

GARY SCHARNHORST

“I Wish to Know More About the Islands”:
Kate Field in Hawaii, 1895–1896

THOUGH SHE IS virtually unknown today, Kate Field (1838–1896) was “one of the best-known women in America” during her life, according to her obituary in the *New York Tribune*.¹ A member of the expatriate community in Florence, Italy in the late 1850s, she befriended the Brownings, the Trollopes, and Walter Savage Landor while she was still in short dresses. One of the first women to contribute to the *Atlantic Monthly*, she covered the eastern leg of Charles Dickens’ final speaking tour of the U.S. for the *New York Tribune* in 1867–68. A popular lecturer and prolific writer, author of the best-selling travel books *Hap-Hazard* (1873) and *Ten Days in Spain* (1874), she was also the model for the character of the journalist Henrietta Stackpole in Henry James’ novel *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881).² More to the point, Field traveled to Hawai‘i on assignment for the *Chicago Times-Herald* in November 1895 ostensibly to “study” the question of annexation. Her 33 columns from O‘ahu over the next four months, particularly her interview with President Sanford Dole, were widely quoted across the U.S. Unfortunately, their historical importance has never been recognized. In effect, they offer a series of snapshots of the short-lived

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Kate Field, 1893. From *Sun and Shade* (May 1893), plate 65. Special Collections, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

Republic of Hawai'i between the end of the monarchy in 1893 and annexation by the United States in 1898.

Field was not a military but an economic imperialist—and unapologetically so. She once proposed that the United States purchase Lower California from Mexico just as William Steward had bought “Russian America” or Alaska from Russia in 1867. She opposed statehood for Arizona and New Mexico on the grounds the residents of the Southwest were mostly Spanish speakers, but she advocated the purchase of Baja California and the inclusion of its territory into the Union for reasons of economic self-interest.

Field's pro-annexation position on Hawai'i was fully formed as early as January 1891, upon the death of King Kalākaua, when she argued that the islands “belong to us by necessity” and “ought to be purchased” (though from whom Field failed to make clear) because they were “worth far more to the United States than to their present possessors or to any other foreign powers.”³ Not only were Native Hawaiians “not fit to rule the loveliest islands of the Pacific,” as she declared in February 1893, after the revolution that deposed Lili'uokalani (1838–1917), they were “the outer gate to our golden West and belong to us by manifest destiny.” Field worried that “if we don't annex Hawai'i, Great Britain will.”⁴ She blamed the queen “for her own overthrow,” insisting that the revolution had been sparked by her attempt to seize “more power” through a *coup d'état* (or, more banally, by dismissing the George N. Wilcox cabinet and proposing a new constitution that strengthened the monarchy).

On the surface Field was a proponent of “home rule,” in the Islands, much as she championed home rule in Ireland, though in fact she expected that such a policy would soon lead to peaceful annexation of the islands by the U.S.⁵ More specifically, in August 1893 Field lauded the provisional government of President Sanford Dole, cousin of James Dole, the founder of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, later the Dole Food Company. The government of the Republic “is constituted of the best material in the country, both for honorable character and business ability,” she averred.⁶ A year later, she was even more emphatic in her praise for the provisional government. “President Dole and his advisers have proved their capacity,” she crowed. “Their knowledge of what best suits the strangely-mixed population of the islands should be accepted on general principles.”⁷

To be sure, her support of the Dole administration was grounded in her conventional racial opinions. Native Hawaiians were slowly disappearing at the rate of about a thousand per year before the advance of an allegedly superior civilization, and she believed it was simply a matter of time before they would become “practically extinct.”⁸ In any event, Field hailed President Grover Cleveland’s reluctant recognition of the Republic of Hawai‘i, which she asserted had been “planted in the Pacific by the sons of our own soil,” in August 1894.⁹ Formal diplomatic recognition of the Republic, she thought, was yet another step toward its peaceful annexation by the U.S.

