

Vignette of Early Hawaii-Japan Relations: Highlights of King Kalakaua's Sojourn in Japan on His Trip around the World as Recorded in His Personal Diary

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Sometime ago, through the courtesy of Mrs. Judy Reed, librarian of the Bishop Museum library, I found out that the Museum had the diary written personally by King Kalakaua during his sojourn in Japan on his trip around the world.

The diary covers the first 48 pages of a notebook containing 100 letter-size pages. It is not mentioned or referred to in any of the existing histories of Hawaii. Apparently, it lay in the archives of the Museum for many years unnoticed and unread.

In the diary, Kalakaua described in detail his meetings with Emperor Mutsuhito and the Empress at officially scheduled functions; the numerous courtesies extended to him by Prince Higashifushimi Yoshiaki and other members of the Emperor's reception committee; the military parade given in his honor; and the visits to the printing office, arsenal, paper factory, naval academy, civil engineering school, and other places of interest.

Kalakaua had one private meeting with the Emperor, which was held at his request without the prior knowledge of his suite and at which the Japanese official who served as interpreter was the only other person in attendance. The diary is completely silent about that meeting. It is also silent about any political discussion which Kalakaua might have had with Japanese officials.

Thus, in a sense, Kalakaua's diary is a tourist's diary. However, it is more than that. In it Kalakaua emerges as an educated man with catholic knowledge of human affairs, a monarch thoroughly versed in royal etiquette and comfortably at home with his peer, and a man deeply affected by kindnesses extended to him. From the description of the Emperor's actions and demeanor contained in it, Mutsuhito also emerges as a cordial monarch with warm human qualities and not as an austere imperial ruler, which accounts for Kalakaua's feeling of sufficient rapport to request a private meeting with him, after knowing him less than one week.

King Kalakaua was the reigning monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom for seventeen years, from February 13, 1874 to January 20, 1891.

In 1881, after occupying the throne for almost seven full years, Kalakaua

took a trip around the world, leaving Honolulu on January 20 and returning nine months and nine days later on October 29. He went first to San Francisco. From there, he took a westward course around the globe, stopping over in Japan, China, Siam, India, Egypt, England, other European countries, and the United States.

Kalakaua was accompanied on the trip by two companions and a personal valet. The companions were Colonel Charles H. Judd, his Chamberlain, and William N. Armstrong, his Attorney General.

Judd and Armstrong were Kalakaua's schoolmates at the Chiefs' Children's School. For the duration of the trip, Armstrong was given the additional titles of Minister of State and Royal Commissioner of Immigration. The title of Minister of State was given in order to place Armstrong in the same rank as the cabinet ministers of foreign sovereigns. According to Armstrong, the title of Royal Commissioner of Immigration was given to him "to give an appearance of a useful purpose to the royal expedition".

In 1904, Armstrong published a book entitled, *Around the World with a King*, containing an account of the entire trip, professedly based on the notes which he kept from day to day during the trip.

Kalakaua was in Japan for nineteen days, arriving in Yokohama from San Francisco on the British ship *Oceanic* at eight o'clock in the morning of March 4 and departing from Nagasaki for Shanghai on the Japanese ship *Tokio Maru* at five o'clock in the afternoon of March 22. Of the nineteen days, he spent the first day in Yokohama; the next twelve days in Tokyo; and the remaining six days visiting Kobe, Osaka and Kyoto, sailing across the Inland Sea to Nagasaki, and sightseeing in Nagasaki until *Tokio Maru* got ready to sail.

Armstrong devoted 61 of the 290 pages of his book to his recital of the events which took place in Japan. His account obviously served as the basis of the accounts about Kalakaua's stopover in Japan by later historians.

However, Armstrong wrote his book twenty three years after the happening of the recited events, although based on contemporaneous notes. It contains a number of inconsistencies of which a very serious one is repeated in Ralph Kuykendall's three-volume history of *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, and would have been perpetuated except for an entry contradicting it in Kalakaua's diary.

During the entire period of his stay in Japan, Kalakaua was the guest of Emperor Mutsuhito. Before Kalakaua's arrival, the Emperor appointed a reception committee headed by Prince Higashifushimi, and including among its members Hachisuka Mochiaki, Date Muneki, Ishibashi Masakata, and Nagasaki Seigo. These names appear repeatedly in Kalakaua's diary. The reception committee overlooked no detail in its effort to make Kalakaua's sojourn pleasant and memorable.

Kalakaua had originally planned to visit Japan incognito and remain only a few days in that country. So, he did not give any advance notice of his arrival to the Japanese government, and requested a fellow passenger on the *Oceanic*, who was a resident of Yokohama, to obtain a lodging for him and his suite at one of the hotels there. Such being the case, the kind and hospitable

treatment which was accorded him by the Emperor and the Emperor's reception committee was a complete surprise to him.

The surprise began when the *Oceanic* sailed into the harbor of Yokohama. As the ship approached Yokohama, her captain, desiring to announce that she carried a distinguished person, requested Kalakaua's permission to display his royal standard on her masthead. At first, Kalakaua hesitated, lest if his standard were not recognized he would have humiliated himself, but ultimately gave the requested permission. Once the royal standard was hoisted, each man of war in the harbor having saluting batteries fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns, enveloping the harbor with the noise and smoke from the salvos.

