

***A Showdown at Honolulu Harbor:
Exploring late 19th century Hawaiian politics through a narrative biography
of Celso Cesare Moreno***

Lorenz Gonschor and Louis Bousquet***

The political history of Hawai‘i is both fascinating and tragic in multiple ways. Some of its episodes could be taken right out of a mystery novel or an action thriller. And many of the characters involved in these episodes, both Hawaiians and foreigners, could not have been better invented by a novelist or screenplay writer. Numerous articles and books, both academic and popular, have been written on some of these personages from multiple angles, though most of them mediocre in quality and based on rather shallow historical research. As early as 1978, Australian historian Gavan Daws pointed out the complexities surrounding the writing of biographies of nineteenth-century Oceanian personages in general and of Western ‘adventurers’ in nineteenth-century Polynesia in particular.¹ In the introductory chapters of a more recent survey of Pacific life-writing, Brij V. Lal, Vicki Luker and Niel Gunson further elaborate on these complexities, cautioning, for example, against ascribing to biographic texts a ‘completeness’ and ‘neutrality’ they can by definition never have.² Another particular problem in Hawaiian historiography that is barely touched upon by the cited essays, is the presence of a rich archive of printed and manuscript materials in Hawaiian language that has been all but ignored by most writers on Hawai‘i’s political history until fairly recently. Marie Alohālani Brown’s freshly published biography of a major Hawaiian statesman that makes extensive use of Hawaiian-language texts has set a benchmark for future such works.³

In exploring, against this backdrop, the biography of Celso Cesare Moreno, one of the most fascinating people to come to the islands, and his involvement in, and impact on, Hawaiian politics, we have come to the realisation that only a narrative that mixes thoroughly researched history (including the use of Hawaiian-language sources) with fictionalised prose does justice to the complexities of the person’s character. Almost three decades ago, the first such narrative biography in book length was written about another important figure in nineteenth-century Hawaiian politics, using fictionalised dialogue to illustrate and elaborate on archival findings

* Lorenz Gonschor recently obtained his PhD in political science and is currently teaching in the French and German divisions at the University of Hawai‘i. His research focuses on historical and contemporary politics of Hawai‘i and other Pacific Islands. He can be reached at gonschor@hawaii.edu

** Louis Bousquet is an assistant professor of French and the Chair of the French and Italian division at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. He is a specialist of 20th and 21st century French literature with an emphasis on the Pacific. He can be reached at lb2010@hawaii.edu

¹ Gavan Daws, ‘All the Horrors of the Half Known Life’: Some Notes on the Writing of Biography in the Pacific. In Niel Gunson (ed.), *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H. E. Maude* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978): 297-316.

² Lal, Brij V. and Vicki Luker, Preface. In Brij V. Lal and Vicki Luker (eds.), *Telling Pacific Lives: Prisms of Process* (Canberra: ANU E-Press, 2008): vii-xiv; Niel Gunson, Telling Pacific Lives: From Archetype to Icon. In Lal and Luker, *Telling Pacific Lives*, 1-14.

³ Marie Alohālani Brown, *Facing the Spears of Change: The Life and Legacy of John Papa ‘Ī‘ī* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2016)

that would otherwise be rather dull.⁴ Even earlier, one of the better mid-twentieth-century histories of the Hawaiian Kingdom, based partly on interviews with eyewitnesses and their first-generation descendants, had made extensive use of a narrative style to bring the complexities of nineteenth-century Hawai‘i to life.⁵ By using a similar style in this article, a deeper insight into both Moreno’s fascinating personality and the ramifications of late nineteenth-century Hawaiian politics can be gained than by simply reconstructing and enumerating elements of his life from source material.

On 14 November 1879, an unusual steamship with an unusual passenger landed in Honolulu Harbor. From a distance, there was nothing special about the ship. By the 1870s, steamships had become common in the Northern Pacific, and their visits to Honolulu became more and more frequent, even though the majority of watercraft docking in Honolulu Harbor was still sailing vessels. Upon entering the passage through the reef, however, the observer could note that the steamer flew a flag that had never been spotted on a ship in Honolulu before: It was triangular in shape, yellow in colour and featured a blue dragon. Once the ship was inside the harbour, first docking on the quarantine station on a tiny coral island to be inspected by officials of the Hawaiian Kingdom’s Board of Health, one could read the name of the ship and its home port, HO-CHUNG – SHANGHAI, next to four Chinese characters probably representing the same words.⁶ The impressive steamer, with a tonnage of 850, was the first Chinese ship traveling to the Hawaiian Islands. While trade with China had been common for many decades, it had always been operated by European-, American- and occasionally Hawaiian-flagged ships. That China itself was now venturing into the steamship business was a sign that a potential for geopolitical shifts in the North Pacific was in the air.

Next to the steamer’s European captain, a high ranking Chinese imperial official and several hundred immigrant labourers, the most remarkable passenger debarking from the *Ho-Chung* that day was an Italian by the name of Celso Cesare Moreno. A sturdy and distinguished-looking man at the age of forty-eight,⁷ Moreno had already lived a life full of adventures on three different continents. Born in the small town of Dogliani in what was then the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia in 1831, Moreno had taken to the sea as a young man,



Fig. 1: Celso Cesare Moreno (1831-1901).
Undated by unknown photographer.
Copyright expired. Source: Wikipedia.

⁴ Robert M. Gibson and Terry Lawhead, *Dr. John Mott-Smith: Hawaii’s First Royal Dentist and Last Royal Ambassador* (Honolulu: Smilepower Institute, 1989).

⁵ Kathleen Dickenson Mellen, *An Island Kingdom Passes: Hawaii becomes American*. (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1958).

⁶ The description of the ship and her passengers is based on Bob Dye, *Merchant Prince of the Sandalwood Mountains: Afong and the Chinese in Hawai‘i*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1997): 146.

⁷ United States minister to Hawai‘i James Comly described him as “a man extremely intelligent (...) of a distinct stature corpulent, six feet tall, with a distinguished air.” Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom. Vol. III. 1874-1893: The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1967): 209.

and, after earning an engineering degree from the University of Genoa, travelled throughout the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and Asia as a ship captain. A polyglot fluent in at least a dozen languages,⁸ Moreno had a rare gift of understanding the various peoples and cultures he interacted with and at times took the indigenous side against the European colonialist powers. It seems difficult in hindsight, if not impossible, to clearly determine his level of opportunism versus his genuine desire to help rid the native of their western oppressors. For Moreno was a complex figure in a complicated time, but through his actions and the testimony of those who encountered him, friends or foes, we can start to flesh out the portrait of a fascinatingly multifaceted and paradoxical man.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of new power eager to partake in the political chess game played on a global stage. Western nations like ravenous Chronos were feeding their own children to the maw of industry and paving the way for the slaughter of a future world war. Waking up from the slumber of the Old Regime, they plunged into a feeding frenzy on the iron wings of new technologies. Ancient kingdoms and territories were being trampled all over the globe in the name of morality and modernity. General fascination and contempt for the ‘savages’ was fuelled with pseudo-scientific and racist dogmas themselves supported by religious zealotry, they were the perfect excuse to take over.

But this mind-set albeit inescapable was not universal in the West. There were exceptions, and certain individuals were swimming against the tide of this ideological domination and its materialistic ‘progress.’ Moreno was one of those individuals, standing up seemingly for those that were being crushed by its wheels. Knowledgeable both in terms of theoretical education and practical experience, open-minded and respectful of traditional cultures and ways of living, he had soon developed a passion to intervene where small traditional potentates were being obliterated by European imperialism.

In India, Moreno had first departed on this path, participating in the 1857-58 Sepoy mutiny against British rule, and after the rebellion had failed, he went on to Aceh at the northwestern tip of Sumatra.⁹ Aceh was then still its own native sultanate, but its independence was threatened by the expanding Dutch colonial empire that had already swallowed up most of the island. With his worldly skills and displayed sympathy for the case of Acehnese independence, Sultan Alauddin Ibrahim Mansur Syah made Moreno his close advisor and allowed him to marry one of his daughters. Due to internal political troubles, Moreno had to leave Aceh in 1862,¹⁰ but before his departure the sultan commissioned him as Aceh’s plenipotentiary to negotiate with Western powers on his behalf, as part of a strategy was to seek an alliance with another Western power in order to outbalance the Netherlands, at the price of ceding a piece of Acehnese territory to that power.¹¹ This ‘Aceh affair,’ like the ‘Indian mutiny’ affair before, illustrate a few of the patterns that will be found in Celso Cesare Moreno’s life: a remarkable capacity to entrust himself to the local power in a very short period of time; a meaningful connection that lasted beyond his physical stay as the plenipotentiary’s responsibility attests; a flair for the dramatic that shows through his hurried departure and his doomed commitment for Acehnese independence; and an anticolonialist stance that appears to have clear cultural underlyings, in this case his fight against the Dutch colonial empire like previously against that of the British. As we will see below, Moreno would prove to be more ‘understanding’ towards Italian or even French colonial interests. Finally, we see the complete

⁸ Rudolph J. Vecoli, and Francesco Durante, *Oh capitano! La vita favolosa di Celso Cesare Moreno in quattro continenti, 1831-1901* (Venezia: Marsilia Editori, 2014): 80.