In short, Field sided with the expansionists or colonialists in the debate over Hawai‘i long before the 1895 counter-revolution led by Robert Wilcox and long before she sailed for Honolulu. She may have been employed by Herman H. Kohlstaat, the protectionist, pro-annexation Republican publisher of the *Chicago Times-Herald*,¹⁰ to express her opinions from the Islands, but at least her opinions had already been formed. That is, Field was not “hired” to “defame” the former queen in order to justify annexation, as Helena G. Allen has alleged.¹¹ She was perfectly capable of defaming the monarchy, or challenging James Blount’s recommendation that the monarchy should be restored, without regard for the political sympathies of her employer. While she was not exactly a paid propagandist for the white ruling class in Hawai‘i, in truth what she reported from the Islands would have been little different if she had been.

Field left Chicago for the West in mid-August 1895 and stopped for a few weeks in Salt Lake City. She told an interviewer for the *Deseret Evening News* in Utah that she had “selected Hawaii as the place for my recreation rather than Europe, because I think I shall find more to interest me there at this time . . . I think the mind of the American people is practically made up on the subject of our proper attitude toward Hawaii and it is because of this that I wish to learn more about the islands.”¹² While in San Francisco in early November, she likely consulted with the notorious “sugar king” Claus Spreckels,¹³ who opposed Hawaiian annexation only because he feared it would destroy the contract labor system, particularly the hiring of Asian workers on his plantations. Their discussion would have been unique to Field’s research on the question: he would have been the only prominent anti-annexationist with whom she ever spoke.

She left San Francisco for Hawai'i aboard the steamer *Mariposa* on November 14 and arrived in Honolulu a week later.¹⁴ Lorrin A. Thurston, one of the members of the so-called "Committee on Safety" and the Annexation Committee that traveled to Washington soon after the 1893 revolution, had invited her to stay in his home, but Field wisely declined. "I think that I ought not to commit myself to either [the pro- or anti-annexation] party in the beginning," as she explained.¹⁵ She was determined to maintain at least the appearance of objectivity on the issue.

The day after her arrival Field was interviewed in her room at the Hawaiian Hotel by a reporter for the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, a local daily paper owned and published by Thurston. She had already met both Sanford Dole and Samuel Mills Damon, the minister of finance. As she wrote her friend Lilian Whiting, "I find agreeable men and women, and am greatly taken with President Dole."¹⁶ Asked by the reporter to state her position on annexation, Field hedged: "I have an opinion, everyone has, but I do not intend that it shall influence me in my letters to the *Times Herald*. I will blot it out, so to speak, and form a new opinion after I have visited among the people." Asked about a clause in the annexation treaty that would permit Chinese laborers to continue to immigrate to Hawai'i, she sided with the opponents to "Chinese cheap labor": "I do not see how it could be arranged." With the passage in the U. S. of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1892, she asked, "how could the Government discriminate in favor of an island possession?" Unlike Spreckels, who feared annexation would destroy the contract labor system, Field hoped annexation and enforcement of the Exclusion Act would halt Asian immigration. On only one point was she initially unequivocal: her advocacy of a telegraph cable between Hawai'i and the mainland¹⁷—a project that was completed seven years later.

She began her "investigations" into the social and political status of Hawai'i and its inhabitants almost immediately. While she had promised to keep an open mind until she had "visited among the people," her "new opinion" on annexation turned out to be indistinguishable from her original one. From the first she insinuated that the Islands should belong to the U.S. Her first view from her hotel her first morning in Honolulu was of "our good ship Bennington, of the blessed white squadron." Everyone who had called on her "were either born

in New England or born here of New England parents. I seek in vain for natives.”¹⁸ Four days later she attended the annual meeting of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association, composed of “a very intelligent body of businessmen,” all of them of European descent, the vast majority of them in favor of annexation. “The orgies of Kalakana [*sic*] were detrimental to good government,” one of the “most active members” of the association told her. “Liliuokalani showed her hand by throwing out the Wilcox cabinet.”¹⁹

A week to the day after her arrival, she celebrated Thanksgiving in Honolulu much as it was celebrated in Boston: by eating a turkey dinner, then watching a parade. “Commanded by an American skilled in his profession,” the marching troops consisted of eight companies—four “American,” one “Irish-American,” one Portuguese, one German, and one native Hawaiian. “Thus is Hawaii becoming Americanized,” Field concluded, “even unto the tooting of tin horns, turkey and cranberry sauce.”²⁰

