorties caused huge "camps" to be erected. Houses, or what would pass for houses in such an extreme condition were hastily thrown together with whatever lumber was available. There was no time in which to give even scant attention to proper construction, stability, sanitation, etc. It was not intended that people should "live" in the makeshifts, but that in the long rows of shacks they could find temporary shelter.

One of these places, "Camp 2," was erected on land owned by Mr. Richards.

In the course of time order was brought out of chaos and one by one the families huddled in "Camp 2" began the erection of new homes on the old sites. But they were the more fortunate ones. Before the "Camp 2" hovels could be torn down the poorest, the most destitute, the very dregs of humanity, began drifting that way seeking shelter. Men, women and babies; boys and girls in their teens; white people, Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiians, Portuguese, negro and Filipino outcasts took possession of the miserable shacks. Here assembled the utmost misery that the city's calamity could produce; the sorely wounded, the sick and diseased; the vicious, depraved and demented.

For Richards, seeing an "opportunity," had posted "for rent" signs.

His wretched tenants paid and still pay, from \$2.25 to \$3 per room, per month. Common decency and physical morality were, and are, impossible under such housing conditions. "Camp 2" became, and is now, one of the most degrading moral cesspools on earth. It is a den of ten thousand stifling odors, seathing with vice that baffles description and that could not pass through the mails were it possible to describe.

There is nothing in the whole category of crimes against God, man or nature that does not flourish within the foul con-

fines of "Camp 2."

And Mr. Richards is treasurer of the Hawaiian Mission Board and active in missionary work.

Remembering his position it must not be supposed that he neglected to give his tenants religious instruction. He saw to that. With part of the money collected as rent Mr. Richards maintained a mission within two hundred yards of the "Camp 2" district.

Mr. Richards and his friends will deny that he is owner of "Camp 2." And in that denial they will be entirely correct. He sold it a few months before these stories appeared in print. The transfer came about after his ownership was made the subject of public condemnation and scorn on the islands. An-

ticipating exposure he therefore disposed of the property under fire to a Chinaman for \$15,000. Probably in all Hawaii there was not another white man who would have contaminated his purse with rents from the sink of iniquity. So it happens that Theodore Richards, treasurer of the Hawaiian Mission Board, is not now owner of "Camp 2."

And Honolulu people told me that when the transfer was made it was found the rascal had been carrying the property

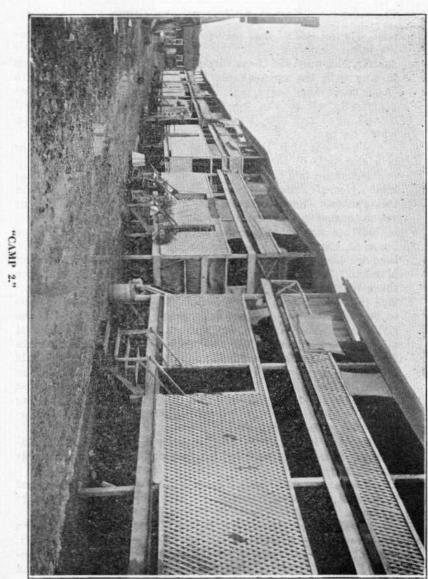
in his wife's name!

"Camp 2" is part of the tenement district of Honolulu. The overcrowding of this section equals that of the most conjested parts of New York or Chicago. Turn back and reread how in "savage" and "barbaric" days each "home" consisted of from one to six houses.



Honolulu residence of Theodore Richards, treasurer of the Hawaiian mission board and until recently owner of the city's notorious "Camp 2."

In the November, 1915, elections three missionaries, A. L. Castle, A. H. Cooke and James Bicknell ran for office on the same ticket as did William Henry, a notorious owner of red-light property. Mr. Henry has served them with distinction in times



One of the most vice ridden spots in all Hawaii. Until recently the property was owned by Theodore Richards, treasurer of the Hawaiian mission board. He sold it hurriedly in an effort to forestall exposure.

past (I shall tell of that service in a future chapter) and was therefore honored with the nomination for the office of sheriff. Not only did these three missionaries take their places in line with the unspeakable Henry, but the whole strength of the missionary party, which is the dominant one and includes practically all of the good citizen, good government, good morals, good man vote, was thrown to the old party ticket upon which he ran.

What was that ticket? That matters little. This series is a chronicle of fact, not a political denunciation.

But there is a brighter side: one that renews faith in mankind. Not all missionaries are the caliber of those named in this chapter. Some are earnest, sincere men and women, as vet untainted with the lust for profits. At least one of them is battling against economic injustice as well as paganism. Some of them, men and women, Protestant and Catholic, take up their work in the leper settlement on the island of Molokai. It is not true, as is generally supposed, that once there they can never return, for at the end of two years' service they may return after a period of observation proves them to be uncontaminated by the disease. But they take the risk. And some of them do contract that most loathsome of all diseases—leprosy. Men and women do not take such risks for money. They do not for the sake of gain, deliberately walk into what may be a living mental and physical torture ten thousand times worse than death. They enter the settlement because inspired by motives which to them are above anything human society can offer. Such sincerity cannot be underestimated. Their courage for a cause is admirable.

But the heroic cases are hidden. It is the "bad" or exploiting missionary with which the native and the traveler comes in contact.

Here is some testimony from King Kalakaua who reigned in Hawaii from 1847 to 1891. It is from the introduction to his book, "The Legends and Myths of Hawaii:"

"They (the missionaries) found a field alike profitable to the cause in which they labored and to themselves individually. They acquired substantial possessions in their new home, controlled the government for the 50 or more years following and their children are today among the most prosperous residents of the group. This is not said with a view to undervalue the services of the early missionaries to Hawaii, but to show that all missionary fields have not been financially unfruitful to zealous and provident workers."

You should have to be there and see the present generations' magnificent residences, the waving palms and brilliant tropical plants in the spacious grounds that surround them, the plantations they own, the steamships they control, the barrooms and the open gambling on those steamships and the thousands of laborers they exploit—you should have to see all this to fully understand the significance and the pathos of King Kalakaua's reference to "early missionaries."

CHAPTER VII.

WHY WE WERE ANNEXED.

(Census of 1910.)	
Hawaiians 26,	041
Asiatic Hawaiians 3,	734
Caucasian Hawaiians 8,	772
Chinese 21,	674
Japanese 79,	674
Portugese 22,	303
Spanish 1,	990
Porto Ricans 4,	890
	695
Other Caucasians	867
All others 7,	265
. ————————————————————————————————————	
Total 191	905

O F all inhabited islands the Hawaiian group is the most isolated. It is thousands of miles east or west across the Pacific to the nearest inhabited land.

For this reason the group was an ideal rendezvous for pirates and slavers of the old order. It is still infested with pirates and slavers, but of the modern type.

In this and in future chapters you shall learn how the modern pirate works and how the up-to-date Pacific ocean slaver coerces labor. You shall learn how a great, terrifying race problem was deliberately thrust on the peaceful isles and how, when their workers grew rebellious, the pirates scurried under the flag of a great World Power and how they continue their infamy in its shelter.

You shall learn in what contempt these smug rascals hold the Power whose ships and soldiers guard them and you shall feel their fingers in your private purse extracting funds to police their property.

And all that you read takes place, remember, on the most isolated group of islands in the world.

The legal annexation of Hawaii to the United States of America in 1900 was a national joke, destined to become an international crime. Those responsible for the act knew at the time that the crime would develop and that innocent men would be drawn into the quarrel with their lives as forfeit.

As a joke it soon ceased to be funny and now the day of reckoning, the day of the international crime, approaches. And it comes so swiftly and so certainly that nothing short of a miracle can stop it.

The population of Hawaii is predominantly Japanese. The population was predominantly Japanese at the time of annexation.

For years white sugar planters had been importing, underpaying and outraging Japanese and other Oriental laborers. There was a time in early days when wage laborers were beaten with whips and I heard of Chinese coolies beaten to death. The planters, most of whom began life in the islands as missionaries, were warned that by their treatment of laborers, particularly their treatment of the Japanese, they were building up a race and labor problem that must some day be settled with steel and blood. They laughed. If it came, they said, they'd annex the United States and make it fight their battles for them.

The Japs endured the treatment until they became numerous. Then they showed signs of rebellion. The native government, under Queen Liliuokalani, would not protect the planters. So they brought about a revolution, dethroned and jailed the Queen and set up a republic with a white man, Sanford B. Dole, as president. Then it was found that the republic could not protect the planters. The Japanese were too many and Japan was rapidly becoming a World Power. And the Japanese government gave every indication of an unprecedented desire to send its ships and sailors to shoot the oppressors of Japanese workingmen; our improved method sends troops to kill the workers and uphold the oppressors. And so, though their sympathies were, and are, anything but democratically American because of the power of its army and navy, the planters became "loyal" subjects of the United States of America.

Or, as they tell one another, they "annexed the United States!"

There was no "love of country," no patriotism—nothing but industrial necessity involved in the act. But now that the United States government is hopelessly caught in their net the sugar planters and pine apple growers are the most ardent of patriots—on the surface. Underneath and at heart, they are not only un-American but distinctly and whole-heartedly anti-American.

This is not written lightly. It is the literal truth. Though many of them came from the United States originally, their sympathies are British. On King George's coronation day after Hawaii had become United States territory on their application, remember—every business institution in Honolulu except the United States postoffice was closed tightly and the city given over to celebration. Not daring to display the British flag they used the Hawaiian ensign which carries the British Jack in the corner. Hundreds of these flags floated from windows and flagstaffs. The wife of a United States official called my attention to the fact that United States goods are sold in none of the stores if English goods of the same kind and at the same price can be had. She said she had made the rounds of all Honolulu dry goods stores to buy a brand of cotton thread used at home, only to learn that none but English thread was for sale. Hawaii raises some cattle but not enough to supply the local demand. Although Australia is twice as far from Honolulu as is the United States the vessels bring great shipments of beef and mutton from Sydney.