⁹ Vecoli and Durante, *Oh Capitano!*, 17-52

¹⁰ *ibid.*: 54

¹¹ Anthony Reid, *The Contest for North Sumatra: Atjeh, the Netherlands and Britain, 1858-1898* (London and Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press and University of Malaya Press, 1969): 85-86

failure of his project and his capacity to reinvent himself in another part of the world.

After an intermezzo in China, Moreno returned to Italy in 1864 and from there to France, but his negotiations to get them involved with Aceh, while going as far as having personal audiences with King Victor Emanuel II and Emperor Napoleon III, ultimately failed.¹² Moreno went on to the United States and stayed for a prolonged time in Washington D.C., where he attempted to get American politicians interested in Aceh and more generally in Asia, launching a public relations campaign that included the publishing of his first book.¹³ At the same time, he conceptualised and began promoting the laying of a trans-Pacific telegraphic cable between the US and China.¹⁴ With all his enthusiasm to oppose European colonialism and support native resistance against it, Moreno also showed his progressive acumen illustrated with his smart stance towards new technologies such as telegraph communication. Connecting China and the Pacific would help the plight of isolated and vulnerable nations, it would improve their ties and potentially allow new networks and politics to rise in the region, thereby undermining the advantages Western colonizing powers had over them.

It was during his stay in France that Moreno first learned detailed information about Hawai‘i, as he visited the 1867 Universal Exposition,¹⁵ at which the Hawaiian Kingdom had an exhibit that was so successful it won a gold medal.¹⁶ The small island kingdom in the middle of the Pacific, consisting of eight main islands with a total surface of 16,625 square kilometres – in between the size of Northern Ireland and that of Wales – and a population of then slightly less than 100,000, was quite a special place in the world of the nineteenth century. Through ingenious diplomacy, Hawai‘i’s political leaders had successfully played the two major European powers, Great Britain and France, against each other and achieved a joint Anglo-French declaration of the islands’ independence in 1843,¹⁷ followed by the establishment of equal treaty relations with almost every single Western nation.¹⁸ This made Hawai‘i unique among non-Western nations, as the European powers had not only not colonized the islands but also recognized them as one of their equals, a status they would deny to Japan until 1899 and to China until as late as the mid-twentieth century. Hawai‘i subsequently had a marked presence on the world stage, participating in all major world exhibits like the one in Paris in 1867, and by the 1880s, the island kingdom had over a hundred diplomatic and consular agents positioned around the world, including all major cities in Oceania, North America and Great Britain, and most of the larger ones in continental Europe, South America, and Asia.¹⁹

Nonetheless, the Hawaiian Kingdom still had concerns and fears about its survival, as a new global power was emerging at the eastern rim of the northern Pacific and cast its dark

¹² Vecoli and Durante, *Oh Capitano!*, 59-88. In the case of France, in a memorandum written for the minister of Foreign affairs, Moreno’s offer is advised to be rejected because France did not want to risk a deterioration of its relations with the Netherlands over this issue. See Moreno’s letter, a draft reply and the internal memorandum in MD Océanie 3, Diplomatic Archives of France, La Courneuve.

¹³ Celso Cesare Moreno, *American Interests in Asia*. (New York: C.S. Westcott & Co.; Union Printing House 1869).

¹⁴ Vecoli and Durante, *Oh Capitano!*, 105-121.

¹⁵ *ibid.*: 80

¹⁶ Stacy Kamehiro, “Hawai‘i at the World Fairs, 1867-1893.” *World History Connected*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 2011).

¹⁷ David Keanu Sai, *Ua Mau ke Ea, Sovereignty Endures: An Overview of the Political and Legal History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Pū‘ā Foundation, 2011); Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou ka Mana: Liberating the Nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014).

¹⁸ *Treaties and Conventions Concluded between the Hawaiian Kingdom and other Powers since 1825*. (Honolulu: Elele Book, Card and Job Print, 1887).

¹⁹ “Diplomatic and Consular Representatives of Hawaii Abroad.” Printed broadsheet dated 1 June 1887. Copy in Miscellaneous Foreign 1890, FO&Ex, Hawai‘i State Archives.

shadow over the archipelago. Since its conquest of northern California from Mexico in 1848 and the subsequent establishment of San Francisco as a major Pacific trade port, the United States of America had increasingly laid an eye on the islands strategically located between its west coast and the trading centres of Asia. Sure enough, America recognized the islands' sovereignty as an independent state and would thus be precluded from simply taking them over as a colonial possession, but there were other ways of exercising imperial control over a smaller and weaker country. For instance one could take over that country's economic assets, infiltrate its government and foment coups d'état to put well-disposed local factions in power, as the United States was increasingly doing in its 'client states' of Latin America. Worse, in Hawai'i a fifth column of America's political interests was already present, in the guise of Calvinist missionaries from New England who had come to the islands in 1820, and whose descendants and their in-laws – most of them no longer preachers but now lawyers and entrepreneurs – by the 1860s formed a political faction informally known as the 'Missionary Party.' That group, numerically a tiny minority but influential in commerce, aspired to become an oligarchic ruling elite and was increasingly displaying hostility to both the Hawaiian government and the majority of its citizenry, being, in the words of the last monarch 'persistently [...] at work to undermine at every point the authority of the constitutional rulers of the Hawaiian people.'²⁰

Since the 1850s at least, Hawai'i's monarchs and their loyal advisors had thus been increasingly wary of American influence and devised strategies both to contain the influence of the Missionary Party at home, and to strengthen international alliances with countries and nations in both Europe and Asia. The most worrisome issue for Hawai'i's political leadership was the decline of the native population caused by imported diseases such as measles, smallpox, tuberculosis and leprosy that continued until it slowly began to stabilize in the last decade of the nineteenth century.²¹ In order to prevent further incentives to the Missionary Party to take over from within with a possible helping hand from the United States, finding suitable immigrants to intermarry with the aboriginal Hawaiian population and strengthen their genes against alien germs was thus a top priority.

It was in this context that Moreno had his second close encounter with the Hawaiian Islands when in 1869 he ran into the Hawaiian envoy Walter Murray Gibson, who was in Washington on a planned diplomatic world tour to recruit Malay immigrants to the Hawaiian Kingdom. In his capacity as Envoy of the Sultan of Aceh, Moreno suggested to Gibson a marriage alliance between Acehnese and other Malay rulers and the Hawaiian royal family in order to mutually strengthen their political independence and reinforce their common Austronesian cultural roots.²²

While Moreno failed in getting either America or Hawai'i interested in Aceh, his interest in the Hawaiian Kingdom received another boost when in late 1874, he met Hawai'i's then newly inaugurated King Kalākaua in San Francisco while the latter was on his way to Washington for a state visit. Elected according to provisions in Hawai'i's constitution – one of the most progressive and democratic of the time – Kalākaua had been elected to the throne by the Hawaiian parliament since his predecessor had died without an heir.

Of all the constitutional monarchs ruling the Hawaiian Islands during the nineteenth century, Kalākaua was probably the most visionary. As Hawaiian historian Jonathan Osorio has stated, he 'had a grand sense of what Hawai'i could become, because of its location, the

²⁰ Liliu'okalani, *Hawaii's Story By Hawaii's Queen* (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1898), 75-76.

²¹ David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact*. (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, 1989); Auguste Marques, "The Population of the Hawaiian Islands. Is the Hawaiian a Doomed Race? Present and Future Prospects," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (December 1893): 253-270.

²² Walter Muray Gibson, "No Hea Mai Na Kanaka Hawaii," *Nuhou: The Hawaiian News*, 14 October 1873.

intelligence of its people but also because of its long history.²³ Well-read and educated, interested both in the deep culture of his people's classical traditions and geostrategic politics as well as hyper-modern technology, the King was, as one of his biographers called him, a 'renaissance king,'²⁴ a Polynesian ruler as fluent in his ancestors' chants like the Kumulipo²⁵ as in Macchiavelli's *The Prince* and in Thomas Edison's newest inventions. During the first thirteen years of his reign the kingdom would experience unprecedented economic growth and prosperity, paralleled with a renaissance of classical Hawaiian culture and arts that had previously been weakened under missionary influence.²⁶

More than a century later the encounter between the progressive monarch and the Italian adventurer appeared like 'a match made in heaven.' The two men known for their exuberant personalities were not only immediately impressed by, but seemed to genuinely take to each other. Moreno didn't hesitate to compare the Hawaiian King to 'my father-in-law the sultan of Aceh,' adding that he considered the former 'a little more civilised,'²⁷ not surprising given the similarity in features, language and customs between Malay and Polynesian people yet also the fact that unlike the sultan, King Kalakāua was fluent in English and able to code-switch between his own cultural heritage and Victorian standards. But the comparison also underlined a deeper sense of kinship that would eventually cost both men dearly on the political scene. As much as both 'renaissance men' agreed on the need to strengthen native rulers throughout the Pacific region in the face of Western colonialism, the King also shared Moreno's enthusiasm: enthusiasm for a trans-Pacific cable, offering to have a mid-Pacific substation built in the Hawaiian Islands,²⁸ enthusiasm for the indigenous cause in the face of Western hegemony, and enthusiasm for life's pleasures shared cheerfully through their fledgling friendship made of bouts of laughter, good wines and passionate political discussions on the future of the world. A thirst for life that the Mediterranean and the Polynesian soul seemed to share and convey in a similar fiery fashion, an overall spirited expression of optimism and hope in the face of a rather bleak reality.²⁹

In 1876, Moreno's lobbying efforts bore at last some fruits, as the US Congress granted him and his associates the rights to lay and operate a trans-Pacific cable, but it was left to his Pacific Cable Company to raise the capital needed for the project.³⁰ Moreno departed once more for China, where he was able to gain the support of Chinese merchants and of Viceroy Li Hongzhang, the leader of China's imperial government, who viewed the project favourably as it fit well into his program of 'self-strengthening' the Celestial Empire, in the hopes that that his huge nation would soon be recognized by the Western powers as their equal just like tiny Hawai'i. It was within that paradigm that Li had founded the privately owned but government-subsidised China Merchants Steam Navigation Company [CMSNC] in order to create a Chinese-controlled merchant marine to compete with the Anglo-American steamship companies

²³ Jonathan Osorio, interview in 2007 Austrian documentary film *Aloha im Dreivierteltakt*, 37:45-38:15.