Scarcely ten days into her planned months-long “investigation,” she already had concluded that “restoration of the monarchy is impossible” and that “the dominant elements here are American and want annexation to the United States.”²¹ She had solicited an audience with Lili‘uokalani, recently released from her prison in ‘Iolani Palace to house arrest in Washington Place, through members of both the deposed monarchy and the provisional government, albeit to no avail. Meanwhile, she arranged to interview Sanford Dole in his office on December 10.

Two different versions of this interview exist—the version Field afterwards submitted to Dole for his approval, a copy of which survives among the Field papers at the Boston Public Library,²² and the version Field was actually permitted to publish in the *Chicago Times-Herald*.²³ In the former, Dole refuses to answer Field’s questions about the future of the Japanese and African-American minorities in Hawaii. When she asks whether the rights of “the native women and the half-white women” could be protected legally “when annexation came,” Dole replies that “You cannot legislate in social matters. It is a matter of sentiment.” He also concedes that since the January 1893 revolution “we have disfranchised a good many people here who are ignorant and thriftless, men whose votes are not only no benefit but a great menace to representative government.” Nor does he apologize:

“Plantation laborers cannot vote. They ought not to vote; they are too ignorant as a rule.” (Apparently it is possible to “legislate in social matters” after all.) Dole also alleges, without either elaborating or citing evidence, that “there is a filibustering crowd” of fortune-hunters eager to invade the Islands; that is, he argues for the right of the provisional government to defend the Republic. None of these comments appears in Field’s published record of the interview.

Instead, in the published interview Field focuses on the favorable business climate in Hawai’i after the revolution and the likelihood of eventual annexation. Halfway through the interview, according to the unpublished transcript, Dole declared that “Our sole policy is annexation to the United States.” In the published version, however, Dole begins the interview with this statement. Field also asks Dole, “What form of annexation would best meet your desire?” According to the transcript, he merely replies, “It is very difficult to answer that question. Of course the most satisfactory thing would be to be a State; but that is out of the question at present.” In the published version, however, his answer is much more detailed:

It is very difficult to answer that question. A territorial form of government as the basis of American territories without modification would not be very suitable. Probably the best thing would be to have a government which would be a gradual development from our present system, federal authorities of course, having jurisdiction over federal matters, such as a federal custom-house, federal courts, federal post office, etc., and our own government not limited by the law of the United States in regard to territories.

“The last year of the monarchy,” Dole insisted, “had a disturbing effect on business” because of the “anxiety” it fostered. Now, however, the prospects for the next sugar crop “are very favorable indeed.” In neither version of the interview do either Field or Dole comment on the consequences of the McKinley Tariff, which had crippled the Hawaiian sugar industry.

Like all of Field’s letters to the *Times-Herald*, this interview with President Dole was widely reprinted across the U.S.²⁴ “I’ve written a dozen letters for publication,” she wrote Whiting on December 25, “but only one of them has national importance—an interview with President Dole.”²⁵ Kohlstaat editorialized that the interview was

nothing less than “a communication to the congress, President, and people of the United States” or “a proposal by the government of Hawai‘i to come into the union and a definition of the terms upon which entry would be agreeable to the republic” transmitted through Field’s agency.²⁶ Similarly, the *Honolulu Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Thurston’s newspaper, suggested in late January 1896 that Field’s “interview with President Dole has done more to set this Government before the American people in its true light than anything that has thus far been written.”²⁷