The crowning slap came when the democratic party reduced the duty on sugar. For the time being this curbed the planters' power to so completely exploit their "adopted" country and in business circles and in business clubs of Honolulu secession from the United States was advocated and seriously considered. Had not the European war been brewing it is possible that the planters could have found some Power willing to take over the islands on their application. That would have meant war for the United States. If the leading capitalists of Hawaii will deny this treason in writing I will prove it by some of their own members in twenty-four hours. If they do not deny it in writing they stand convicted of an offense punishable by military court-martial.

The only things American that Hawaiian business interests welcome are markets, tourists to spend money and war

ships and soldiers to fight their battle on the day of reckoning with Japan.

They are getting plenty of the latter. At the present moment it is costing the United States government \$8,000,000 a year, \$22,000 a day, to maintain 8,000 soldiers in Hawaii.* These figures are based upon a recent magazine article by Secretary of War Garrison in which he said the wages and cost of maintenance of a United States soldier was \$1,000 a year. The \$8,000,000 per annum does not include tremendous expenditures for fortifications, general territorial expenses at Washington and in Hawaii nor the \$10,000,000 already appropriated for work on Pearl harbor on the island of Oahu. Our added governmental expense because of Hawaii is probably more nearly \$15,000,000 a year.

And what do we as a nation get for all this? "A naval base," answered a planter to whom I quoted these figures. "The United States needs a naval base out here to protect the Philippines," he said. Bosh! Half an hour later when I suggested freedom for the Philippines he just as seriously told me that we had to have the Philippines to guard Hawaii. The planters of Hawaii care nothing for the Philippines. Nor do they give a rap for the entire United States. They demand, and are receiving, soldiers, fortifications, cannon and ships to shield them, if possible, from the just consequences of their villainy, past and present.

They have deliberately built up a situation that they are too weak to control and too cowardly to face. They fear Japan.

The specific instances of their goading and mistreatment of Japanese working men and women form almost unbelievable chapters.

^{*}Since the above first appeared as a newspaper serial, Major General Carter has publicly declared that the cost of Hawaiian military occupancy alone is \$15,000,000 a year—more than \$41,000 a day. In this instance, as in all others, my figures and estimates are extremely conservative.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE JAPANESE CANEFIELD STRIKE.

AWAII was admitted to the union as a territory on June 14, 1900. The Japanese storm broke in May, 1909. Not one word about the actual strike has ever been published in any United States newspaper and this is the first authentic public account of a condition that came dangerously near precipitating the American republic into war with the Japanese empire.

At the time of the strike, and for years previous, Japanese male laborers in sugar cane fields were supposed to receive \$18 a month wages with shelter, fuel and medical attention. This wage was based, however, on a full working month of 26 days of 10 hours each and deductions were made for time lost on account of bad weather, sickness, etc. With these deductions the actual wages of Japanese male laborers averaged \$13.50 a month.

I could find no figures showing what Japanese girls and women earned at that time, but today they receive 18 cents a gathering sugar cane off the ground, carrying it up an inclined plank and loading it onto flat cars. Planters strenuously deny that women are allowed to do such work, but I have photographs of Japanese women "earning" their 18 cents a ton. Some women can load but one ton a day. Others can load three to four tons in ten hours -under a tropical sun. Such work breaks the strongest man in four years. A machine for performing this labor was introduced in Hawaii and proved a mechanical success. was discarded because it was found that the labor of Japanese women was cheaper than machine labor! The machine was tried out on the plantation of the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Co., on the island of Maui. Japanese women cane field laborers who work by the day are paid 45 cents a day of 10 hours--4 1-2 cents an hour. The next time some jingoist elaborates upon the horror of women coaling ship in Japan you can tell him that Japanese capitalists are merely following the lead of their enlightened white brethren in Hawaii under the stars and stripes.

Japanese men and women on plantations complain that they are compelled to bathe in the same swimming tanks. Planters defend this by saying that promiscuous bathing of the sexes is the custom in Japan. This is denied by the Japs who say the practice was abolished many years ago.

The company store was, and is, a feature of Hawaiian plantation life. The credit system prevails and laborers are frequently in debt at the end of the month. By the practice of economies such as the planters would forbid their beasts to undergo some of the laborers are able to bank and save small sums. The planters never tire of calling attention to those with savings accounts.

Pay-days were once a month.

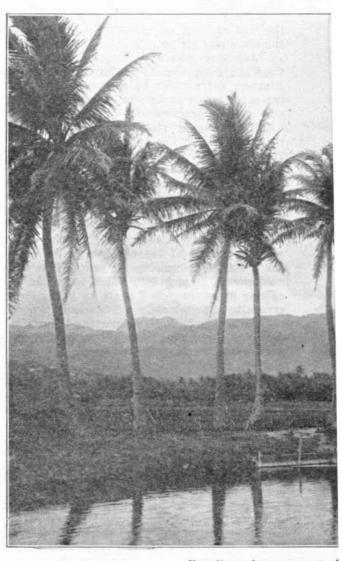
The foregoing is a very brief outline of conditions that led up to the strike of Japanese plantation laborers in 1909. The revolt had been brewing for years. The only demand was for an increase from \$18 to \$22.50 a month. They had been receiving approximately 7 cents an hour; they struck for an increase to approximately 8 1-2 cents an hour.

As a record of class conscious industrial action that strike deserves a place in history. By agreement among the Japanese it was confined to the island of Oahu. But it was complete in every detail. In support of the strike laborers, Japanese overseers, carpenters, firemen, engineers—every Jap in any way connected with plantation work laid down his tools and quit. There was not one scab among them! They completely paralyzed the sugar industry on Oahu.

There was no destruction of property. There was no violence. While the laborers on other islands remained at work and contributed to a strike fund those on Oahu went into the towns with friends and relatives or retired to their miserable hovels and waited.

Then, as now, the planters owned or controlled everything in Hawaii, both on the plantations and off of them. In Honolulu they owned the English newspapers and the street car system. They owned the railroad from the city to the plantations.

Their newspapers began fanning race prejudice. The



Hawaiian palms near spot wh



ere Captain Cook landed in 1778.

"hateful Japanese" were interfering with the business of "loyal Americans." They were telling "us" what wages "we" should pay. They were "national enemies," striking at the heart of American business institutions. The United States government would undoubtedly interfere in the cause of justice. In the meantime it was a "patriotic duty for every loyal citizen" to assist in breaking the strike. The planters told me this when they related their side of the controversy.

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, purely for "love of country," offered \$1.50 a day to loyal citizen strikebreakers. The Oahu Railway Company (owned by the planters) announced that it would carry strikebreakers free from Honolulu to the plantations and return each day. The Honolulu Rapid Transit Company (owned by the planters), solely in the interest of "patriotism," agreed to carry strikebreakers free on its street cars from their homes to the railway station Such tactics, coupled with daily doses of race and return. antagonism from the newspapers, had the desired effect. Lashed to a frenzy of nationalism, white workers of Honolulu turned in to help the planters beat brown workers into sub-The climax came when "patriotic" street car men announced that they would work overtime without pay manning the cars for scabs. All of the motormen and conductors were white men. This, their spokesman said, was their contribution to the campaign of national loyalty.*

But to put a compartively few untrained workers in the field was not enough. The planters were not averse to using the army and navy. They had not annexed the United States for nothing. But to call on these arms of the government they must have some act of violence from the Japs. To infuriate them Sheriff William Henry, a white man, owner of property used for immoral purposes, burglarized the premises of a prominent Honolulu Japanese who had encouraged the strikers. Without warrant or any excuse in law he broke into this man's

^{*}A Honolulu street car conductor writes that he received overtime for scabbing on the Japanese and it is his opinion that others did, also. Other street car men declare they worked for nothing. I would not rob either class of its glory, so give the two statements equal prominence.

place at midnight and dynamited the safe exactly as any other thief would have done. His flimsy pretext was that he expected to find incriminating papers. His act, illegal to the core, was made an item in the Japanese Imperial Diet (the national legislative body) and came perilously near bringing the United States and Japan into armed conflict. The affair was finally quieted, however, and Japan has filed it with her list of grievances to be presented on the day of the international crime.

To further strain diplomatic relations a number of Japanese strike leaders were arrested, heavily fined and committed to jail for ten months each. They appealed their cases, but the higher court upheld the sentences. So crooked was the evidence against them, however, that after the strike was settled all were pardoned.

The strike dragged on for several months, the Japs receiving steady support from their countrymen at work on neighboring islands and successfully balking every effort to force them into a position where troops could be used against them. And then, for reasons that only the Japanese know, the strike was abandoned and the laborers returned to work under much the same conditions as before. The planters estimate that it cost them \$2,000,000 in lost profits, but the most unsatisfactory feature was that it failed to bring their Japanese labor problem to a head with the United States' fighting force battling in their behalf.

It taught them one lesson, however: They must not be so completely at the mercy of workers of one race. They decided to stop Japanese importation and bring in laborers of other nationalities. Russian and Japanese had been enemies since the Russo-Japanese war (this was before the present killing-match which finds their rulers allies) and it was reasoned that an influx of Russian labor would automatically breed race hatred between the two. Then, while the workers fought each other, the planters could completely rob both factions. And, it was pointed out, either nationality would gladly scab on the other in future strikes. So immediately following a settlement of the Japanese trouble a representative

of the planters was dispatched to Siberia to recruit Russian laborers.

The Russians came. It was a deliberate, cold-blooded pitting of one hostile race against another equally antagonistic. The result was electrical!