²⁴ Helena G. Allen, *Kalakaua: Renaissance King* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1994).

²⁵ The Kumulipo is the classical Hawaiian chant of creation of the world, or more accurately of cosmogonic origins, which King Kālākāua would eventually publish as a book in 1889, and which his sister and successor Queen Lili'uokalani translated into English in 1897.

²⁶ Stacy Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākāua Era* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

²⁷ Vecoli and Durante, *Oh Capitano!*, 117-118. "Acheem" is a nineteenth-century spelling of Aceh.

²⁸ Celso Cesare Moreno, *The Trans-Pacific Cable, as Projected by Celso Cæsar Moreno in Washington, D.C., 1869* (Honolulu, 1880), 7.

²⁹ Earlier Moreno had referred to the Malays as the "Italians of the orient," due to their inclination to be musically talented and the melodious nature of their Austronesian language, both of which fit the closely related Polynesians equally, if not more so. See Vecoli and Durante, *Oh Capitano!*, 71.

³⁰ *ibid.*: 114-115. The project and its potential benefits to Hawai'i was soon reported in Honolulu's newspapers, e.g. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 30 Sept 1876.

both in the domestic trade between Chinese ports and Chinese commerce overseas.³¹ The *Ho-Chung* was one of the CMSNC's flagships, and her 1879 maiden overseas voyage took her to Honolulu and from there to San Francisco. And Moreno, having gained the Qing Empire's backing for his cable project, had boarded her as an agent for the company, with the twofold mission of gaining Hawaiian government support and funding both for the trans-Pacific cable and for the CMSNC, with the goal of establishing a coaling station for its ships in Honolulu Harbor.³²

Nine months later, in August of 1880, Moreno had reached the climax of his career, and his presence had had a significant impact on the island kingdom, but this meteoric rise was soon to be followed by a meteoric fall.

It had been a sultry week on the island of O'ahu.³³ The kind of muggy heat that chokes Honolulu in summer when the gentle tropical breeze carried by the northeast trade winds drops without a warning and leaves a stunned population at the mercy of clammy humidity. It was impossible to escape that oppressive closeness if you lived in downtown Honolulu near the wharf. There, excitement and trepidation were palpable. Moreno was, like everyone else that day, sweating abundantly as he walked swiftly towards the port. He was dressed in a Victorian ditto suit, perfectly fitted for well-heeled European metropolitan life, but a suffocating straightjacket in the Hawaiian climate.

A ship was fast approaching into the inlet of the port and Honolulu woke at once from its afternoon provincial torpor. Bells were ringing on the "Āinahou"³⁴, the large embankment made of coral blocks that served as a wharf. Cannons on the waterfront boomed and a mixed crowd sprang into view, shambling down between Fort and Merchant Streets towards the waterfront. Sellers were setting up their stalls piling up golden colorful fruits on top large green banana leaves and laying mounts of florid fishes still flapping their iridescent tails on hard koa boards. 'Wharf rats' on the lookout roamed the boardwalk with excitement like schools of darting goatfish, looking for scraps, fallen fruits, dodging kicks from the merchants, grinning at everything and everyone and diving deep for a nickel or anything else thrown in the crystal clear sea. The docks were the place to be when a new ship steamed into Hawaiian waters. A tumult of activity burst under the blazing sun; hustle and bustle of sweating sailors and coolies loading and unloading mysterious packages, bellowing crude orders at the top of their lungs. A hubbub of merchants, military officers, ship captains, swashbucklers, gawkers, visitors and locals greeted each other, laughing, calling out to one another, talking feverishly in every language known under the shadow of Babel. The harbour was a place of joy and knowledge and wonder, where individuals starved for news could gather information and goods from the faraway world and where new things and people magically appeared and disappeared in a frenzy of hope and excitement. It was the beating heart of the Hawaiian capital, its best *vitrine* into which islanders liked to peer and dream of their future. The place where all the hopes of wealth and trepidation over an impending destiny teemed and rolled and tumbled.

Don Moreno slowed down his pace. Over the roofs swayed the tips of a forest of masts with fluttering multicolored pendants. The ships were all gathered and parked perpendicular to the waterfront like drunken cathedrals of woods, dressed in oblong stained glass, thick prickly ropes and shiny metal. Opening wide for all to see their overflowing bellies: bountiful cargo of

³¹ Lai, Chi-kong, "Li Hung-chang and Modern Enterprise: The China Merchants' Company, 1872-1885," in Samuel C. Chu and Kwang-Ching Liu (eds.), *Li Hung-chang and China's Early Modernization* (Armonk, NY and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1994): 216-247.

³² Dye, *Merchant Price of the Sandalwood Mountains*, 149, 179.

³³ O'ahu, the third-largest of the Hawaiian Islands, is where the capital Honolulu is located.

³⁴ Meaning new, i.e. reclaimed, land.

flour, bread, rice beans and sugar, dry goods, wires, kerosene, hats, yellow newspapers and brown books. Carrying treasures of coconuts transiting from Tahiti to San Francisco, thousands of fresh hard shelled fruits, tightly held inside humongous bags like obese packed grapes cascading from the rafters in their bushy bark, dry coconuts, desiccated coconuts in bulks, bouquets of fancy coconut packages, above which were placed mysteriously adorned boxes, surely filled with treasures of black pearls under garlands of dry fragrant vanilla fruits. On the harbour tide swung the floating scene of a global civilization in movement, a ballet of manufactured greed and organic abundance. Ships looked like people: they were holding their space, filling their duties in crowded, liquid quarters. There were the proles, announcing the end of the ‘age of sail,’ the hard-working steamboats huffing and puffing dusty black clouds in the clear sky that went coasting and crisscrossing relentlessly the archipelago. The gentry, elegant schooners flaunting their immaculate sails like young debutante at the ball. The highbred aristocrats, blade-like corvettes resembling amphibious greyhounds on the prowl, ready to pounce at anything and everything. Reigning above all was the menacing shadow of foreigners, exotic brutality on display, dreadful man-o-war flying continental colors, bullishly parading their arsenal of steel, canons and guns, flaunting their mesmerizing muzzles, gleaming flashes of cobalt, and brutal metallic hues of blue on the soft ultramarine aquatic tinge. Then the *Kānaka Maoli*, the fishermen, native Hawaiians in narrow canoes, outrigger canoes, double hull canoes of sturdy *koa* wood, filled to the rim with animated and tanned muscular men, bartering their crude bounty to the sailors up on deck. An inter-island steamer bursting at the seams with busy onlookers was passing an English alabaster frigate, anchored fast on the coral reef; still like a floating statue, keeping a stern and ominous watch on the town, making sure that no movement escaped its frozen gaze.

On the waterfront, Don Celso Moreno was looking right back without flinching, pacing nervously, moving his large frame back and forth on the docks, darting quick glances behind his heavy shoulders every few seconds. He knew the harbour by heart, had come there hundreds of times since his arrival, to collect information, listen to discussions and feel the town’s pulse. This sturdy man with a stubborn brow animated by an indomitable fire—he didn’t go unnoticed for long. Onlookers who recognized him whispered excitedly to their counterparts: ‘Moreno is here!!!’ ‘What’s he doing here???’ ‘Look at that scoundrel!!!’ The rumour buzzed like a hornet’s nest. He didn’t seem to notice them at first, sunk as he was in his thoughts, but once he caught their snooping and whispering, he eyed and glared straight back at them.