Field spent the remainder of December and the first days of the New Year in social activities that dovetailed with her pro-annexation agenda. “As I’m here for politics,” she admitted to Whiting, “I’m obliged to study the history and the people” of the Islands even when she was at leisure.²⁸ She partied with the officers of the gunboat *Bennington*, including its commander, later admiral, George W. Pigman, and together they raised “several hundred dollars to be expended in Christmas gifts to the lepers who are segregated on the island of Molokai fifty miles away.”²⁹ She even delivered the gifts personally.³⁰ On Christmas Eve she dined at the home at the corner of Bishop and Hotel streets in Honolulu of Dr. John Strayer McGrew, a prominent annexationist, who had immigrated from Ohio to Hawai‘i 29 years before.³¹ On Christmas Day she dined at the home of President Dole,³² and in a subsequent letter to the *Times-Herald* she again attested to his noble character: “I have never, in any country, met a man so full of the milk of human kindness, so fair in his estimate of those who oppose the republic, so averse to making capital for his cause by using the power he undoubtedly possesses.”³³ She also attended an open house on New Year’s Day hosted by Dole in the throne room of the executive building, the very room in the former royal palace where the queen’s trial had been held in 1895, and afterwards a tea on the grounds of the Pacific Tennis Club “opposite the executive building.”³⁴ She also read several books to supplement her research, including Isabella Bird’s *The Hawaiian Archipelago* (1875), Laura F. Judd’s *Honolulu. Sketches of Life* (1880), and Georges Sauvin’s *Un royaume polynésien* (1893).

Over the next few weeks Field quickened the pace of her work. She interviewed a veritable “who’s who” of Caucasian annexationists: Colonel Zeph S. Spalding, owner of Kealia Plantation and the Makee Sugar Company on Kaua‘i;³⁵ the missionary F. W. Damon, brother

of the finance minister;³⁶ the attorney general William Owen Smith, another member of the Committee on Safety;³⁷ Albert F. Judd, chief justice of the Supreme Court, who explained how the new constitution of the Republic protected the rights of Native Hawaiians;³⁸ the local railroad magnate Benjamin F. Dillingham, who believed that annexation by the U. S. would both “advance our material interests” and “insure peace” among the many factions of people in the islands;³⁹ Oliver P. Emerson, secretary of the Hawaiian Board of Missions;⁴⁰ and Professor W. D. Alexander, former principal of O‘ahu College and author of *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (1891).⁴¹ In late February she attended a lecture by William R. Castle, the former minister to the United States and like Thurston a member of both the Committee on Safety and the Annexation Committee. While in the U.S., Castle had urged American farmers to immigrate to Hawai‘i to cultivate sugar cane and coffee. Field heartily endorsed the idea, given her brand of xenophobia, as she warned:

Unless the character of immigration is radically changed, these islands will soon swarm with Japanese. White men will be driven out, natives will be stamped out and the United States will have themselves to thank for the dangerous advance of an aggressive people, whose cheap labor defies competition. Annexation alone can rescue Hawai‘i from Japan.⁴²

“The most intelligent and far-seeing planters want annexation,” she elsewhere concluded, and “the greatest need of Hawaii is small farmers” who might institute a system of profit-sharing with their workers like the plan recently adopted on the Ewa Sugar Plantation near Honolulu.⁴³ Three days after Castle’s talk, Field delivered her lecture “An Evening with Dickens,” gleaned from her reports of Dickens’ final American speaking tour nearly 30 years earlier, at the Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu. She was introduced by Joseph B. Atherton, one of the founders of the Bank of Hawaii, with proceeds from the lecture benefiting the local kindergarten association.⁴⁴ During her myriad “investigations” into conditions during her first months in Hawai‘i, in short, Field mostly mingled with people of her own race and class. Despite her repeated professions of objectivity, she made little effort to meet and interview Native Hawaiians or royalists sympathetic to the deposed queen.

Still, she did not entirely ignore the exotic or more traditional topics of travel articles in her correspondence with the *Times-Herald*. In one letter, she described the effects of an earthquake that shook the islands on December 10, the same day she interviewed Dole in his office,⁴⁵ and in two others she detailed the logistical advantages of a telegraph cable that would expedite communications among the major islands and with the mainland.⁴⁶ By chance, she met the former queen, Lili'uokalani, on December 13 while on a visit to the royal cemetery, an event she did not write up until three weeks later, after the holiday receptions with her friends in the provisional government. Technically still under house arrest, Lili'uokalani modestly declined Field's request for a photograph at the tomb of her father, and in response Field testified to her "great dignity of manner" and "charming voice."⁴⁷ In other articles she gossiped about the eccentricities of the late king ("Died of Mumm's Extra Dry' might have been inscribed on Kalakaua's coffin with no little reason")⁴⁸ and the success of mixed marriages between Chinese men and native women.⁴⁹ At an auction to dispose of some royal relics, Field bought "Kamehameha III's solid silver gravy spoon, as long as a swan's neck," and a helmet given to Kalākaua by the Emperor Franz Josef of Austria.⁵⁰