CHAPTER IX.

THE JAPS AND RUSSIANS MEET.

COR sixteen years I have been actively engaged in magazine and newspaper work, witnessing, hearing and investigating the unusual, the remarkable, the humorous, the tragic, the struggles, victories and defeats of a decade and a half. In that time I have become as calloused as the most hardened surgeon and almost as immune to emotion as is the machine with which I write. But when I came upon the central incident in this chapter I confess that I was thrilled as never before and as I soberly doubt I shall ever be thrilled again. To my mind what you are about to read is the most wonderful record of class solidarity of modern times. If I can make you but faintly realize what took place out there in Hawaii, it will grip your heart like a vise and well your eyes with tears—tears of pride in the knowledge that you have class relationship with those we are about to meet.

You have learned of the walkout of Japanese cane field laborers; how a percentage of "patriotic" white workers scabbed on the Japs and how they finally abandoned their strike and returned to the plantations. At that time Japan and Russia had but recently signed articles of peace following the Russo-Japanese war and the two nationalities bitterly hated each other. You will recall that the planters dispatched an agent to Siberia to recruit Russian workers for Hawaiian cane fields. Taking all the facts into consideration that scheme stood almost without a parallel for inviting friction and blood-shed.

The Russians came. They say they were told nothing of the strike nor that the Japanese were in such overwhelming majority. Whether they knew or not they came.

The first company to arrive was a small one, a comparatively few families. They claim that the planters' agent outrageously misrepresented conditions to them. He told them, they say, that their wages would be \$44 a month; on arrival they learned that the sum was 44 roubles. The value of 44

roubles is \$22.66. They say he told them that the cost of foodstuffs in Hawaii was considerably less than in Russia; they found the cost of living much higher. They assert that he promised the planters would provide schools for their children; this was flatly refused once they reached the plantations. These were their principle grievances, though there were many more.

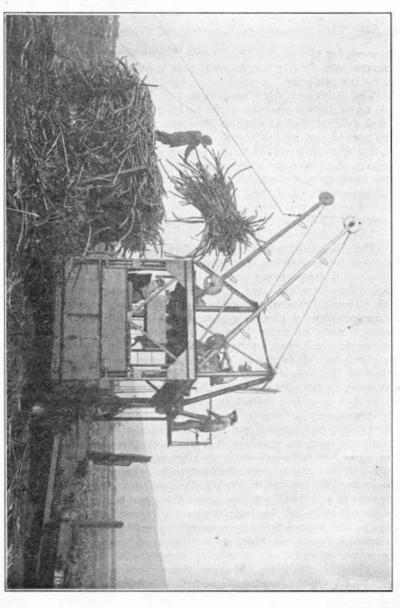
Their first night was spent on the pier. The next day



Eighteen cents a ton for this. Japanese women gathering and loading sugar cane, a class of work that breaks the strongest man in four years.

they retired to the outskirts of Honolulu where the men erected huts from refuse lumber and matting to shelter their women and babies. Believing that they had redress in the courts and firm in the conviction that the United States would see justice done they petitioned the authorities to force the planters to keep their contract or return them to their homes.

They did not idle while they waited. Three of the company could speak English and they went through the city find-



This machine for loading sugar cane was a mechan ical success. It was discarded because human labor in Hawaii

ing work for the others as carpenters, stevedores, construction laborers, etc. Their wages went into a common fund to feed the entire company.

The Russians were peaceable and law-abiding. Neither civil nor criminal charges could be lodged against them. And it was evident that as long as they stayed in or near town the Japs would not attack them. A slight Japanese disorder in the Russian camp would have been an excuse for armed interference. Under cover of maintaining order the Russians could then have been cowed into submission. But nothing of the kind happened. And the Siberians, strong, husky fellows, were good workmen. It was evident that under the existing arrangement they could hold out indefinitely.

The planters were in despair.

The planters' press of Honolulu performed its natural function by maligning the Russian men, calling them liars, thieves and degenerates and by branding their women prostitutes. The Honolulu Star, now the Star-Bulletin, remonstrated with citizens for employing the men. This was equivalent to a command and a planter's command in Hawaii ranks in importance with an order from Washington. The Star advised (or commanded) that no more work be given the Russians and that they be "starved out." Other papers joined in the crusade and the people, fearful of the planters' vengeance, gave less work to the newcomers. The Socialist party of Honolulu raised \$38 in a hat collection and turned it to the Russians, but it was only a drop in the bucket.

Affairs had turned and the planters again held the whip. For a moment consider the plight of these people. Here was a band of 600 workers in an alien land where but three of their number could speak the language. On one side pressed the forces of capitalist exploitation and on the other side menaced a solid wall of Japanese—their mortal enemies. Remember that in all the islands there were less than 800 Russians and to oppose them there were approximately 80,000 Japs. With employment cut from under them, with practically nothing in purse and their source of income shut off they were in a pitiable condition. Hunger descended upon the colony. They had lived on scant rations before but now they were re-

duced to something below the hunger line. Their men bore it after a fashion, but the women and babies suffered.

They weakened; not quite to the point of absolute surrender—but they weakened. Shouldn't you? Imagine yourself in a foreign land, not able to make yourself understood, decoyed there by forces that were hand in glove with the civil and military police power, starving and torn by the look of hunger on your wife's face and by the cries of your babies—shouldn't you weaken? And in addition to all this, imagine yourself surrounded by racial enemies who outnumbered you a hundred to one.

The Russians weakened. The end of their rebellion was near.

And then something happened. Something that was totally unlooked for. Something that, for the moment, completely nonplused the planters. They could not have been more surprised had their association voted to give the plantations away. And this is what shocked Hawaii, shaking the islands as nothing has done since a volcanic unheaval forced them to the surface of the Pacific:

The Japanese, who were by all the savage rules of civilized warfare, mortal enemies of the Russians, sank century upon century of ingrained nationalism, stepped forth on strictly class lines and contributed cartload after cartload of vegetables and provisions to the Siberians!

Understand it clearly. They did that. And they did it in spite of the example set them by a class of white workers who had but a few months before helped break their strike. There are white men in Honolulu who still hang their heads at mention of that incident.

This is the first time the account has ever been published, but I predict that when the history of working class struggle is finally written that act will stand out like a meteor in the night. It was a literal application of "Workers of the world, unite," the grandest exhibition of class interests I have ever known.

And this happened before there was any fraternizing between the two nationalities. The Japs merely took from their meager store and from their scantier funds and sent provisions to the members of their class who were holding out against the tyranny of the planters. The Japanese understood; they contributed. The Russians understood; they accepted. They were "enemies" no longer.

Here and now I wish to say that if all Japanese are the caliber of those I met in Hawaii the working class of the world can well afford to take lessons from them in class solidarity. And let me add that a San Francisco audience applauded this statement when I made it from the platform.

Big Business in Hawaii was again cornered.

These are the Japanese that you shall some day be asked to kill. When the international crime is about to be consummated, the business interests of Hawaii will turn to the workers of the United States, imploring them to slaughter the sons of Nippon. When that time comes you, personally, must decide if your interests lie in defending the property of the capitalists of Hawaii or in refusing to plunge a bayonet into the breasts of men staunch enough to place class interest above national hatred. Perhaps the Japanese in Hawaii are not typical of the Japanese people as a whole. It would be remarkable if they were. But it will be the Japs of Hawaii, those you have been reading about, who will bear the brunt when the international crime is at its height. And do not forget that early in 1915 the emperor dissolved the Japanese diet (the national congress) because its members refused to vote huge appropriations for the army. We may yet learn that the "bloodthirstiness" of the Japanese people is the bloodthirstiness of the Japanese capitalist class and not that of the Japanese workers.

The Russians were finally conquered. But not until their men, women and children, unarmed and defenseless, were clubbed into submission and their life's blood crimsoned the streets of Honolulu.

CHAPTER X.

TAMING THE RUSSIANS.

HIS chapter is the story of how Big Business in Hawaii conquered the Russian and Japanese workers—all of the workers, in fact—and advanced another step toward the inevitable day of reckoning. "Big Business in Hawaii" means the white man's business, always; natives never were commercial factors.

In what follows I wish it understood that I am writing only after the most careful investigation. My story is founded on the testimony of eye witnesses, the word of interpreters for the Russians and the account of a man who helped carry bleeding Russian children from the spot where they were clubbed into insensibility or killed outright. All of it is the voluntary testimony of white men, many of them non-Socialists. far as this chapter is concerned I have discarded all that was told me by natives, Japanese and Russians. I know that an official report is at direct variance with what I shall set down, but my sources of information are direct and, I believe, unimpeachable. I can place man after man on the stand who will swear to the accuracy of this account, the first written one to escape the blue pencil of the interests involved, I am told. These men are anxious to enter a federal court of inquiry and there, under oath, repeat what I here relate.

You will remember that three of the Russian men could speak English and that following the planters' abrogation of contract these three went through the city of Honolulu getting work for their comrades who could not speak the language. These three were arrested and jailed on a charge of vagrancy. One of them was regularly employed when taken into custody and the other two had more than enough cash in pocket to raise them from the vagrant class. They were arrested, not because they were vagrants, as charged, but because they were finding occasional jobs for their fellows—because they were not vagrants. And on this most trivial of all charges their bonds were fixed at \$700 each!

When the others learned of the arrests they declared that

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SOCIALISM

0 ka hajolelo hope kela o kona mau hajolelo iloko o ka Halekeaka Hawaii, Lapule, Sep. 20, Hora 7:30 p. m.

Ua noa ka uku komo. KE KONO OLUOLU IA AKU NEI NA WAHINE. E "kani ka pila."