Moreno was a wanted man. These were his last days on the island and he didn’t know it yet. But his past experiences, navigating the perilous Indian Ocean and the Chinese sea, escaping powerful enemies, dodging traps and bullets, changing sides and making unlikely alliances had developed in him a keen instinct for survival—and, as his detractors might have said, an opportunistic instinct. Though a dreamer, Moreno on that day had a clear sense that he was about to play his last card, he could feel an immense sense of pressure mounting on his broad shoulders, and the air surrounding him was getting thinner by the day. He had a meeting later in the evening with King Kalākaua at Hale ‘Ākala, the spacy pink bungalow that served temporarily as the official royal residence while the stately new ‘Iolani Palace was under construction nearby, to plead his case, but the sovereign with whom he got along well was growing weary lately, almost standoffish, often caught daydreaming while reading the newspapers, or lost in thoughts and worries. The sovereign, once so strong and cheerful, was becoming silent and timid in his presence, as if they were carrying the same yoke and trying to catch their breath at the same time. Notwithstanding what the press of the Missionary Party claimed daily,³⁵ he was still popular amongst his people and had the vast majority of the

³⁵ “The missionaries will begin their old work by sowing the seed of discord among you and your colleagues” Celso Cesare Moreno, Letter to Robert W. Wilcox, *Pacific Commercial Adviser*, 18 April 1890.

Hawaiian population behind him.³⁶ Yet the tide of destiny didn't seem to roll in his favor as foreign diseases remained rampant and, to his dismay, the indigenous population kept precipitously declining.³⁷ The military man Moreno, educated in one of the best Italian academies, knew where laid the true power, the power to inflict harm, to kill men and wound them in droves, to terrify them into submission for generation to come, this was the power moving people and history, the right of the stronger³⁸, that power he knew for a fact wasn't in the hands of the *Kānaka Maoli* people: instead it was staring straight down at Moreno from its anchorage in the harbour.

As a man used to embracing fate and fortune, Moreno was naturally on the side of those deprived of such luxury, or so it seemed at first glance. But Moreno's life was never one of straight and clear lines. He had once been a part of the Italian and French colonial effort, socializing with members of Italy's emerging colonial lobby to sell his Aceh scheme to them,³⁹ and after he failed with a similar effort in Paris, he become involved in the French colonization of Indochina in the late 1860s.⁴⁰ His fight for natives' emancipation dimmed surprisingly when it came to 'Latin powers;' on the contrary he was an implacable foe against the Anglo-Saxon hegemony. Whereas the former were to him the inheritors of the virtuous and cultured Romans, the British were a modern incarnation of the Carthaginians, leaving only 'traces of their pride, egotism, and avidity to make money.'⁴¹ This is a testimony to the complexity of the human soul; Moreno appears to have been clearly biased when it came to his political allegiance, his noble principles notwithstanding.

But in this very instance there were no doubts in his mind. He clearly knew who he was facing. Likewise, King Kalākaua understood perfectly the challenges of his time. The King, who with several court officials had visited Moreno and the Chinese officials aboard the *Ho-Chung* within a few days of the ship's arrival⁴² had immediately seen both the trans-Pacific cable and the CMSN coaling station projects as beneficial for Hawaiian interests, and they also had found the support of the wealthy local Chinese community, who had invested significant money into the CMSNC.⁴³ As always a brilliant PR strategist, soon thereafter, Moreno had a pamphlet on his trans-Pacific cable project printed in English and Hawaiian.⁴⁴ Although the game seemed rigged, the monarch was known as a fantastic gambler and he played his hand with boldness and courage. According to Moreno⁴⁵ and, later, comments made by the King, the two men

³⁶ While there was a minority of supporters of Queen Emma, the other candidate in the 1874 election to the throne, and an even smaller minority that directly supported the Missionary Party, recent research based on Hawaiian-language newspaper reports has shown that Kalākaua had been quite popular from the beginning of his reign. See Tiffany Lani Ing Tsai, "He Kā Waiho Ho'ohemahema: Kanaka Maoli responses to King Kalākaua's Tour of the Kingdom from 1874 Newspapers in Hawai'i," *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 48 (2014): 115-143. Also, in the elections to the 1880 legislature, the King's supporters achieved a large majority; see Kyukendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, Vol.III: 206.

³⁷ Within the following decade, however, not the least thanks to Kalākaua's determined policy of *Ho'oulu Lāhui* ("increase the nation"), the tide would turn and the population slowly begin to grow again. See Marques, "The Population of the Hawaiian Islands."

³⁸ "Is always better" wrote the fabulist Jean de La Fontaine in *Fables* (Ljubljana: Prosveta Beograd, 1990): 20.

³⁹ Vecoli and Durante, *Oh Capitano!*, 76-77.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 87-88.

⁴¹ Moreno, *American Interests in Asia*, 12.

⁴² *Hawaiian Gazette*, 26 November 1879.

⁴³ Lai, "The China Merchants' Company," 224.

⁴⁴ Moreno, *The Trans-Pacific Cable*; Moreno, *Ka Uwea Telegarapa Pacifika, i Hapaiia e Celso Cæsar Moreno, ma Wasinetona, D.C., 1869* (Honolulu 1880).

⁴⁵ Here is how Moreno writes about his relation with King Kalākaua "As soon as I reached Honolulu King Kalakaua told me that I must stop with him; that he needed me to help him free himself from the domination of the missionaries. I was in private life but constantly in company of the King and acting as his adviser in many

thought alike, had similar taste and shared the same appetite for freedom. In the Italian's presence, Kalākaua had seen a unique opportunity to advance his position. It was a risky move but the King took it.

At the end of the 1880 legislative session, which had been stormy and passionate with both strong support for Moreno's projects and fierce opposition by representatives of the Missionary Party and other opponents, the King had taken a very brave step. After some reflection he took the bold risk to alienate the Missionary Party in dismissing his existing cabinet, which included men loyal to the King but also interior minister Samuel Wilder, an associate of the Missionary Party, who had been involved in an embezzlement scandal, and of whom Kalākaua had increasingly grown tired.⁴⁶ On the 14th of August, the King had exercised his constitutional prerogative in appointing a new cabinet, headed by Celso Cesare Moreno as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.⁴⁷ Rising to the third-highest position in the Kingdom after the King and the Chancellor [i.e. Chief Justice] barely nine months after his arrival, Moreno had immediately prior to his appointment given up his Italian and US citizenships to become a naturalized Hawaiian subject.⁴⁸ The Rubicon had been crossed, and two men coming from the farthest lands, had tied for a fleeting hopeful moment their lives together and the possible future of the Hawaiian archipelago.

The reaction was quick to come, brutal and unforgiving. The announcement of Moreno's appointment had created uproar among the Missionary Party and sent shockwaves through the foreign community. For the first time, many of the once-disagreeing voices and conflicting interests united against the monarch and his 'Italian scoundrel.' Prominent Missionary Party leaders William Castle, Sanford Dole and Henry Waterhouse, supported by native opponents of the King like George Pilipō, held a mass meeting at Kaumakapili Church, a center of the Calvinist creed on August 16th in order to stir up hatred against the new foreign minister among the foreign and native population alike. About two thirds of the attendees were *haole* (non-natives). Several prominent Hawaiians loyal to the king, even one of the dismissed members of the previous cabinet, John Kapena, had courageously defended the King's constitutional prerogative, but they were shouted down by the mob. Another similar meeting, almost exclusively *haole*, was held two days later at the foreigners' Bethel Church.⁴⁹

But this agitation was nothing compared to the looming dangers. Grossly overstepping their diplomatic duties, British Commissioner James Wodehouse and American Minister James Comly rallied behind the King's opponents and in turn stirred up similar antagonism among the other foreign diplomatic representatives, including French commissioner J.L. Ratard, all of whom refused to recognise Moreno in his ministerial office and deal with him.⁵⁰ Without their diplomatic support, King Kalākaua's power was severely undermined. At any moment a coup could be fomented and HBMS *Pelican*, the powerful British warship anchored in the harbour, was a frightful reminder of what could happen.⁵¹

Looking at the battleship amongst the crowd but utterly isolated, Celso Cesare Moreno remembered bitterly his history lessons at his childhood's school in Dogliani. He could hear

ways." Celso Moreno in "How Moreno fell out with Wilcox," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 15 March 1901.

⁴⁶ Mellen, *An Island Kingdom Passes*, 90.

⁴⁷ Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, Vol. III: 214; Mellen, *An Island Kingdom Passes*, 90.

⁴⁸ Naturalization Index, Hawai'i State Archives.

⁴⁹ Transcript of both meetings in *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, 21 August 1880; *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 21 August 1880 and *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 21 August 1880.

⁵⁰ Mellen, *An Island Kingdom Passes*, 90-91; Vecoli and Durante, *Oh Capitano!*, 173-180.