Field was also prescient in recognizing the strategic importance of Pearl Harbor, "ceded to us twenty years ago" as a condition of the reciprocity trade agreement of 1875 "and never utilized from that day to this. It is such a landlocked harbor as does not exist in any other part of the globe. Eight miles long, five miles wide and forty feet deep," she insisted, "Pearl Harbor offers every facility for an unrivalled naval station." It might "long since have been transformed into an impregnable naval station" but for the "stupidity" of the American government. "Twenty miles of wharfage could be built were Uncle Sam bent upon making a magnificent naval station in the middle of the Pacific."⁵¹ She mailed the last of her travel letters to the *Chicago Times-Herald* on March 24.

On the same day she posted this letter and after four months on O'ahu, Field sailed for the Big Island to continue her "investigations." She planned to remain there at least a month, as she wrote Whiting, "going around it and visiting the volcano." She readily allowed that she had underestimated the difficulty of her research. "Anyone

who thinks these islands can be seen quickly and intelligently reckons without a host of problems," she admitted. "The [major] islands are eight in number" and she planned to "visit at least three more," first Hawai'i, then Maui and Kaua'i.⁵² After "the worst sea voyage I ever took," Field arrived in Hilo on Wednesday, March 25, "but now [that] I'm in this strange land among natives, I'm very glad I came."⁵³

An experienced equestrian, she hired a horse and began to explore the island. She set off for Kilauea on Saturday, March 28, a distance of only about 40 miles, but "as the journey must be made in the saddle and will take several days," as she wrote Whiting, "you can imagine I'm as far from it as Omaha is from N.Y."⁵⁴ She spent a week at the Volcano House on the crater rim of Kilauea before returning to Hilo to reconnoiter and plan a trip around the island. She wrote her friends in Honolulu on April 23 that she next intended to travel around the Big Island, "stopping overnight at the houses of planters or natives." As the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported, "Miss Field has been deeply interested in the sights and sounds of the outside districts, and does not anticipate returning to Honolulu before the 1st of June."⁵⁵

She left Hilo on April 25 accompanied by Anna Paris, the proprietor of a small hotel in Kailua. She had decided to forego a visit to Mauna Loa, which had recently erupted, until she was "ready to leave this island. It looks as if I might remain several months longer," as she wrote Whiting. "Then what will happen I don't know. Japan? I can't say. I live from day to day and think as little as possible of the future."⁵⁶ In company with Henry Lyman and his sister Sarah, grandchildren of two of the earliest Christian missionaries to the islands, she stopped at the home of Rufus Lyman in Pā'auhau. En route north she also toured the Rycroft and Wight coffee plantations⁵⁷ before pausing in Waimea. On May 3 she rode twenty-five miles to Kohala.

It was the most awful ride of my life, equal to seventy-five miles on a level road. Imagine a hurricane and rain, up and down hills, more or less steep, at the foot of Mouna [*sic*] Kea (white), which is really 14,000 feet high. The rain and wind set in after we started, and, as the journey had to be made, we went on. Had the weather been cold it would have been a blizzard, but in this latitude there are no blizzards. Several times I thought I would be blown off the horse. However, we pulled through, but my horse is very tired, and I must wait until it is fit to travel.⁵⁸

From Kohala on May 4 she sent her first letter to Kohlstaat in six weeks—a private one not intended for publication:

Merely to sit down in Honolulu and pretend to know about these islands is absurd, and no Hawaiian would give a penny for my opinion did I not do what I am doing, nor would the people and congress of the United States. . . . I can't tell you how gratified the islanders are that I am roughing it for their benefit. Remember that there are no roads and no hotels. I was loaned an easy mare in Hilo, who has brought me 100 miles in ten days. I have traveled from plantation to plantation of sugar and coffee and been well treated by whites of American or British birth. I am guided by the local police, who are natives, and I see as many of the Hawaiians as possible. I address the natives as an American whenever invited, and make friends for my country and annexation.⁵⁹

As usual, Field believed that camping out and the fresh air were invigorating. “Though some of the travel is very hard,” she insisted to Kohlstaat, “the trip will do me a lot of good physically.”⁶⁰ She also began to reach out to natives of the islands after leaving O‘ahu. To be sure, she befriended them from selfish motives—she wanted to convert them to her political views—but at least she no longer associated only with people who already shared those views.

She spent over a week in Kohala while she (and her horse) recuperated from the ardors of the trip, and on May 12 she delivered her Dickens lecture there from memory.⁶¹ She left a day or two later for Kona, 60 miles distant over lava beds. Upon her arrival at Anna Paris' hotel in Kailua on May 16 she was exhausted and feverish from the journey but she refused to rest. The next day she rode another ten miles to Henry Greenwell's farm near Ka'awaloa. There she collapsed and, alarmed by her symptoms, she finally agreed to return to Honolulu before her condition worsened. After writing all morning, in the afternoon of May 18 she was carried from the beach to a reserved stateroom aboard the off-shore steamer *Hall*. According to the purser of the *Hall*, she had been “riding too hard,” and Field apparently agreed. “I am only tired all out,” she insisted. “Riding all sorts of horses (for my own got a sore back), and tramping over their lava beds and looking into the condition of these natives. . . . Yes, I am too tired to do any more just now.”⁶²

She was nursed by two members of the Amherst College Eclipse Expedition, which was en route to Japan: Mabel Loomis Todd, wife of Amherst astronomer David Todd and one of Emily Dickinson's earliest editors, and the physician Vanderpoel Adriance. Todd, too, initially did not think that Field's condition was life-threatening. "Lack of proper food and attention, a severe cold contracted through exposure to varying temperatures at different altitudes, and general fatigue had left obvious traces on her pale face," she noted.⁶³ But Adriance's diagnosis of her condition was dire. Field in fact was suffering from acute pneumonia. About 5 p.m. on May 18 she left her stateroom and went on deck of the *Hall*, though Adriance ordered her back to bed. He sat by her side all night and administered stimulants. About 2 a.m. her condition worsened, and early in the morning of May 19 he told Todd

"that he had been fighting for her life ever since she came on board, obstinate pneumonia his antagonist. With little hope, from the first, of conquering, he had continued to give her stimulants on the chance of sustaining the slight strength remaining. He thought she must have had the disease for several days, while still exposed to constant hard riding and all temperatures."⁶⁴

Todd broke the sad news to her "that in all human probability she must die before another sunset. Miss Field listened in almost a dazed way at first. Then she said—'Yes, yes—give me time.' She lay back for a moment in strange stupor, while I quietly waited." Field dictated a letter or two before slipping into unconsciousness. She rallied occasionally when Todd spoke to her, "but it was evident that she was rapidly dying, and her breathing became very labored." The captain of the *Hall* pushed its speed to the limit in order to reach Honolulu before her death. "As we passed Maui," Todd recalled, Field "suddenly opened her eyes and looked out. The cliffs are bold and rugged, and the mountains very impressive, with cloud-shadows chasing over them, and between island and steamer lay a bright blue strip of white-capped sea. 'Oh, how beautiful!' she exclaimed, and for a moment her eyes brightened clearly." An hour or two later she tried to converse with Todd:

“What did you say was the name of your expedition, and what are you going for?”

“The Amherst eclipse expedition,” I replied, “and we go to Japan to observe a total eclipse of the sun August 9th.”

“The Amherst eclipse expedition,” she said brightly; and those were her last words on earth.