达門站心與 於九月四人咽徐其厘廬於九月四人咽徐其厘廬於九月二十號即星期晚七点半百樂在場場慶入聽自由

One of the author's dodgers printed in English, Hawaiian and Chinese.

they would march to the police station in a body next day and ask that the entire company be arrested on the same charge. For if the three leaders were vagrants the others certainly were. And the interests of Hawaii, wise in the way of Louisiana, West Virginia, Michigan, Colorado, California and Arkansas, prepared a welcome for the Russians.

The entire company, men, women, children and babes in arms, marched to police headquarters next day. On the way they were met by interpreters who tried to turn them back; murder was in store for them and those acquainted with planters' tactics knew it. But the Russians continued, declaring that the presence of women and babies would prove their errand a peaceable one.

Scarcely had the column stopped before police headquarters, a two-story brick building, when a stream of water shot from an upstairs window, full in the faces of those in front. An adjoining window was occupied by Editor Matthewson of the Honolulu Commercial-Advertiser, owned by L. A. Thurston, a missionary. A man who stood close to Matthewson will swear that again and again he clenched his fists in glee and exclaimed, "Good! Good! That's what they need! Give it to 'em." He particularly bubbled with good humor when the stream struck a woman in the abdomen, hurling her into the arms of a man directly behind.

And then followed a free-for-all clubbing match in which native police were led by three white men, Detective Chester Doyle, Sheriff Bill Jarret and Deputy Sheriff Rose. Clubs, whips and fists were used savagely and, according to onlookers, principally on women and children. Russians, fresh from the land of the Czar, learned that capitalism is the same throughout the world; found themselves plunged into another Odessa or a Kishineff—with the stars and stripes the only flag in sight.

The affair was carefully planned. Police on foot charged from the front while mounted police rode into the crowd from behind. The first blow struck was administered by a hero on horseback. He used the butt end of a blacksnake whip on a woman who carried a baby across her shoulder. The force of

his blow sent the woman sinking to her knees and broke the babu's neck.

The ring of horses' shoes on the pavement; the crunch of tender bones as children fell under the hoofs; the crack of clubs on human heads; the snap of whips; the shouts of police, the curses of men, the shrieks of women and the cries of babies swelled into an anthem of praise for capitalism such as the islands had never known before.

The planters' patience had been strained to the limit. was the reaction.

At the end of the murderous onslaught, when the Russians had been effectually scattered, three children were picked up off. the street, one of them by the bully, Doyle, known throughout Hawaii as "the sugar planters' bulldog."

The murder brought the Russians to their "senses" and put an end to their resistance. The whimperings of bereaved mothers died out in time and in a few weeks most of the families had gone onto the plantations at the planters' terms or the men had shipped as deckhands to other parts of the world, there to work and later send for their wives and children. Practically all of those two shiploads are now out of Hawaii.

All of my testimony is that this entirely peaceful demonstration, brought about by illegal arrests on trumped-up charges. was put down in blood and wanton murder. Yet not one word about it was ever allowed to reach the mainland. The following extract from the government report dismisses it with:

"The arrest of some of the Russians for vagrancy and minor offenses caused a small riot at the police station. However, no very serious results followed and except for this one incident no disturbance of the peace occurred."

If the secretary of the department of labor will call for the evidence I will place him in touch with men in the islands who will produce enough facts to show that his predecessor's agents in Hawaii were either bribed outright or that they were incompetent to conduct any sort of investigation. Incidentally I think that the evidence, not all of which is here presented, will be sufficient to hang at least one socially prominent accessory before the fact.

As evidence of its purity I suggest that Hawaiian Big Business demand such an investigation.

But here is the point: This is the gang, Mr. Reader, in whose behalf you will some day be asked to kill, or to be killed by, the sons of Japan. This is the caliber of "patriots" in whose defense eight thousand United States regulars in Hawaii are now doomed to instant call. These are the "peaceable," "liberty-loving," "law-abiding" creatures who annexed us in 1900.

And the foregoing is not the most serious count in their indictment. Hawaii's skeleton in the closet is the leper settlement on the island of Molokai. Hawaiian Big Business fears publicity about leprosy and the leper colony more than it fears loss of profits. And with good reason. Leprosy was imported.

CHAPTER XI.

LEPROSY.

EPROSY came to Hawaii solely because of the white man's greed for profits. Before the Japanese influx, Chinese coolies were worked on the plantations. It was they who introduced the plague. And the planters did not stop coolie immigration when the source of leprosy was definitely established. Coolies worked cheaply. And when the disease showed itself on a worker he was isolated. It is probably true, too, that no germ can live after passing through the process to which sugar is submitted in refining. And since dividends were not interfered with why should planters balk at a little thing like leprosy among profitable laborers? At any rate they did not balk at it for the Chinese immigration continued.

Of all diseases leprosy is the most loathsome. It is the most frightful. The most hopeless. Bones twist and contort. Fingers draw up like the claws on a buzzard. Arms, legs and spinal columns are wrenched into grotesque shapes. Sometimes the lobes of the ears enlarge till they touch the body and flap against the shoulders like elephant ears. Faces screw out of semblance to anything human. The flesh sluffs off in scales, leaving the bones exposed. Great sores develop and the stench from a leper is unlike anything else this side of Hades. And the victims, mercilessly retaining their full senses, live in full sight of all this every hour. Leprosy is painless, but the mental agony is keener than any physical suffering. To add to the horror, lepers sometimes live 40 to 50 years before death ends the terror.

The wretch doomed to life in a leper settlement is sentenced not to hell on earth, but to hell in the midst of hell.

And leprosy, introduced by Chinese coolies, is today prevalent in Hawaii. There are grim stories of members of the most exclusive white families who have contracted the plague. They, however, are hidden away and attended by special nurses. They do not go to the leper settlement. A Honolulu drug store has most of the resident soda fountain trade by letting it be known that all drinking glasses are washed in strong germicide

before being used a second time. The residents know. The tourists do not know.

Ask any planters' agent about leprosy and you will be greeted with a look of pained surprise. "Leprosy? In Hawaii! Why, my dear sir, this is 'the paradise of the Pacific.' There are no poisonous vines nor plants in all these islands. There is not a venomous reptile nor insect in the entire group. The waterfalls are magnifi—"

"But there is a leper settlement on the island of Molokai, is there not?"

"Well, of course, a number of years ago—oh, a very long time ago!—there were a few cases. But you should see the volcano. Don't miss that trip to Hilo and—"

"Then leprosy has been stamped out?"

"My dear sir, I wish there was a line of steamers to Molokai. But unfortunately there is not. I wish you could visit that beautiful spot and see how happy the people are. The government supports them absolutely free. Think of it! And—how—they—do—live! Beautiful cottages with gorgeous plants and flowers blooming all the year. They have stores, churches, motion picture shows and a band—a very fine band.

"Leprosy? Molokai! It's the happiest, most care-free life in the world. The disease is absolutely painless, you understand. Would you believe it, sir? perfectly healthy natives have asked permission to go to the settlement and live. That's what they think of leprosy. The natives are not fools. Ha! ha!"

"Were the natives allowed to go?"

Then he'll hang his head.

"Why, er—er, that is—you see—Yes, some of them were admitted. And that proves what I told you. Sound as a dollar, they were. But leprosy has been greatly overdrawn. It really amounts to so little that they preferred to spend the rest of their days over there. But now as I was saying about the volcano—"

And the planters' agent has told half the truth. Here's the unbelievable, blood-curdling half that he neglected to tell, and this is the first time that the whole truth has ever appeared in print.

Many years ago money-crazed planters cast greedy eyes on particularly fine lands owned by natives. They could neither buy this land nor trick the natives out of it. These particular Hawaiians could not be drawn into card games and cheated out of their tracts. They were sober, industrious, frugal—and healthy. Little by little the spirit of greed stifled the white man's conscience. There was one untried way to gain possession of that land. A friendly board of health "investigated" certain cases and pronounced them lepers.

Instantly their doom was sealed. One by one these landowning natives—how many can never be known—were put through this formality and carried shrieking to the settlement on Molokai—a fate beside which burning at the stake is a holiday.

That was done, I tell you. I'll present the undeniable proof in a moment. It was done in cold blood by as relentless a band of cutthroats as ever cheated the gallows. Husbands were torn from their wives, mothers ripped from their children, babies snatched from their mothers' breasts—in some cases whole families were damned to hell before the eyes of terror-stricken relatives.

There is no mistake about that. The charge is too terrible to be made lightly. I would not write this if there were the slightest chance for error. It is the soul-shivering truth! I have the personal testimony of natives who witnessed the outrages. As they told me I covered my face, ashamed to look them in the eyes. For I, too, was one of the race that had done this to them. But not on the unsupported testimony of 10,000 natives would I believe that men of any color could sink so low. There is more than the testimony of natives. To clinch the matter I present the suppressed facts of a government investigation conducted less than two years ago.

Dr. Chris O'Day was appointed by Washington to probe into the matter. He went to Hawaii, visited the settlement and took up the cases of those who claimed to be wrongfully held. After a period of observation he released twelve who had not contracted the disease even after thirty and forty years constant association with it! The twelve were that far from being lepers on the day they were committed. The others, less fortunate, had become hopeless victims.

The twelve returned to civilization—a civilization in which modern commercialism had gripped their islands. They were lost. Their lands were gone. Their families had disappeared.

Their loved ones had scattered or had died. They were unused to the new ways. They could not adapt themselves to the white man's system. Heartbroken, dispirited, old, alone and unable to provide for themselves, eight of the twelve applied for readmission to the settlement. They were allowed to return. The wretches are over there now suffering, probably, as humans never suffered before.

That's the whole truth about leprosy in Hawaii and that's how the natives love it.