⁵¹ The *Pelican* arrived in Honolulu on July 23rd and left on August 24th. See *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 24 July 1880 and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 28 August 1880.

the quavering voice of his dear ‘Professore’ Atanasio Canata⁵², telling the fateful story of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, the Italian preacher burnt at the stake in Florence the 23rd of May 1498: ‘Hence it is that all armed prophets have conquered, and the unarmed ones have been destroyed.’⁵³ The sight of this powerful vessel imposing its threatening presence for all to see was a clear reminder of the opposing forces at play. But Moreno wasn’t the only one deeply concerned about the situation; the King himself was keenly aware of this troubling imbalance. Kalākaua had developed throughout the years a true obsession for anything related to the military.⁵⁴ The sovereign was capable of describing in detail and without any hesitation each corps, divisions, brigade and battalion of all the major world’s armies. He could enumerate all the carbines, guns and canons of its time and delve passionately into their respective intricacies. This was a period of stunning progress in science and engineering and the recent improvement in the *Gras rifle*’s centerfire drawn brass metallic cartridge over the *Chassepot*’s paper cartridge was a source of genuine wonderment to this renaissance man. He had dreams, big dreams: a fantasy of large weapons’ orders, of powerful weapons that would protect his islands from any imperialistic appetites. Those two exceptional men knew too well they were missing the key element to back up their ambitious plans: a strong and modern army. Their hopes for a pan-Polynesian league that would have its center in Honolulu – an idea Moreno likened to the recent unification of Italy⁵⁵ – the trans-Pacific cable that would open Hawai’i to the Pacific’s eastern seaboard and bringing along the opium trade and its huge dividends to Honolulu, all of these ideas were nothing but pipe dreams without the modern military power to back them up. Moreno’s father-in law, the Sultan of Aceh, had run into similar problems and his successor was now facing an all-out Dutch military invasion.⁵⁶

Could Hawai’i ever have a powerful navy of its own? Maybe in the future, when its income and population had multiplied, but right now the cost for a single ironclad warship seemed well beyond the means of the small country. Robert Hoapili Baker, a loyalist member of the legislature, had several times introduced a bill to take up a national loan of 10 million dollars for exactly that purpose, to build a capable Hawaiian army and navy. Moreno liked the idea, and so did the King. At their last meeting in Kalākaua’s office, as usual the King’s desk was covered with clippings of news articles from all over the world about the latest military inventions, but there was also a pamphlet printed by his opponents denouncing the bill in the most vociferous language, undersigned ‘vox populi.’ The responsible and diligent ruler he was, Kalākaua had not contented himself in ignoring such slander, but on an adjacent sheet he had point by point refuted the Missionary Party’s allegations, and ended his response

⁵² “Il padre Atanasio canata, del quale se diceva che riuscisse a schiudere il cuore dei propri allievi all'amore per la grammatica, la letteratura e la patria.” In Vecoli and Durante, *Oh Capitano!*, 29.

⁵³ Machiavelli added: “Hence it is that all armed prophets have conquered, and the unarmed ones have been destroyed. Besides the reasons mentioned, the nature of the people is variable, and whilst it is easy to persuade them, it is difficult to fix them in that persuasion. And thus it is necessary to take such measures that, when they believe no longer, it may be possible to make them believe by force.” Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chapter 6.

⁵⁴ Dozens of articles, notes and drawings on weaponry, military tactics and naval warfare are meticulously pasted in King Kalākaua’s scrapbook. See box 5.3, Kalākaua manuscript collection, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

⁵⁵ “[Y]our Majesty ought to have imitated IL RE GALANTUOMO [meaning Victor Emanuel II] in everything, especially in the choice of the right man and means in carrying out the grand, humane and generous idea of uniting under your sceptre the whole Polynesian race and make Honolulu a monarchical Washington, where the representatives of all the islands would convene in Congress.[...]The formation of a Polynesian realm with Honolulu as the capital, you should remember was the principal theme of our many and long conversations in the [...] year 1880.” Quoted from Celso Cesare Moreno, *The Position of Men and Affairs in Hawaii. Open Letter to His Majesty King Kalakaua* (Washington: Judd & Detweiler, 1887).

⁵⁶ In 1873, war broke out between the Netherlands and Aceh, which dragged on for decades until in 1904 the last Sultan, Alauddin Ibrahim Mansur Syah’s grandson, finally surrendered and Aceh was incorporated into the Dutch colonial empire. See Reid, *The Contest for North Sumatra*.

in a tone full of contempt, signing it ‘vox dei.’⁵⁷ But it had all been to no avail, as the bill had repeatedly been voted down, since most legislators, even those loyal to the King, had considered it too outlandish an idea, bordering on megalomania.⁵⁸

But if Hawai‘i could not have its own navy, what other recourse was there? Would it be possible to ally with another power that was as weary of the European and American imperialists as Hawai‘i but which did have the means to build its own warships without running itself into astronomical debt? Ironically, on the very same day the treasonous mission boys held their mass meeting at Kaumakapili, the Japanese naval training ship *Tsukuba* had pulled into the harbour, shooting a salvo of twenty-one guns to honour King Kalākaua and receiving a salute in response from the Hawaiian artillery battery at the Punchbowl crater overlooking the city.⁵⁹ The Japanese respected royalty, indeed their Emperor was a divine being. Nobody in Tokyo, Japanese or *gaijin*, would dare to be as rude towards the *Tennō* as those *haole* and their native acolytes in Honolulu were to the Hawaiian King. Maybe it was that very ship, heralding a monarchical nation of colored people like the Hawaiians, rapidly catching up in technology with the Western powers, that was portending the answer for Hawai‘i’s defense needs. And of course there was China too, certainly behind Japan in technological development, but catching up as well. While the ultra-conservative court in Beijing was blocking rapid industrialization, Viceroy Li Hongzhang envisioned the ‘‘Āina Pua’ (Land of Flowers), as the Hawaiians called the Celestial Empire, to raise to great naval power status and was busy not only building the CMSNC as a national merchant marine but a modern Chinese navy as well, as Moreno himself had witnessed during his discussions with Li in Shanghai. Maybe that indeed was the solution for Hawai‘i to get out of the grip of the *haole*: the creation of economic and military alliances with Japan and China. And the fact the two Asian powers didn’t like each other might even play to Hawai‘i’s advantage, as they could be played against one another if ever one of them became too assertive of its influence. Yes, he should definitely talk more about this with the King at their meeting in the evening.

Suddenly Moreno awoke from his geopolitical daydream as he felt struck in the upper back, and a sharp pain shot through between his shoulder blades. He turned at once red-faced and fuming, a bull stung by a barbed *banderilla*. The crowd around him was swelling, and there was no way to find out who did it. But his rage turned into dismay and then fear when he realized that a large vociferous crowd was walking in his direction from the east. Those were sailors, maybe with some merchants, surely hands for hire paid by such unscrupulous businessmen as Waterhouse or Wilder. He could begin to hear their cries and the hostile rumor was being felt in the buzzing throng surrounding him. Other projectiles were thrown and people closed to him started to clear out. There was no more doubt in his mind: this was a set up and he needed to react fast. He turned around hastily and hurried back towards Fort Street holding his boater steady on his head.

He lived at a close distance and found a quick path between the dirt road and a crowd of Hawaiian families pouring down joyfully towards the port. He ran past the department store, the pharmacists and the photographers and finally reached the small gate barring the entrance of his garden. He hurriedly unlocked it, his eyes resting momentarily on the two beautiful eucalyptus seedlings given to him by Archibald Scott Cleghorn, horticulturist at

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, Vol. III, 205-207. A decade later, after another coup by the Missionary party against the Hawaiian government, Baker reiterated these ideas and had them published in a printed pamphlet, *The Third Warning Voice* (Honolulu, n.p., c. 1888-1890).

⁵⁹ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 21 August 1880; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 21 August 1880.

heart⁶⁰ and husband of the King's sister Princess Likelike, father of the 'island rose' the beautiful little Princess Ka'iulani, who would later become heir to the throne.⁶¹ Moreno was loved amongst the native community in the street as well as in the palace.⁶² Unlike Hawaiians he wasn't much of a churchgoer⁶³ and was extremely suspicious of the missionary shenanigans. Yet he appreciated the natives' honesty, the straightforward respect they gave him when he smiled at them and started a conversation, and above all their sense of humor. They seemed to take on his natural enthusiasm, they also appreciated his robust appetite for the fine things in life and taste for game and virile competition. He had friends in high and low places all over the island and the sight of these two freshly planted saplings started a flow of tender memories. The sentiment of trepidation he felt earlier turned into righteous anger: he wouldn't let those people take away his dream, ruin his friendship with King Kalākaua and his hopes of an independent future for the Kingdom.

As soon as he entered his house he heard a commotion outside. He darted a glance through the window. The rumbling mob had reached his garden's gate. He rushed upstairs and pulled the highest drawer of his large dark dresser, he threw around some shirts and towels and found his two pistols, his Colt .45s single action—ever faithful friends he bought few years ago while in San Francisco from a veteran of the Civil War. The man himself never had a chance to use them for they were made after the war. 'It's time to put them to good use' chuckled Moreno to himself. He loaded them swiftly and rushed down the stairs, pushed with his two elbows the entrance door wide open, cocked the guns and walked steadily towards his gate and its clutch of angry young men. 'Let's tar that meater⁶⁴!!!' 'Let's lynch that Dago⁶⁵ traitor!!!' 'The scoundrel is here!!!' Their insults left no ambiguities. Moreno had heard stories about poor Italian immigrants lynched all over the United States.⁶⁶ But he wouldn't be like one of them. Never! As he came closer, the screaming abated, and Moreno recognized some faces and understood at once who had paid these men. They all eyed warily his *Peacemakers*. Moreno meant business; they understood it and no amount of money would make them take a bullet from this demon of a man. He whispered to himself 'Son' pronto

⁶⁰ Ralph Thomas Kam, "The Legacy of 'Āinahau: The Genealogy of Ka'iulani's Banyan," *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 45 (2011): 49-68.