She simply slept more and more soundly.⁶⁵

The *Hall* arrived in Honolulu harbor at about 1 p.m. on May 19, well ahead of schedule, and a detail of sailors from the frigate *USS Adams* carried Field on a stretcher to the nearby home of J. S. McGrew, where she had dined on Christmas Eve scarcely four months before. Todd gathered Field’s scattered belongings, including her saddle, riding-whip, “walking shoes all scratched and scarred with rough lava,” and a copy of Charles Warren Stoddard’s *Hawaiian Life*, and took them to McGrew’s cottage. There Field died peacefully an hour later.⁶⁶

* * *

Without a cable between the islands and the mainland, the news of Field’s death was telegraphed by Thurston to Yokohama, Japan, and from there to Kohlstaat in Chicago. Field’s funeral on May 20 at the Central Union Church in Honolulu was a virtual reunion of annexationists. Her pallbearers included McGrew and two members of the Committee on Safety: Lorrin Thurston and James Castle. Also in attendance were President Dole, Chief Justice Judd, Associate Justice Walter F. Frear, and three other members of the Committee: Minister of Foreign Affairs Henry E. Cooper, Vice President William C. Wilder, and the rancher and politician James S. McCandless. The U.S. consul Albert S. Willis also attended the funeral and arranged for Field’s body to be embalmed and placed in the family vault in O’ahu Cemetery of John H. Paty, a partner in the bank of Bishop and Co.⁶⁷ Predictably, Paty was an annexationist, too.

In his obituary, Kohlstaat praised his ostensible “hireling” and editorialized that her letters from Hawai‘i had been “accepted universally as the first frank, comprehensive and trustworthy accounts, wholly disinterested, that have come from the islands. Keen of observation, alert to pursuit of truth, her pen vivid, these letters in the columns of the *Times-Herald* constitute the case of Hawaii for annexation.”⁶⁸ Even after her death, Field’s reputation was invoked to serve the cause.

NOTES

- ¹ “Kate Field Dead,” *New York Tribune*, 31 May 1896, 7:5.
- ² Gary Scharnhorst, “James and Kate Field,” *Henry James Review*, 22 (Spring 2001), 200–06.
- ³ Field, “Exit Kalakaua: What Next?” *Kate Field’s Washington*, 28 January 1891:49.
- ⁴ Field, “Annex Hawaii,” *Kate Field’s Washington*, 2 March 1895:130.
- ⁵ Field, “Welcome, Hawaii!” *Kate Field’s Washington*, 22 February 1893:113.
- ⁶ Field, “The Hawaiian Kingdom,” *Kate Field’s Washington*, 9 August 1893:86–87.
- ⁷ Field, “The Republic of Hawaii,” *Kate Field’s Washington*, 15 August 1894:97.
- ⁸ Field, “The Hawaiian Kingdom,” 86–87.
- ⁹ Field, “The Republic of Hawaii,” 97.
- ¹⁰ “Kohlstaat Buys a Paper,” *Washington Post*, 21 April 1895, 1:5; “Kohlstaat Never Fails,” *Washington Post*, 22 April 1895, 5:5–6.
- ¹¹ Helena G. Allen, *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani: Last Queen of Hawai‘i, 1838–1917* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1982), 350.
- ¹² “Going to Honolulu,” Salt Lake *Deseret Evening News*, 26 August 1895, 1:5.
- ¹³ According to “Death of a Noted American Writer,” *PCA*, 20 May 1896, 3:2, Field asked the U.S. consul in Honolulu to contact Spreckels as she was dying.
- ¹⁴ *PCA*, 21 November 1895: 8:2.
- ¹⁵ Charles Warren Stoddard, “Kate Field: Cosmopolite,” *National Magazine*, 23 (January 1906), 371.
- ¹⁶ Lilian Whiting, *Kate Field: A Record* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1899), 534.
- ¹⁷ “Kate Fields’s Opinion,” *PCA*, 23 November 1895, 1:4–6.
- ¹⁸ “Kate Field in Hawaii,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 19 December 1895, 6:6.
- ¹⁹ “Kate Field in Hawaii,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 22 December 1895, 26:6.
- ²⁰ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 26 December 1895, 9:3–4.
- ²¹ “Would Annex Hawaii,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 28 December 1895, 11:3.
- ²² Rare Book and Manuscript Room, Boston Public Library (MS 1139).
- ²³ “Dole at the Door,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 30 December 1895, 1:7–2:2.
- ²⁴ “The Hawaiian President,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 30 December 1895:5.
- ²⁵ *Kate Field: Selected Letters*, ed. Carolyn J. Moss (Carbondale: Southern Illinois U Press, 1996), 232.
- ²⁶ “A Letter with a History,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 4 January 1896, 8:4.
- ²⁷ Quoted in Whiting, 543–44.
- ²⁸ *Kate Field: Selected Letters*, 232–33.
- ²⁹ *Kate Field: Selected Letters*, 232–33.
- ³⁰ *Kate Field: Selected Letters*, 232.
- ³¹ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 19 January 1896, 24:1.
- ³² *Kate Field: Selected Letters*, 232.
- ³³ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 20 January 1896, 9:7.
- ³⁴ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 8 February 1896, 10:5–6.
- ³⁵ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 11 January 1896, 14:1–2.
- ³⁶ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 20 January 1896, 9:7.
- ³⁷ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 9 February 1896, 24:1–3.