Of all the beastly records of man's inhumanity to man; of all the damnable outrages ever inspired by greed for profits, I think this one stands clear and distinct as the most conscienceless.

I cannot prove that any of the actual perpetrators of this series of crimes are still alive. A complete government investigation would probably bring out all the facts. Not all of their victims are dead and it is likely that many or all of the instigators are still within reach of the law. But at any rate their worse than stolen land is still in existence and profits spring out of this tear-drenched soil. This, then, is the tribe, father, for which you'll be asked to contribute a son. This is the outfit, mother, that will beg the son of your bosom to stand between it and a visitation of eternal justice. This is the record, young man, that was meant to be kept from you on the day that you marched to your death in defense of the profit system.

Nor is it intended that the blow shall fall on you alone. The future of your sister has been provided for by the white man in Hawaii.

CHAPTER XII.

LAW AND INDUSTRY.

ELL, if you're determined to write up the islands be fair enough, at least, to give us credit for abolishing the oneman rule of savage kings. Be honest and state that we now have modern courts where the lowest can appeal and get justice.

"When missionaries landed here women were worse off than beasts. They did most of the work and supported the men. They could not eat certain choice foods on penalty of death. Poligamy was the practice and a man could divorce one wife or a dozen at a moment's notice. Women now have the same rights as men. A native woman, legally married, can today go into court and force her husband to contribute to the support of herself and children.

"These islands and all their inhabitants are a thousand times better off than if the white man had never come. I hope you'll be fair."

The foregoing from a missionary-planter who talked with me in a Honolulu club. For two hours he told me why I should not write these articles, gave it up as a bad job and concluded as above.

I was impressed. Particularly with his repeated references to the bettered condition of women. For that same day the following case had been called to my attention:

In the English branch of the Honolulu Salvation Army is a 16-year-old Portuguese girl. Three years ago she was outraged by her father. This is a very common crime in Hawaii. It is so common that fathers are seldom brought to trial for it. That was what happened in this case. The parent was not even arrested. But the girl complained, the Salvation Army offered her a home and is now raising her. Also in the same English branch of the Honolulu Salvation Army is a full-grown white man who was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for having had carnal knowledge of a mule. He served eight years and was pardoned.

This is one of the contrasts under the white man's admin-

istration of law. A maiden is outraged by her father (a common occurrence) and the man is not even arrested (also a common occurrence), while the man who outrages a mule is sentenced to 15 years hard labor. Truly, "women now have the same rights as men," but they do not have the same legal protection as beasts of the field.

The two cases are exactly as I have given them. There were no extenuating circumstances in the commission of either crime. Both culprits were poor men. Neither had any influence with the authorities. Each case was handled strictly on its "merits." The first one was common, the second unusual. But the principle involved, the legal protection thrown around property and the lack of common justice for the workers is the rule, not the exception. Natives who called my attention to the contrast accounted for severe punishment in the latter case by saying, "Good mules are scarce in Hawaii."

There are practically no labor laws in the islands. Men, women and children are paid such wages and worked such hours as the individual employer deems advisable and profitable. One of them is on record as saying he worked his people, "all they will stand for." Another whose young girl employes were forced to pass through the vice district to reach his cannery waved aside the suggestion that they might be contaminated by remarking, "After the girls have worked 10 or 12 hours a day there is not much danger that they will skylark. They are only too glad to get home and to bed."

Sugar and pineapples are the two great products of Hawaii. We have already seen conditions on the sugar plantations. They are fully equaled by the status of affairs in the pineapple industry.

The price to the producer was gradually lowered until a short time ago it reached \$18 a ton, a figure a which white people cannot produce and make a living. Believing that a combination existed, a government investigation was ordered. Libby, McNeill and Libby of Chicago have since entered the field, erected a gigantic cannery and introduced the farm tractor—machine production in the raising of pineapples. In 1914 the price to the producer dropped to \$6 a ton, at which figure it stands at this writing.

In the canneries the peeling, coring, slicing and canning is done by machinery tended by workers whose wages vary from six cents an hour, paid those under 16 years of age, to a maximum of 10 cents an hour for the oldest, most skilled employes. Forewomen receive as much as 15 cents an hour. The average wage (omitting forewomen) is a fraction less than seven and one-half cents an hour. Those who work a full 60 hours in one week are paid a bonus of six hours' wages. Therefore the average for 60 hours (including the bonus) is \$4.95 a week. The owner of one cannery stated that the average wage for the preceding year was between \$3.50 and \$4 a week.

Pineapple juice acts upon the skin of the workers exactly as the stomach juices act upon food. It digests the skin. The health department requires that employes be furnished rubber gloves, but most of them work bare-footed, stand in the drippings from benches and tables and their feet are badly eaten by the juice. And notice this: The health department admits that rubber gloves are required, not to protect the workers, but to minimize the possibility of contaminating the fruit. You see, one never knows in Hawaii when leprosy or some other nameless disease, imported by the white man, will come to the surface.

Until recently pineapple cores were thrown away. Now they are made to turn a profit. When removed from the fruit these indigestible fiber tubes are cut into inch lengths, cooked, canned and disposed of to candy factories. There they are coated with chocolate and later sold to your child as "pineapple goodies." If you want a demonstration of what Hawaiian Big Business is doing to the children of the United States, purchase a pineapple, cut away the fruit and eat the core. Then send for the doctor.

Since corporations cannot homestead land those in Hawaii must either lease tracts from the government or buy from individual owners. Sugar and pineapple interests are continually urging white men from the mainland to homestead land on the islands. Those few who have made the venture are some of the most pitiable specimens I have seen anywhere. The plan of Big Business is to have the homesteader prove up on his claim, gain a title to it and then either force him to sell at the corporation's price or dispose of his product at its figure. The man is helpless. He must obey every dictate of the corporation. If he re-

fuses to bow to the will of the sugar mill, for instance, it will not grind his cane. He can do nothing. The man who opposes pineapple interests cannot sell his "pines" even at the new rate of \$6 a ton. And the corporations exercise this complete power not so much through the ownership of land, notice, as through ownership of the machinery of production.

I said that the islands have practically no labor laws. But here is one, a beauty, in full force and effect at the present moment. It provides a fine not to exceed \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than six months or both such fine and imprisonment for offering a "servant or laborer" more wages or better conditions than his employer chooses to give him. Here is the first section of the law which at present is backed by Unicle Sam's army and navy:

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii: Section 1. Section 6 of act 48 of the laws of 1911 is hereby amended

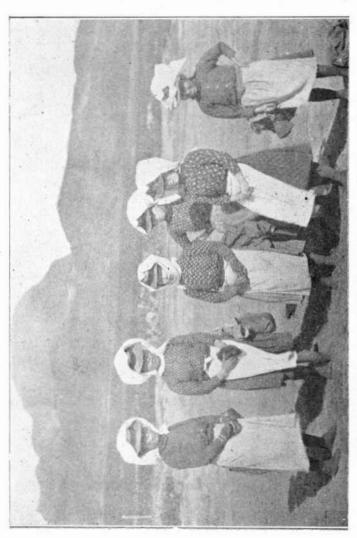
to read as follows:

"Section 6. No emigrant agent shall induce, entice or persuade or attempt to induce, entice or persuade any servant or laborer who shall have ' contracted either orally or in writing, to serve his employer for the purpose of leaving the territory during the term of such service, without the consent of such employer, nor shall he aid or abet any such servant or laborer in leaving said service and the territory during the term thereof without the consent of said employer."

Reads like a paragraph from the old slave code, doesn't it? Remember that 80,000 Japanese have been brought under the terms of that iniquitous measure.

Defenders of the law will point out that it applies only to "enticing" workers to "leave the territory"; that a laborer is free to move about as he pleases within the confines of Hawaii. But the fact is that once a worker incurs the displeasure of Big Business he is blacklisted throughout the group. There is nothing for him to do and no one dare hire him. I recall the case of some Japanese fishermen who raised a fund with which to start a small ice plant. Big Business opposed it. No local concern with wellboring machinery dared sink a well for the Japs at any price. They finally sent to San Francisco and imported men and machinery to do the work. The idea of "freedom of contract" within the territory is a hideous joke.

Do you wonder that Japan with a powerful army and a more powerful navy has decreed that 80,000 of her sons and daughters



Japanese women are paid 18 cents a ton for gathering and loading sugar cane in Hawaii. It is against the law to offer higher wages or better conditions to "entice" laborers from the territory.

shall not forever be held in such peonage? I know that much the same laws prevail in several of our southern states, notably Alabama and Georgia, but that is "our" capitalist class exploiting "our" working class. The Japanese capitalist will enslave his own race or another race with impunity, but will send his army and navy to fight if a foreign people reap the profits from under-paid labor of Japanese workers. Japanese workers in the islands are already in rebellion so that the two classes are a unit as regards a settlement of affairs in Hawaii. They will fight.

If, when the time comes, you decide to slay or be slain by the workers of Japan for the benefit of American, British and German capitalists in Hawaii I want you to know the exact caliber of the gang for which you'll go to your death. You have been told that Japan is a highly immoral nation; that prostitution is the rule, not the exception, and that the imperial Japanese government legalizes and maintains a monopoly on the business of renting the bodies of Japanese women. That is true. But there is something in Hawaii under United States rule that has been carefully kept from you. In the next chapter I shall take you through Honolulu's vice district, "Iwilei," the most Godforsaken, devil-damned spot on the face of the earth.

And while you're cursing Japan for her unholy laws affecting Japanese women just let this information sink in: In Hawaii, where American Big Business is supreme, a woman to practice prostitution must be a citizen of the United States.

It is the law.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SOCIAL EVIL.