⁶¹ Robert Louis Stevenson wrote about her "Forth from her land to mine she goes,/The island maid, the island rose, /Light of heart and bright of face:/The daughter of a double race." Quoted in Kam, "The Legacy of 'Āinahau," 51.

⁶² "To all true-born citizens of the country, greeting: We have with us one Celso Caesar Moreno, a naturalized and true Hawaiian. His great desire is the advancement of this country in wealth, and the salvation of this people, by placing the leading positions of Government in the hands of the Hawaiians for administration. The great desire of Moreno is to cast down foreigners from official positions and to put true Hawaiians in their places, because to them belongs the country." From a manifesto titled "Way Up Celso Caesar Moreno: The voice of the people is the voice of God," likely authored by Robert W. Wilcox, published in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 21 August 1880; quoted in Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, Vol. III*, 219.

⁶³ The taste for everything religious in the Hawaiian community never ceased to amaze foreign visitors: "The natives are all Christians, now -- every one of them; they all belong to the church, and are fonder of theology than they are of pie; they will sweat out a sermon as long as the Declaration of Independence; the duller it is the more it infatuates them; they would sit there and stew and stew in a trance of enjoyment till they floated away in their own grease if the ministers would stand watch -- and -- watch, and see them through. Sunday-schools are a favorite dissipation with them, and they never get enough. If there was physical as well as mental intoxication in this limb of the service, they would never draw a sober breath. Religion is drink and meat to the native." Mark Twain in *New York Tribune*, January 6, 1873.

⁶⁴ 'Coward' in 19th century Victorian vernacular.

⁶⁵ 'Dago' was a 19th century slur, used against Spanish and Portuguese in the 18th it was then employed against Italians.

⁶⁶ For information on the topic see the following documentary: *Pane Amaro (Bitter Bread): The Italian American Journey from Despised Immigrants to Honored Citizens*. By Gianfranco Norelli and Suma Kurien. Euros Productions, 2009. 103 minutes. DVD format, color and black and white.

Piciu!!!⁶⁷ and louder ‘So, what do you all want? Come closer, I have some pills for you that will do you all good⁶⁸!!!’ No one moved. His voice was clear and strong in the hot evening, he had the tone of a man used to commanding other men and they felt it. They all remained standing for hours, petrified and frustrated in front of his gate until late into the night. Moreno retreated back to his house and stayed awake upstairs, guns in his hands, waiting for anyone to come inside. Nobody did.

After standing his ground in the face of the conspiracy between the foreign diplomats and his domestic opposition for several days, King Kalākaua eventually came to the conclusion that in order to cool down the situation and keep worse things from happening to his country he had no other choice than ask for his dear friend to step down. After five days at the helm of His Hawaiian Majesty’s government, a defeated Moreno turned in his resignation on the 18th of August 1880. This calmed down the foreign diplomats, but the Missionary Party agitators did not end their hostility. Having seen their traitorous rabble-rousing technique victorious, they were now going all the way and demanded the dismissal of the rest of the cabinet, too. Even their co-conspirator, American minister Comly, at this point dissociated himself from their scheme and remarked in disgust that ‘these old Puritans don’t know halfway between damnation and election.’⁶⁹

But Kalākaua was not easily fooled. A shrewd strategist, he was already on the counter-attack. Now that the tangible external threat to his Kingdom’s existence was dispelled for the time being, he recomposed himself and made the best of the situation. First he had Moreno’s acting successor as minister of foreign affairs, Interior Minister John E. Bush, write letters of protest to London, Washington and Paris, asking them to recall their representatives who had unduly interfered in Hawaiian domestic politics. Then he ordered Bush to enter into an agreement with Moreno’s old acquaintance, Walter M. Gibson, of a similar mind-set and attitude but more calm and soft-spoken than the hot-blooded Italian, to acquire the main local English-language newspaper, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, so that hitherto hostile Missionary Party mouthpiece could be converted into a loyal voice to reach out to the foreign community.⁷⁰ Lastly, the King commissioned Moreno as special envoy to the courts of Europe and entrusted to him three young Hawaiians, Robert William Wilcox, Robert Napu‘uako Boyd and James Kaneholo Booth, to be educated there as part of the study abroad program that had been passed by the Hawaiian legislature earlier in 1880.⁷¹ This was a clear signal confirming not only the closeness of the two men but, more importantly, the faith Kalākaua had in his Italian friend and their shared vision of the future, entrusting him with the education of who he hoped would be the next Hawaiian general or head of his government. With the three in his charge, as well as letters by the King to be personally delivered to Giuseppe Garibaldi and Giuseppe Verdi,⁷² Moreno departed the Kingdom on the 30th of August. After all this was done, about a

⁶⁷ A vulgar exclamation in Moreno’s native Piedmontese dialect, meaning something like “I am ready, dickheads!”

⁶⁸ In the exact words of Moreno: “I took a revolver in each hand and went out to meet them. I told them to come on - that I had some pills that would do them good. They stopped and not one came closer to me at any time than they were that night.” Moreno quoted in “How Moreno fell out with Wilcox,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 15 1901.

⁶⁹ Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, Vol. III*, 218.

⁷⁰ Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, Vol. III*, 220-221.

⁷¹ Mellen, *An Island Kingdom Passes*, 91-92; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Vol. III*, 220-223. After unsuccessfully attempting to send the three to military schools in Prussia, Moreno was able to enroll them in Italy: Wilcox to study artillery engineering at the Academy in Turin, Boyd in the Naval Academy in Livorno, and Booth in the Military Academy in Naples. See Agnes Quigg, “Kalākaua’s Hawaiian Studies Abroad Program,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 22 (1988): 170-208.

⁷² Copies of letters, Kalākaua to Garibaldi, undated, and Kalākaua to Verdi, dated 30 August 1880, in Kalākaua’s scrapbook, box 5.2., Kalākaua manuscript collection, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

month later the King seemingly gave in and appointed a new cabinet composed of Missionary Party affiliates, bursting their bubble by suddenly depriving them of any grounds to complain. Like his Italian friend, he had certainly read his Machiavelli well.⁷³

Celso Cesare Moreno never stepped foot again on the Hawaiian archipelago, but his nine-month sojourn in the islands and five-day stint at the helm of their government had profound consequences on their subsequent history. Several earlier historians have dismissed the ‘Moreno affair’ as some kind of a fancy capriole of King Kalākaua,⁷⁴ but in fact, the King’s relationship with the cosmopolitan Italian was part of a much larger, carefully developed plan to strengthen the Kingdom’s international position and fortify its internal stability. Kalākaua immediately understood the enormous benefits Moreno’s cable project would bring to the Kingdom. An 1870 map of telegraph lines in place and under construction clearly shows how the trans-Pacific section was the only one missing in the completion of the global cable network.⁷⁵ Hence, the project was neither outlandish nor ahead of its time, but actually very timely and realistic for the year 1880. To no longer have delays in communication with the rest of the world would have been an insurance policy against the shady dealings of the Missionary Party with or without American diplomats, as they were played right during Moreno’s tenure in the foreign office, and as they would be played again in 1887 and eventually lead to the Kingdom’s invasion and occupation by the United States 1893.⁷⁶ With a cable in place, the government’s version of those events would have been immediately disseminated worldwide, and there would have been no chance for anti-Hawaiian propaganda to spread through print media the way it did after 1893.

Most importantly, perhaps, was the weight of Moreno’s ideas and political connections for Hawai‘i’s geopolitical interests. Like other sympathetic and loyal *haole* before and after him, Moreno advocated a unification of Polynesia under Hawaiian leadership. Furthermore, Moreno was brokering close connections to Asia, both to Malay sultanates with their kindred Austronesian-speaking people, and to the Chinese Empire that was attempting to re-emerge as a Pacific maritime power.

It was these geopolitical considerations that best explain the unprecedented actions of the foreign diplomats.⁷⁷ As a Republican close to James Blaine, a key figure in the emerging US

⁷³ Mellen, *An Island Kingdom Passes*, 115-128.

⁷⁴ For instance, Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1968): 215-216

⁷⁵ <http://atlantic-cable.com/Maps/Colton-1855-World-Telegraph-Lines_s.jpg> . For a discussion of telegraphy in the Pacific region during the nineteenth century, see also Léonard Laborie, “Via Pacific: Télégraphie, impérialisme et mondialisation dans le Pacifique au XIXe siècle,” *Hermès*, No. 65 (2013): 139-143.

⁷⁶ As Australian amateur historian Stephen Dando-Collins has well documented, Queen Lili‘uokalani’s protest against the 1893 conspiracy between the Missionary Party and the American Minister to overthrow her was delivered by the Hawaiian Foreign Office via steamer to the Hawaiian consulate in Auckland, and from there fed into the British telegraphic cable system, arriving within a few hours in the US where it had the effect of balancing the Missionary Party’s anti-Hawaiian propaganda. However, since the steamship carrying that propaganda had arrived in San Francisco considerably earlier than the steamship carrying the Queen’s message did in Auckland, the Missionary Party could enjoy a significant head start to tell its version of the story. See Stephen Dando-Collins, *Taking Hawaii: How Thirteen Honolulu Businessmen Overthrew the Queen of Hawaii in 1893, with a Bluff* (New York: E-Reads, 2012): 164-165, 221-222.