- ³⁸ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 1 March 1896, 15:1–3, 19:4.
- ³⁹ “Kate Field in Hawaii,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 2 March 1896, 9:1–2.
- ⁴⁰ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 11 April 1896, 9:5–6.
- ⁴¹ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 12 April 1896, 40:1–2.
- ⁴² “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 22 February 1896, 10:1–2. Moss, 231–32: “It’s a very serious problem, this Asiatic invasion, and bodes no good to the United States.”
- ⁴³ “Kate Field in Hawaii,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 9 March 1896, 9:7.
- ⁴⁴ “An Evening with Dickens,” *PCA*, 26 February 1896, 1:5.
- ⁴⁵ “Kate Field in Hawaii,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 3 January 1896, 6:6.
- ⁴⁶ “Kate Field in Hawaii,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 31 December 1895, 6:6. “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 11 January 1896, 14:1–2.
- ⁴⁷ “Kate Field Sees Liliuokalani,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 26 January 1896, 35:4–5.
- ⁴⁸ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 22 February 1896, 10:1–2.
- ⁴⁹ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 15 March 1896, 14:3–4.
- ⁵⁰ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 21 March 1896, 10:1–2. Field apparently paid \$27 for the helmet (“Hawaiian Kings’ Goods at Auction,” *New York Times*, 7 April 1896:5).
- ⁵¹ “Kate Field’s Letter,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 16 March 1896, 9:4–5.
- ⁵² *Kate Field: Selected Letters*, 233–34.
- ⁵³ *Kate Field: Selected Letters*, 234.
- ⁵⁴ *Kate Field: Selected Letters*, 234.
- ⁵⁵ “Kate Field Interested,” *PCA*, 27 April 1896, 1:5.
- ⁵⁶ Whiting, 545.
- ⁵⁷ Whiting, 549.
- ⁵⁸ “Kate Field’s Demise,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 31 May 1896, 1:1.
- ⁵⁹ “Kate Field’s Demise.”
- ⁶⁰ “Kate Field’s Demise.”
- ⁶¹ “Kate Field in Kohala,” *PCA*, 15 May 1896, 6:1.
- ⁶² “Kate Field’s Last Illness,” *New York Times*, 15 June 1896, 12.
- ⁶³ Todd, “Last Days in Hawaii,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 9 June 1896, 3:1–2; rpt. *Corona and Coronet* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1898), 99.
- ⁶⁴ Todd, *Corona and Coronet*, 100.
- ⁶⁵ Todd, *Corona and Coronet*, 101–03.
- ⁶⁶ Todd, *Corona and Coronet*, 101–103.
- ⁶⁷ “Kate Field is Laid at Rest,” *PCA*, 21 May 1896: 1.
- ⁶⁸ “Death of Kate Field,” *Chicago Times-Herald*, 31 May 1896: 40:2.