N THIS installment I shall have much to say about the United States soldier in Hawaii, not because as ex-President Taft declared, "The enlisted soldier is the scum of the nation," but because as Kipling remarks in "Tommy Atkins,"

". . . single men in barricks Don't grow into plaster saints."

The soldier's connection with the social evil in Hawaii is not so much due to his personal viciousness as to the fact that he is stationed in a tropical land thousands of miles from home. Many of them, too, have been drawn into the service by pictured or oral suggestions of liberties to be enjoyed in foreign climes; they do not learn their mistake until too late. Most of them are young men in full bloom of life and vigor. They cannot marry on the wages they receive. They are "single men in barricks." That tells the story.

Here is something that will surprise you! There are no native prostitutes in Hawaii. There never have been. The traffickers in human bodies have been unable to induce any native woman or girl to enter a house and receive visitors for pay. It is true that illegitimacy is not frowned upon by natives. Indeed, if the average uneducated Hawaiian woman can point to one or more children with white blood in their veins she considers it a distinct credit. It is also true that upon a compartively few minutes' acquaintance the uneducated Hawaiian woman will agree to illicit relations with a member of the opposite sex, but this is always done as a mark of hospitality, never as a commercial proposition. If the owners of immoral properties could induce native women to prostitute themselves for pay they could reap an added harvest from tourists.

As you have already learned, to practice prostitution in Hawaii a woman must be a citizen of the United States of America. Until recently most of the prostitutes were Japanese women. But there are 8,000 soldiers in Hawaii. Their wages amount to more than \$4,000 a day. They are the most frequent and the most liberal patrons of the vice district. The Japanese women were

getting a considerable portion of the soldiers' pay. This they were sending to Japan, where it was used to help maintain the Japanese navy. When the authorities learned of it they immediately decreed that none but women citizens of the United States should be permitted to sink to this depth of depravity. The Japanese women were deported at once, all but a few who hastily married citizens. Their places were taken by white women from the mainland, by negroes, Filipinos, Porto Ricans and others who could prove that they were daughters of the great American republic. That is the condition today. The shameful decree stands, probably unique in all the laws of the world affecting women.

Natives told me the order was put into effect "to protect home industry."

Honolulu's vice district is named "Iwilei," pronounced "E-vel-ay." The soldiers call it "Evil Way." It is situated on the outskirts of town with pineapple canneries adjoining. Sailors and tourists declare it to be the most vicious spot in all the world. Port Said is claimed to be the wickedest city on earth, but not even Port Said can boast an individual district as vile as Iwilei.

There is a high board fence completely around the district, which would cover several city blocks. Some of the houses are two-story affairs, but most are small, one-story cribs, sitting close to the ground. The reason for this will appear later. Some of them are old, ramshackle buildings while others are new and freshly painted. There is no sewer system in the place. There are no sidewalks. The filth is indescribable. The sale of liquot is forbidden within the district, so patrons bring intoxicants with them. Broken glass under foot is not uncommon.

A day and night business is conducted at Iwilei, but the place is never in full swing until nightfall. There is no music in any of the houses. (It is the one spot in all Hawaii where music is not heard.) There are few bright lights, no silken tapestries and practically no furnishings in the houses. There is little of the glamour of other vice districts in "Iwilei."

Patrons are principally soldiers and sailors, but with liberal additions of civilian men and boys of every conceivable shade and nationality except Chinese and Hawaiian. Neither men nor women of these two are to be found in Iwilei. Houses sit close

to the ground that women leaning from windows may be on a level with the faces of passersby. And there the women sit, exchanging oaths with crowds that gather round, bantering vile remarks, driving bargains with whisky-crazed men, singing songs that would make the devil stop his ears, displaying their persons—secure in the knowledge that a paternal government guards their interests and that no alien woman can take away their source of livelihood.

They are not permitted to draw the color line. In the course of an evening a white girl will entertain a negro, a Jap, a Porto Rican, a Spaniard, a Filipino, a Mexican, an East Indian coolie—and then a clean-blooded white soldier boy who joined the army to see the world. At home he would strike to earth the man who dared suggest that he, the soldier, would share a mistress with another man of different color. But he loses that in Hawaii. He dare not approach native women because of a law requiring a white man to marry any native girl with whom he has improper relations. The soldier's uniform makes him too conspicuous. The risk is too great. So he shares a mistress with the lowest men of earth. They bring her frightful diseases from the Orient which she transmits to the soldier.

The houses have no roller window shades, but cloth curtains caught up at the side when the inmate is at liberty and allowed to fall across the window when she has a visitor. Because of the tropical climate windows are never closed and because of constant sea breezes the cloth curtains billow and sway in the wind. This reduces privacy to a minimum and the tolerance of this condition justifies Iwilei's boast that of all the vice districts in creation it is the worst.

You would think that women who live such a life had been crushed till no human attribute remained; that all finer sensibilities had been seared till they could never be revived; that they were painted ghouls robbed of every womanly impulse. Yet Frances Blascoer, special investigator for the board of trustees of the Kaiulani Home for Young Women and Girls in Honolulu, relates the following:

"One of the women (of Iwilei) told us of a little Filipino wife, only 15 years old, who worked in the cannery (adjoining Iwilei) with her husband; but he had been sick and when the

baby came they had no furniture and there was no money to provide the necessities for either mother or child. 'And so,' said the woman, 'we women (of Iwilei) just got together and made the baby clothes, and got her a bed and some things. Why,' she added shamefacedly, 'you'd have thought it was a sewing circle to look at us.'"

Here is another case of which I was told:

The most completely depraved, the most violent and the most vicious woman in all Iwilei was arrested and given a jail sentence. She was suspected of several murders, but they never were proved. She could out-drink, out-smoke, out-swear and out-fight any man that frequented the place. In jail she made day and night hideous with her screams. She shouted curses at prisoners and jailers alike. She had not a friend in the prison. She smashed everything breakable on which she could lay her hands. She sent for the chaplain—once. When he came she threw water in his face. Extra punishment for these offenses only increased her viciousness. She was completely unmanageable.

And then one day as an experiment a big doll was carried to her cell. It was life-sized with wavy hair, dimpled cheeks and "eyes that really shut." Little knit booties encased its feet and a tin rattle was suspended from its neck. It was laid on the floor of her cage during one of her fits of temper. The door was slammed shut and the others waited to watch the effect.

At first she backed into a corner as if afraid. Then she began to tremble. Suddenly she grabbed the figure from the floor, to smash it against the bars—they thought. But instead she uttered a cry that mellowed into a croon, cuddled the doll to her breast and sank to the floor weeping. In less than a minute she was stroking its hair and whispering mother-words into its ear. The age-long spirit that capitalism had crushed rushed to the surface almost on the instant. By nightfall she was singing lullabyes to "baby." She became the most docide prisoner in jail and when released she left the islands.

But such cases are the exception, not the rule. Most of the women in Iwilei drag out their lives to a terrible end, victims of a system that, for profits, has filled the islands with a population in which single men, in and out of "barricks," outnumber

the women many, many times. Iwilei, its degraded men and women and the social evil in Hawaii are an effect, not a cause—an effect of the capitalist system.



CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION.

A YOUNG Japanese in Hawaii taught me a lesson I shall never forget. At the close of one of my meetings he came forward, shook hands and remarked:

"We all same likee you. You no makee capital talk."

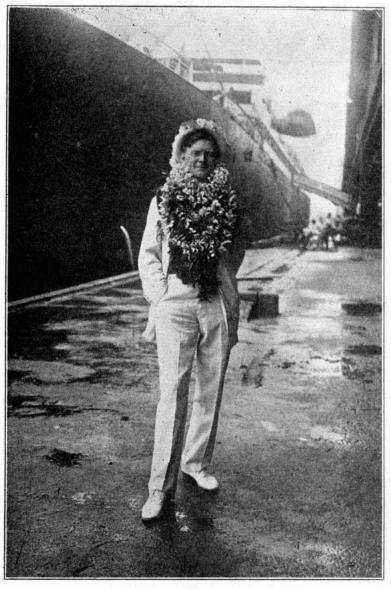
"What do you mean by 'capital talk'?" I questioned.

"Oh, you savy, Tokio, Washington—capital talk," he replied. And then I understood. He was trying to say that in my speeches I did not use big words, the language of diplomacy, "capital talk," intended to conceal meaning, rather than express it. And then he continued in his broken, pigeon English to tell of the Socialist movement in Japan where a few years ago several Socialists were executed for teaching the doctrine of working class emancipation.

An elderly Chinaman interrupted to tell of Chinese locals that meet regularly in his country. Marx, Engels, Kautsky and others, he told me, are studied deeply by Chinese Socialists. Like all of them he is exceedingly proud of the fact that his country was the first nation to elect as chief executive a man internationally famous as a Socialist. It is true that Dr. Sun Yat Sen, first president of the Chinese republic, was quickly banished by Chinese capitalism working in connection with that of other countries holding concessions in the Celestial nation. But that action only intensified the agitation among Chinese workers. Many of them predict that their nation will be the first to establish a Co-operative Commonwealth.

Since my return to the United States I have been amazed to learn how many Chinamen are familiar with Socialism and the literature of the movement. If you want to make a sleepy-looking laundryman's face light up, just ask, "John, you savy Dr. Sun Yat Sen?"

A peculiar phase of the situation in Hawaii is that the Chinese women are even more revolutionary than the men. They do more reading and are deeper thinkers than any other class on the islands. Since the practice of binding their feet was abolished a comparatively few years ago they have had a taste of



THE AUTHOR AT HONOLULU.

The ancient custom of bedecking a departing friend with wreaths of flowers is still observed by the natives.

liberty. Now they are determined to stop short of nothing less than complete economic emancipation for the entire race.

What of the future of Hawaii?