⁷⁷ Vecoli and Durante found evidence that Comly was angry at not being invited to join Moreno’s cable company (*Oh Capitano!*, 117). But this alone would hardly justify engaging in the interference in the internal affairs of the host country, a significant breach of diplomatic protocol, and even less that the other diplomats would join him in such a venture. The argument brought forward that Moreno was unsuited as Hawaiian foreign minister because he was an “adventurer” who had only recently arrived was similarly invalid, since in precedent cases in the 1840s, American adventurers John Ricord and Wiliam Little Lee had also been appointed cabinet ministers within a short span of their arrival in the islands, and that had been accepted as a sovereign decision of Kamehameha III by all foreign consuls at the time.

imperialist circles who later brought about the 1893-1898 occupation of Hawai‘i,⁷⁸ Comly saw the rising Chinese influence in the islands as antagonistic to long-term US strategic interests in the region, while for Hawaiian strategic interests it would have been most welcome. As a cable and trade hub between China and the US, and with major Chinese capital investments matching those from the US, Hawai‘i’s independent standing would have become more enhanced, and any prospect of unilateral US domination would have been precluded.

This was also one of the rare cases all the rivalling Western powers saw eye-to-eye. They were all equally wary of China’s rise to become a geopolitical rival, and especially of its closing of ranks with another non-Western nation, which would threaten Western imperial hegemony. Once China had gained a foothold in the Hawaiian Islands and became a maritime power in the Pacific, it would have been hard for the Western powers to continue their bullying tactics against the Celestial Empire. A Hawaiian alliance with China would thus have realigned the entire power structure of the Northern Pacific to the benefit of non-Western peoples.⁷⁹ In that sense, what Li Hongzhang and Kalākaua wanted to promote with Moreno’s help was a sort of early pan-Asianism, an idea the King would soon develop further.

The failure of this project, for the time being, brought important lessons for Kalākaua’s further pursuit of foreign policy. The ‘Moreno Affair’ was the first instance of the diplomatic corps siding close-banded with domestic enemies of the Kingdom. Hence, in order to safeguard Hawai‘i’s independence, it was more expedient than ever to reach out to other non-Western nations. For the rest of his reign, Kalākaua’s foreign policy thus focused on pan-Asia-Pacific coalition building, which he pursued with the advice of Gibson, Moreno’s *Dopplegänger*, nemesis and successor in one person, who became Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1882-1887.⁸⁰ This included Kalākaua’s personal visits with the Meiji Emperor and with Li Hongzhang and the suggestion to form an Asian-Pacific league of nations during his circumnavigation in 1881, as well as the first concrete steps in unifying the Polynesian Islands through the creation of a confederation with Sāmoa in 1887.⁸¹

There is ample evidence that like their King, most Hawaiians sincerely liked Moreno and what he stood for. Shortly after his dismissal, former Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Finance, John Kapena and Simon Ka‘ai, led another mass meeting at Kaumakapili Church, at which they and other Hawaiian leaders expressed their loyalty to the King and defended his sovereign prerogative to appoint cabinet ministers of his choice.⁸² The Hawaiian-language newspaper with the then largest circulation, *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, which was independent of both the

⁷⁸ On the importance of Blaine and the rising circle of US expansionists for Hawai‘i’s occupation, see Tom Coffman, *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai‘i* (Revised Edition, Kihei: Koa Books, 2009).

⁷⁹ Such a vision was expressed a year later in the pagoda built by the Chinese merchants of Honolulu to greet King Kalākaua on the return from his world tour, which bore the inscription “Hawaii Kui Lima Me Kina” [“Hawaii Joining Hands with China”]. See Mellen, *An Island Kingdom Passes*, 112.

⁸⁰ On Gibson, see Paul Bailey, *Hawaii’s Royal Prime Minister: The Life and Times of Walter Murray Gibson* (New York: Hastings House, 1980) and Jacob Adler, and Robert M. Kamins, *The Fantastic Life of Walter Murray Gibson: Hawai‘i’s Minister of Everything* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986). Moreno apparently did not get along with Gibson and later developed a profound and virulent hatred of the latter. As their political ideologies and visions for Hawai‘i were virtually identical, the exact reasons for his antagonism are not clear, but it was most likely Moreno’s jealousy that Gibson had succeeded in establishing a long-term presence as Kalākaua’s head advisor, whereas Moreno had failed in the same quest. See Moreno, *The Position of Men and Affairs in Hawaii*.

⁸¹ See Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 176-190. This is also the topic of one of the authors’ recent dissertation. See Lorenz Gonschor “A Power in the World: The Hawaiian Kingdom as a Model of Hybrid Statecraft in Oceania and a Progenitor of Pan-Oceanianism” (PhD dissertation in political science, University of Hawai‘i, 2016).

⁸² *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 28 August 1880; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 21 August 1880.

government and the Missionary Party, issued a free broadsheet in Hawaiian and English that similarly defended the King's prerogative and denounced the Missionary Party's agitation.⁸³ As word about the debacle reached O'ahu's neighbour islands, more support reached Honolulu. In late September, more than 80 residents of the district of Kōloa on the island of Kaua'i signed a petition expressing their support of the King, and dissociating themselves from the *haole* agitators that told Kalākaua his choice for cabinet ministers was wrong.⁸⁴ Later that year, Gibson's Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Elele Poakolu* printed a detailed account of the 'Moreno affair,' arguing that the reason for the British Commissioner's dislike of Moreno was the latter's writings and activities in opposition to British colonialism in India, reinforcing a narrative ever present in Moreno's life, the conflict between two distinctive visions of the world diametrically opposed, two religious and cultural perspectives that shaped the modern world and the Hawaiian islands alike through imperialism and colonialism: the Anglo-Saxon (English and American) viewpoint versus the Latin (Italian and French) approach. The article concluded that disrespecting the Minister of Foreign Affairs of a country one was accredited to as a diplomat based on such sentiments was scandalous, rhetorically asking what the English Government would have said if the Hawaiian Commissioner in London had disrespected British Prime Minister Gladstone the same way, just because he didn't personally like him.⁸⁵

Moreno's efforts in helping young Hawaiians achieve education abroad in order to be future highly qualified government officials equally gained him praise and support, as he received in another article which called to 'E haawi aku i ka Kaisara ia Kaisara' ('Give to Caesar what is Caesar's'), a play on his middle name.⁸⁶ In paving the way for the education of Wilcox, Boyd and Booth in Italy, Moreno left another permanent mark on Hawaiian history. While Booth passed away in Naples in 1884, Wilcox and Boyd returned to Hawai'i in 1887⁸⁷ where the former in particular became a prominent figure in Hawaiian politics.⁸⁸

After having assured the three boys were placed in good hands, Moreno left Europe for good to settle on the east coast of the United States, where he made himself a name as a defender of poor Italian immigrants and only occasionally commented on Hawaiian issues.⁸⁹ His passion for the islands was once more set aflame after 1893, when the worst fears he and Kalākaua had had in 1880 came true and the Missionary Party, once more in conspiracy with the US diplomatic representative, precipitated a military invasion by American naval forces and took over the islands. Moreno ardently protested the racist dictatorship the mission boys had installed and did all he could to rally up support for the Queen of Hawai'i, Kalākaua's sister Lili'uokalani, among

⁸³ *Pepa Manuahi o Ko Hawai Pae Aina* (Broadsheet distributed free of charge, dated 21 August 1881).

⁸⁴ *Ka Elele Poakolu*, 29 September 1880.

⁸⁵ "He mau Hoaii ana," *Ka Elele Poakolu*, 10 and 17 November 1880.

⁸⁶ "He Leo Pili Laulaha," by anonymous writer pen named "Hawaii Kuikawa," in *Ka Elele Poakolu*, 5 June 1881.

⁸⁷ Wilcox came back married to an Italian baroness with whom he had a child.

⁸⁸ Quigg, "Kalākaua's Hawaiian Studies Abroad Program," 176-184. On Wilcox' life and career see Thomas K. Nakanaela, *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki* (Honolulu: Lake and Nakanaela, 1890) and Ernest Andrade, *Unconquerable Rebel: Robert Wilcox and Hawaiian Politics, 1880-1903* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1996).