As surely as our imperialistic policy is continued; as certainly as the workers of Hawaii, most of whom are Japanese, have been outraged and exploited by organized capitalism; as surely as the United States government continues to stand sponsor for that mid-Pacific tentacle of the capitalist system, just that certainly shall we some day be drawn into a bitter, costly, savage, needless war with Japan. The present European conflict may either hasten or retard it. But we shall some day have to face it.

The United States government should immediately withdraw its soldiers and warships from Hawaii. The islands should be proclaimed neutral territory. It is as great a "menace" to Japan for us to fortify the group as it would be to us if Japan established a naval base 2.100 miles from her shores and that much nearer our own. If any other nation attempts to fortify Hawaii to use as a point of attack against us, then will be plenty of time for us to think about fighting. In such event we should have as good a chance as the offending nation and in the meantime be relieved of the tremendous military expenses. Earlier in these articles I estimated that our military burden because of Hawaii amounted to eight million dollars a year. Since then I have received a letter from Hawaii informing me that on February 10. Major General Carter, speaking before the Honolulu Ad Club. stated that the cost of maintaining United States forces in Hawaii totaled fifteen million dollars a year, an average of more than \$41,000 a day! This, remember, is for military occupancy alone and does not include other territorial expense, all of it needless, all of it wasted except as it enables a bare handful of business interests to continue the game of exploitation.

If it be argued that to withdraw United States troops will result in great loss of profits and property to the business interests intrenched I can only say that all the property in all the islands of all the seas is not worth the life of one soldier—if he's my boy!

Hawaii should be released and the islands proclaimed neutral territory. If this is not done, if Big Business continues to

hold our army and navy in line as a shield for its exploitation, then when war is declared because of Hawaii, on the day of the international crime, there will go ringing up and down the valleys of this nation, over the mountains and across the plains of this republic, a battle cry such as the world has never heard. The hearts of mothers will leap because of it. The whitened heads of aged fathers will bow as their eyes brim tears of joy. Wives shall laugh because the great terror at last is impotent. Thankful tears shall well in the eyes of maidens whose lovers are safe from the war fiend. Children will shout at play. For on that day the American working class will break the shackles of tradition that glorifies murder and wholesale bloodshed. Strong men will stand in cottage doors with arms entwining their loved ones and answer the call to slaughter with the ringing cry of humanity—

"NOT A MAN, NOT A DOLLAR FOR WAR!"

An awakened working class "no makee capital talk."



Sunset in Hawaii.

Presidential Message on Attempt to Illegally Annex Hawaii

The conspiracy of Big Business"to annex the United States" to Hawaii extended over a number of years and several false starts were made before the act was finally consummated in 1900. It will be remembered that Grover Cleveland refused to sanction the high-handed methods of sugar interests in Hawaii after they, in unauthorized connivance with the United States minister, caused U.S. troops to be landed and actually took possession of the islands in the name of the people of the United States. The people of the United States knew as little about it at that moment as they now know about what transpires in the islands. At any rate the conspiracy seemed about to hatch. But when the report of the United States' minister was transmitted to Grover Cleveland, then president. he sent the following message to congress. The message will bear careful reading and rereading, particularly in the light of later events:

BY GROVER CLEVELAND, PRESIDENT.

T is unnecessary to set forth the reasons which in January, 1893, led a considerable proportion of Americans and other foreign merchants and traders, residing at Honolulu to favor the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. It is sufficient to note the fact and to observe that the object was one which was zealously promoted by the minister representing the United States in that country.

He evidently had an ardent desire that it should become a fact accomplished by his agency and during his ministry, and was not inconveniently scrupulous as to the means employed to that end. On the 19th day of November, 1892, nearly two months before the first overt act tending toward the subversion of the Hawaiian government and the attempted transfer of Hawaiian

territory to the United States, he addressed a long letter to the secretary of state, in which the case for annexation was elaborately argued on moral, political and economical ground. He refers to the loss of the Hawaiian interests from the operation of the McKinley bill and the tendency to still further deprivation of sugar property unless some positive measure of relief is granted. He strongly inveighs against the existing Hawaiian government and emphatically declares for annexation. . . .

It seems proper to quote from a letter written by the minister to the secretary of state on the 8th day of March, 1892, nearly a year prior to the first step taken toward annexation. After stating the possibility that the existing government of Hawaii might be overturned by an orderly and peaceful revolution. Minister Stevens writes as follows:

"Ordinarily, in like circumstances, the rule seems to be to limit the landing and movement of the United States forces in foreign waters and dominion exclusively to the protection of the United States legation and of the lives and property of American citizens; but as the relations of the United States to Hawaii are exceptional, and in former years the United States officials here took somewhat exceptional action in circumstances of disorder, I desire to know how far the present minister and naval commander may deviate from established international rules and precedents in the contingencies indicated in the first part of this dispatch."

To a minister of this temper, full of zeal for annexation, there seemed to arise in January, 1893, the precise opportunity for which he was watchfully waiting—an opportunity which by timely "deviation from established international rules and precedents" might be improved to successfully accomplish the great object in view; and we are quite prepared for the exultant enthusiasm with which, in a letter to the state department dated February 1, 1893, he declares:

"The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it."

As a further illustration of the activity of this diplomatic representative, attention is called to the fact that on the day the above letter was written, apparently unable longer to restrain his ardor, he issued a proclamation whereby, "in the name of the United States," he assumed the protection of the Hawaiian Islands and declared that said action was "taken pending and subject to negotiations at Washington." Of course this assumption of a protectorate was promptly dis-

avowed by our government, but the American flag remained over the government building at Honolulu and the forces remained on guard until April, and after Mr. Blount's arrival on the scene, when both were removed.

A brief statement of the occurrences that led to the subversion of the constitutional government of Hawaii in the interests of annexation to the United States will exhibit the true complexion of that transaction.

On Saturday, January 14, 1893, the queen of Hawaii, who had been contemplating the proclamation of a new constitution, had, in deference to the wishes and remonstrance of her cabinet, renounced the project for the present at least. Taking this relinquished purpose as a basis of action, citizens of Honolulu numbering from fifty to one hundred, mostly resident aliens, met in a private office and selected a so-called committee of safety composed of thirteen persons, SEVEN OF WHOM WERE FOREIGN SUBJECTS, and consisted of five Americans. one Englishman and one German. This committee, though its designs were not revealed, had in view nothing less than annexation to the United States, and between Saturday, the 14th. and the following Monday, the 16th of January—though exactly what action was taken may not be clearly disclosed—they were certainly in communication with the United States min-On Monday morning the queen and her cabinet made public proclamation with a notice which was specially served upon the representatives of all foreign governments, that any changes in the constitution would be sought only in the methods provided by the instrument. Nevertheless at the call and under the auspices of the committee of safety, a mass meeting of citizens was held on that day to protest against the queen's alleged illegal and unlawful proceedings and purposes. at this meeting the committee of safety continued to disguise their real purpose and contented themselves with procuring the passage of a resolution denouncing the queen and empowering the committee to devise ways and means "to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order and the protection of life, liberty and property in Hawaii."

This meeting adjourned between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon. On the same day, and immediately after such ad-

journment, the committee, unwilling to take further steps without the co-operation of the United States minister, addressed him a note representing that the public safety was menaced and that lives and property were in danger, and concluded as follows:

"We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and, therefore, pray for the protection of the United States forces."

Whatever may be thought of the other contents of this note, the absolute truth of this latter statement is incontestable. When the note was written and delivered the committee, so far as it appears, had neither a man nor a gun at their command, and after its delivery they became so panic-stricken at their position that they sent some of their number to interview the minister and request him not to land the United States forces until the next morning. But he replied that the troops had been ordered and whether the committee were ready or not the landing should take place. And so it happened that on the 16th day of January, 1893, between 4 and 5 o'clook in the afternoon, a detachment of marines from the United States steamer Boston, with two pieces of artillery, landed at Honolulu. men, upward of 160 in all, were supplied with double cartridge belts accompanied by a hospital corps with stretchers and medical supplies.

This military demonstration upon the soil of Honolulu was of itself an act of war, unless made either with the consent of the government of Hawaii or for the bona fide purpose of protecting the imperiled lives and property of citizens of the United States. But there is no pretense of any such consent on the part of the government of the queen, which at that time was undisputed and was both de facto and de jure government. point of fact the existing government, instead of requesting the presence of an armed force protested against it. There is as little basis for the pretense that such forces were landed for the security of American life and property. If so, they would have been stationed in the vicinity of such property and so as to protect it, instead of at a distance and so as to command the Hawaiian government building and palace. Admiral Skerrett, the officer in command of our naval force on the Pacific station, has frankly stated that in his opinion the location of

the troops was inadvisable if they were landed for the protection of American citizens, whose residences and places of business, as well as the legation and consulate, were in a distant part of the city; but the location selected was a wise one if the forces were landed for the purpose of supporting the provisional government. If any peril of life and property calling for any such martial array had existed, Great Britain and other foreign powers interested would not have been behind the United States in activity to protect their citizens. But they made no sign in that direction. When these armed men were landed in the city, Honolulu was in its customary orderly and peaceful condition. There were no symptoms of riot or disturbance in any quarter. Men, women and children were about the streets as usual, and nothing varied the ordinary routine or disturbed the ordinary tranquility except the landing of the Boston's marines and their march through the town to the quarters assigned them. Indeed, the fact that after having called for the landing of the United States forces on plea of danger to life and property the committee of safety themselves requested the minister to postpone action exposed the untruthfulness of their representations of present peril to life and property. The peril they saw was an anticipation growing out of guilty intentions on their part and something which, though not then existing, they knew would certainly follow their attempt to overthrow the government of the queen without the aid of the United States forces.