⁸⁹ Vecoli and Durante, *Oh Capitano!*, 239-295. His activism in this field led to the publication of another pamphlet, *History of a Great Wrong: Italian Slavery in America* (Washington, D.C.: N.p. 1896). The recently inaugurated monument in honour of Moreno in his hometown of Dogliani appears to focus on that part of his career, featuring a portrait of him in front of the Statue of Liberty. See <<http://www.targatocn.it/2011/11/03/sommario/alba-e-langhe/leggi-notizia/argomenti/attualita/articolo/dogliani-inaugurato-il-giardino-celso-cesare-moreno.html>>

the American public.⁹⁰ Now he also reactivated his old vision of getting an Asian power involved on Hawai'i's side and wrote an open letter to Emperor of Japan, in which he denounced the abuses committed by the missionary regime against the Hawaiian people and asked for Japanese intervention in their favour.⁹¹ And indeed Japan sent several warships to Honolulu and attempted several times to thwart the scheme by the Missionary Party regime to have the islands taken over by the United States. In the end however, the world went on a different path from what Moreno had fought for. During the Spanish-American War of 1898 the United States did indeed occupy the Hawaiian Islands – an occupation that has been going on for over a century now – while his efforts to protect Italian immigrants in the US were largely ineffective. In 1901 he passed away in Washington, his dreams unfulfilled.⁹²

Moreno was a man both behind and ahead of his times. He was a person of the romantic age, rejecting the tide of Western imperial modernity that swept over the globe during the second half of the nineteenth century, as well as a renaissance man who did support scientific progress as long as it was not contradicting his ideals of humanism. Obviously, none of these quixotic and at times contradictory beliefs fit into the capitalistic emerging model, a world of ruthless business efficiency and social Darwinism that was rapidly encroaching on the Hawaiian Islands. A few decades into the twentieth century, people like him were once more being heard when a global anti-colonial movement incorporating many of the ideas cherished by Moreno was on the rise. As a voice of discord during the age of Empire, being crushed by it while announcing a new intellectual culture to come, Moreno was a tragic figure, but nonetheless one with an important legacy. Had the *Ho-Chung* not pulled into Honolulu Harbor that fateful day in November of 1879, and had Moreno not made good use of his guns during the showdown nine months later, the Hawaiian Islands would not be what they are today, nor what they will become in the future.

⁹⁰ See for instance, Moreno's pamphlet, *The Hawaiian Question, or the Positions of Men and Affairs in Hawaii. Most respectfully and earnestly, in homage to truth, justice and equity, submitted to the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled* (Washington: Hartman & Cadick, 1894).

⁹¹ Celso Cesare Moreno, "Open Letter to his Majesty the Emperor of Japan," in *Alexandria Gazette*, 27 April 1895.

⁹² "His Dream Not Realized: Celso Caesar Moreno Dies Disappointed and Poor," *The Washington Times*, 13 March 1901.

References cited

Archival Sources

Foreign Office and Executive files, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.
 Kalākaua memorabilia, Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.
 Mémoires et documents, Océanie, archives diplomatiques françaises, La Courneuve, France.

Newspapers

Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria, Virginia)
Ka Elele Poakolu (Honolulu)
Hawaiian Gazette (Honolulu)
Ko Hawaii Pae Aina (Honolulu)
New York Tribune (New York)
Nuhou: The Hawaiian News (Honolulu)
Ka Nupepa Kuokoa (Honolulu)
The Pacific Commercial Advertiser (Honolulu)
The Washington Times (Washington, D.C.)

Audiovisual Media

Norelli Gianfranco and Suma Kurien
 2009 *Pane Amaro (Bitter Bread): The Italian American Journey from Despised Immigrants to Honored Citizens*. Euros Productions. 103 minutes. DVD format, colour and black and white.
 Riehs, Christian and Wolfgang Peschl
 2007 *Aloha im Dreivierteltakt (Aloha in Three-Four Time)*. Vienna: Laufbild Gesellschaft, in cooperation with ORF and Arte. 70 minutes. DVD format, colour and black and white.

Books and Articles

Andrade, Ernest, Jr.
 1996 *Unconquerable Rebel: Robert Wilcox and Hawaiian Politics, 1880-1903*. Niwot (Colorado): University Press of Colorado.
 Allen, Helena G.
 1994 *Kalakaua: Renaissance King*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing.
 Baker, Robert Hoapili
 n.d. *The Third Warning Voice*. Printed pamphlet, undated, published c. 1888-1890. Honolulu. Copy in UH Hamilton library, call number UA 159.1 B35 1888
 Beamer, B. Kamanamaikalani
 2014 *No Mākou ka Mana: Liberating the Nation*. Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing.
 Coffman, Tom
 2009 *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai‘i*. Kīhei: Koa Books. Second Edition. Originally published by EpiCenter, Kāne‘ohe 1998.
 Dando-Collins, Stephen
 2012 *Taking Hawaii: How Thirteen Honolulu Businessmen Overthrew the Queen of Hawaii in 1893, with a Bluff*. New York: E-Reads.
 Daws, Gavan
 1968 *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.

- 1978 'All the Horrors of the Half Known Life': Some Notes on the Writing of Biography in the Pacific. In Niel Gunson (ed.), *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H. E. Maude* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press): 297-316.
- Dye, Bob
1997 *Merchant Prince of the Sandalwood Mountains: Afong and the Chinese in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Gibson, Robert M. and Terry Lawhead
1989 *Dr. John Mott-Smith: Hawaii's First Royal Dentist and Last Royal Ambassador*. Honolulu: Smilepower Institute.
- Gonschor, Lorenz
2016 "A Power in the World: The Hawaiian Kingdom as a Model of Hybrid Statecraft in Oceania and a Progenitor of Pan-Oceanianism" (PhD dissertation in political science, University of Hawai'i, 2016).
- Gunson, Niel
2008 Telling Pacific Lives: From Archetype to Icon. In Brij V. Lal and Vicki Luker (eds.), *Telling Pacific Lives: Prisms of Progress* (Canberra: ANU E-Press, 2008): 1-14.
- Hawaiian Kingdom Government
1887 *Treaties and Conventions Concluded between the Hawaiian Kingdom and other Powers since 1825*. Honolulu: Elele Book, Card and Job Print.
- Ing Tsai, Tiffany Lani.
2014 'He Kā Waiho Ho'ohemahema': Kanaka Maoli responses to King Kalākaua's Tour of the Kingdom from 1874 Newspapers in Hawai'i. *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 48 (2014): 115-143.
- Kam, Ralph Thomas
2011 The Legacy of 'Āinahau: The Genealogy of Ka'iulani's Banyan. *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 45 (2011): 49-68.
- Kamehiro, Stacy L.
2009 *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
2011 Hawai'i at the World Fairs, 1867-1893. *World History Connected*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 2011).
- Kuykendall, Ralph
1967 *The Hawaiian Kingdom. Vol. 3, 1974-1893: The Kalakaua Dynasty*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Laborie, Léonard
2013 « Via Pacific » : Télégraphie, impérialisme et mondialisation dans le Pacifique au XIX^e siècle. *Hermès*, No. 65 (2013) : 139-143.
- Lai, Chi-kong
1994 Li Hung-chang and Modern Enterprise: The China Merchants' Company, 1872-1885. In Samuel C. Chu and Kwang-Ching Liu (eds.), *Li Hung-chang and China's Early Modernization* (Armonk, NY and London: M.E. Sharpe): 216-247.
- La Fontaine, Jean
1990 *Fables*. Ljubljana: Prosveta Beograd.
- Lal, Brij V. and Vicki Luker
2008 Preface. In Brij V. Lal and Vicki Luker (eds.), *Telling Pacific Lives: Prisms of Process* (Canberra: ANU E-Press, 2008): vii-xiv.
- Liliuokalani
1898 *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*. Boston: Lee and Shepard.
- Machiavelli, Niccolò
1532 *Il Principe*. Roma: Antonio Blado d'Asola.

- Marques, Auguste
 1893 The Population of the Hawaiian Islands. Is the Hawaiian a Doomed Race? Present and Future Prospects. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (December 1893): 253-270.
- Mellen, Kathleen Dickenson
 1958 *An Island Kingdom Passes: Hawaii becomes American*. New York: Hastings House Publishers.
- Moreno, Celso Cesare (Caesar)
 1880 *The Trans-Pacific Cable, as Projected by Celso Cæsar Moreno in Washington, D.C., 1869*. No year, place and publisher given, in fact Honolulu 1880.
 1880 *Ka Uwea Telegarapa Pacifika, i Hapaiia e Celso Cæsar Moreno, ma Wasinetona, D.C., 1869*. No year, place and publisher given, in fact Honolulu 1880.
 1887 *The Position of Men and Affairs in Hawaii. Open Letter to His Majesty King Kalakaua*. Washington: Judd & Detweiler.
 1894 *The Hawaiian Question, or the Positions of Men and Affairs in Hawaii. Most respectfully and earnestly, in homage to truth, justice and equity, submitted to the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled*. Washington: Hartman & Cadick.
 1896 *History of a Great Wrong: Italian Slavery in America*. Washington.
- Nakanaela, Thomas K.
 1890 *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki*. Honolulu: Lake and Nakanaela.
- Quigg, Agnes
 1988 Kalākaua's Hawaiian Studies Abroad Program. *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 22 (1988): 170-208.
- Reid, Anthony
 1969 *The Contest for North Sumatra: Atjeh, the Netherlands and Britain 1858-1898*. London and Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press and University of Malaya Press.
- Sai, David Keanu
 2011 *Ua Mau ke Ea, Sovereignty Endures: An Overview of the Political and Legal History of the Hawaiian Islands*. Honolulu: Pū'ā Foundation.
- Stannard, David E.
 1989 *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawaii on the Eve of Western Contact*. Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute.
- Vecoli, Rudolph J. and Francesco Durante
 2014 *Oh capitano! La vita favolosa di Celso Cesare Moreno in quattro continenti, 1831-1901*. Venice: Marsilia Editori.