Thus it appears that Hawaii was taken possession of by the United States forces without the consent or wish of the government of the islands, or anybody else so far as shown except the United States minister. Therefore, the military occupation of Honolulu by the United States on the day mentioned was wholly without justification, either as an occupation by consent or as an occupation necessitated by dangers threatening American life and property. It must be accounted for in some other way and on some other ground, and its real motive and purpose are neither obscure nor far to seek.

The United States forces being now on the scene and favorably stationed, the committee proceeded to carry out their original scheme. They met the next morning, Tuesday, the

17th, perfected the plan of temporary government and fixed upon its principal officers, ten of whom were drawn from the thirteen members of the committee of safety. Between 1 and 2 o'clock, by squads and by different routes to avoid notice, and having first taken the precaution of ascertaining whether there was anyone there to oppose them, they proceeded to the government building to proclaim the new government. No sign of opposition was manifest, and thereupon an American citizen began to read the proclamation from the steps of the government building, almost entirely without auditors. It is said that before the reading was finished quite a concourse of persons. variously estimated at from 50 to 100, some armed and some unarmed, gathered about the committee to give them aid and confidence. This statement is not important, since the one controlling factor in the whole affair was unquestionably the United States marines, who, drawn up under arms and with artillery in readiness only 76 yards distant, dominated the situation

Military Conscription Planned for Hawaii in 1915

THE following article (carefully suppressed in all newspapers published in the United States proper) is taken verbatim from the Honolulu Pacific Commercial-Advertiser for April 6, 1915. It shows both the desperateness and the unAmerican spirit of those now enjoying the protection of the American flag and the daily flow of thousands upon thousands of dollars from the national treasury.

Undoubtedly the scheme was to begin military conscription in the islands and, using that as an entering wedge, gradually force it upon the citizenship of the entire republic. The author of the Advertiser letter is entirely too conservative in supposing that such an attempt would be made in no other state or territory. With Hawaii as a precedent the same gang that prompted military conscription in the islands would, and undobtedly intended to, later force the same measure through the legislatures of other states and territories. In other words, Mr. Reader, if you refused to volunteer to fight for them, it was intended to make you do so. If the actual condition of affairs in Hawaii is to finally become public, if the whole truth is at last to be made known, this precious outfit would forestall the wrath of an undeceived people by clamping upon them a law compelling them to fight in behalf of a cause that they knew to be wrong.

Those responsible for attempted conscription have interests scattered throughout the territory. It will require more white men than the islands now afford to properly protect those interests on the day of the international crime. The life of a civilian boy living in Vermont is no more precious to them than the life of a soldier boy stationed in Hawaii. They want both lives, many, many lives, to defend their properties and protect their profits. In the meantime they live off the present profits

assured them by the land and sea fighting forces of the nation they despise and exploit.

The proposed law was temporarily laid aside by the united action of Socialists and radicals in Hawaii and *Appeal to Reason* in the United States, proper.

The article before referred to follows in full:

From Honolulu Pacific Commercial Advertiser, April 6, 1915.

Charging that House Bill No. 148, providing for compulsory military training and instruction throughout the Territory, originated in the headquarters of the Hawaiian Department, U. S. Army, and only thinly veiling his innuendoes that the measure was intended to give militarism further control in the Islands, Attorney W. H. Smith of Hilo, in a letter to *The Advertiser*, roundly chastises the legislature for giving any consideration to the bill.

He alludes to the army as "that element which has such a strangle-hold on the community," and takes occasion to wax sarcastic at the utterances of Major General Carter on several occasions contending that the entire bill is cleverly drawn so as to pull the wool over the eyes of the people.

TAKES FLING AT CARTER.

The letter is as follows:

"It seems unfortunate that the house of representatives did not have the courage of its convictions, feeble as those convictions seem to have been, and allow the bill for compulsory military education to remain in the discard to which it had been, upon third reading, consigned.

"While I have no personal knowledge as to the matter, I am quite willing to accept as true General Carter's statement before the house, that 'no state or other territory of the union has ever attempted to pass a measure of this nature;' and I am quite convinced in spite of General Carter's glowing eulogy of the bill in the same address, that no state or territory will make such an attempt. Certainly the citizens of no state or territory (and I here delete the word 'other') will advocate such legislation and I doubt very much whether the military authorities who happen to be stationed in any state or 'other' territory will ever have the nerve to attempt it.

"So far as Hawaii is concerned, however, almost anything may be expected of that element which has such a stranglehold upon the community that it threatens a business boycott if its privately-owned automobiles are required to pay the taxes which are levied by law upon those vehicles, and paid by civilians who own them. General Carter says that militarism teaches obedience; apparently this is to be taken with some qualification, although in those communities where militarism has reached its perfect flower, it not only teaches obedience, but enforces it with a vengeance.

"PULLS WOOL OVER EYES."

"But to return 'to our sheep,' or rather our wolf in sheep's clothing, viz: House Bill 148 for 'The Military Instruction of Male Citizens,' which according to all the signs did not originate in the cranium of the representative from Kahala, its putative father, but on the second floor of the Alexander Young Hotel, and which, while it has divers crudities and even fatal defects, so far as the possibilities of its enforcement are concerned, was certainly drawn with much skill for the purpose of pulling the wool of the aforesaid sheep over the eyes of the public. This gentle and lamblike bill does not upon its face, purport to require that all citizens upon reaching a certain age shall enlist in the organized militia of the Territory for a three-year service, a requirement which would out-prussianize Prussia, 'and then some,' but it gives him a choice of thus enlisting or of doing one of the two other things. first of these other things is to take a year's course of fortyeight lessons in 'practical military work'; an expression capable of a very wide range of possibilities, and one which is by no means limited to the simple and joyous exercises enumerated in the bill by way of illustration, to-wit: 'care of the United States service rifle, target practice, personal hygiene, and individual cooking,' but might also include blacking the instructor's boots (and probably would, if he were an army officer), massaging his horse, doing his laundry, and other activities of a like nature, which, if one may judge from appearances, is considered in the regular army as 'practical military work.'

"The bill is beautifully indefinite as to the times and

places where this 'practical military work' is to be performed, but the appropriation of \$2,500 a year for the whole Territory would not seem to provide for the mountain to go to Mohamet, or the instructor to the youth, and the young man who happens to reach his eighteenth birthday in Kona, Waimea, Kalapana, or some other outlying district of the Territory, will evidently be obliged to make divers pilgrimages, at his own expense, to the Mecca of this 'practical military work,' which will probably be Honolulu, or possibly, by the grace of the powers that be, to Hilo, Lihue or Wailuku.

"The youth in question and his parents have, however, one other choice, such is the gentleness of militarism in teaching the young idea how to shoot. This is the choice of being haled before a district magistrate (for thus may even the humble district magistrate assist in the defense of his country against the foe) and being so haled, there may be imposed in the words of the Act, 'the same punishment and penalties' as are provided in the case of truancy from the public schools.

APPLYING 'MILITARY SCREW.'

"It is possible that the average citizen whose representative or senator is being subjected just now to the military screw in Honolulu is not familiar with the penalties prescribed, which are as follows: the words 'military' and 'instructor' being inserted in place of the words 'school' and 'school teacher,' in the statute referred to, for the purpose of making the application clear:

"If any child of military age shall persist in absenting himself from such course of military instruction, any district magistrate shall upon a proper complaint being made by the military instructor cause such child and the father or mother, guardian or other person having the charge of such child, to appear before such magistrate, and upon it being proved that the person responsible for the child had not used proper diligence to enforce the child's regular attendance at such course of military instruction, such responsible party shall be punished by a fine in a sum not less than five and not exceeding fifty dollars, or by imprisonment for not more than two months. In case the child shall prove the offending party, the magistrate shall send him to a reform or industrial school for a term not less than six months

or more than two years, or otherwise sentence him to a fine not exceeding five dollars."

"Laws are sometimes criticized upon the ground that they haven't got 'teeth.' This one certainly has a dental equipment upon which it would be difficult to improve. Again I take occasion to say that General Carter is probably quite right when he says that the like legislation has never been proposed in 'any state or territory.' The two alternatives to actual service in the ranks of the militia are, as shown above, of such a nature that the practical effect will in most cases be compulsory enlistment in the National Guard, which is undoubtedly the real intent of the promoters of this bill."

Jack London on Hawaii

Following are opening paragraphs of "Goodbye, Jack," a story of Hawaii written by Jack London on one of his cruises into the Pacific;

"Hawaii is a queer place. Everything socially is what I may call topsy-turvy. Not but what things are correct. They are almost too much so. But still things are sort of upside down. The most ultraexclusive set there is the "Missionary Crowd." It comes with rather a shock to learn that in Hawaii the obscure, martyrdom-seeking missionary sits at the head of the table of the money aristocracy. But it is true. The humble New Englanders who came out in the third decade of the Nineteenth century, came for the lofty purpose of teaching the Kanakas the true religion, the worship of the only one genuine and undeniable God. So well did they succeed in this, and also in civilizing the Kanaka, that by the second or third generation he was practically extinct. This being the fruit of the seed of the Gospel, the fruit of the seed of the missionaries (the sons of the grandsons) was the possession of the islands themselves, of the land, the ports, the townsites, and the sugar plantations. The missionary who came to give the Bread of Life remained to gobble up the whole heathen feast.

"But that is not the Hawaiian queerness I

started out to tell. Only one cannot speak of things Hawaiian without mentioning the missionaries. There is Jack Kersdale, the man I wanted to tell about; he came of missionary stock. His grandfather was old Isaac Kersdale, a Yankee trader, who got his start for a million in old days by selling cheap whisky and square-faced gin. There's another queer thing. The old missionaries and old traders were mortal enemies. You see their interests conflicted. But their children made it up by inter-marrying and dividing the islands between them."



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