The second surprise occurred when Hachisuka and Ishibashi, of the Emperor's reception committee, boarded the *Oceanic*, with the vice governor of Kanagawa and an admiral of the Japanese navy, extended the Emperor's invitation to Kalakaua to be his guest as long as he remained in Japan, and took Kalakaua off from the ship to the Admiralty Office Building on the admiral's launch.

The next and most touching surprise of the day was the playing of *Hawaii Ponoï* by the Emperor's marine band when Kalakaua landed on the Japanese soil. Armstrong wrote about that incident as follows:

When the boat touched the landing, the strains of 'Hawaii Ponoï' burst from the shore. This unexpected compliment from the Emperor's military band, this music of our country in a strange land, upset us instantly, and a snivelling monarch with a snivelling suite, uncovered, our Japanese escort uncovering also, until the anthem ended.

The "snivelling" of Kalakaua was understandable. To Kalakaua, *Hawaii Ponoï* was not merely the national anthem of Hawaii. It was peculiarly his own. Its words were written by him, and with the music set by Henry Berger, it had been adopted as his nation's anthem only five years before.

Kalakaua began his diary on March 4 with the following entry:

We arrived in Yokohama at 8 a.m. March 4th 1881. Having had a passage of 24 days from San Francisco weather heavy most of the way. . . . The harbor was studded with vessels of different nationalities War and Merchant vessels. . . . Those having saluting batteries fired 21 guns each Japanese Russian and French. Two Japanese Officers in uniform boarded the *Oceanica* waited for the arrival of the Admiral. Then came Mr. R. W. Irwin Acting Hawaiian Consul General with Mr. D. W. Stevens Secretary to the American Legation immediately followed. . . . After breakfast Mr. Irwin announced the arrival of Commissioners from the Emperor to receive us and after the presentation of the members consisting of Junii Hachisuka Ex Daimio, Mr. Ishabashi Secretary Foreign Department Vice Governor Isogi of Kanagawa and Admiral Natamuta of the Imp. Jap. Navy we left the ship amid the hearty cheers of the Officers Passengers and Crew of the 'Oceanica'. The Admiral's launch conveying us to the Admiralty Office Landing, where we were met by other Deputations sent by the Emperor to receive us. . . . On landing, a Detachment of soldiers and marines paid the usual honors, the Marine Band playing the Kamehameha Hymn or Hawaiian National Anthem. After a short detention of an hour in receiving the presentations of the Naval Officers of the Japanese fleet in the harbor, we drove to the Emperor's Marine Resident Junii Hachisuka escorting us in the first carriage and the others of the party following in the second and third carriages.

At 11½ a.m. His Imperial Highness Prince Higashifushimiomiya arrived, welcoming us in the name of the Emperor as his guest. Arrangements was [sic] then made for our reception by the Emperor of Japan to take place the next day Saturday the 5th.

March 5 was a great day for Kalakaua. He left the Yokohama railroad station at 11:30 o'clock in the morning, and arrived one hour later at the Shinbashi station in Tokyo.

Kalakaua wrote as follows regarding the events which took place at the Shinbashi station upon his arrival there:

Here we were received by His Imperial Highness Higashi Fushimiomiya, and led by him to the entrance of the Building where their Imperial Highness's Prince Arisagawa, Prince Fushimiomiya, Prince Kitashirakawa, their Excellencies Sanjo *Daijo Daijin*, Iwakura *Udaijin*, Okuma, Oki, Terajima, Yamagata, Kuroda, Kawamura and Yamada, the Ministers of the Home, Finance, War and Naval Departments, Mr. Matsuda *Chiji* of Tokyo *fu* were in waiting. At the upper Reception Rooms of the Buildings at the Depot Their Imperial Highness's were presented separately followed by the presentations of the Imperial Court.

The persons named in the quoted passage were the elite of the Japanese society and officialdom, civil and military, at that time. Prince Arisugawa was the ranking Royal Prince. Prince Fushimiomiya was Prince Fushimi Sadanaru, brother of Prince Higashifushimi and head of the main line of the Prince Fushimi family. Sanjo *Daijo Daijin* was Sanjo Sanetomi, who occupied a position equivalent to Premier, *Daijo Daijin* being the title of the office which he held. Iwakura *Udaijin* was Iwakura Tomomi, who occupied the office of *Udaijin*, an office just below *Daijo Daijin*.

From the Shinbashi station, Kalakaua proceeded to the Emperor's Palace, accompanied by Prince Higashifushimi, in a carriage escorted by the Lancers of the Guards "dressed neatly in blue coats lined with appointments of green", and along streets "lined the whole way with infantry soldiers of the Guards and the line."

At the Palace, Kalakaua was conducted by the Minister of the Imperial Household to the Reception Hall, where the Emperor received him. After a few words of greeting, the Emperor led him to another hall, where the Empress held her Court. Kalakaua wrote as follows about his meeting with the Empress:

The Empress rose at my entrance and I reverential bowed. By her side was a Japanese lady of High Rank Miss Denoye who . . . stood by the Empress interpreting the remarks and the conversation that passed between us. 'She was sorry that we came to Japan at a bad season of the year and it was cold'. I answered that it was severe for one who had been accustomed to a more temperate climate but as my comfort were so well provided by the kindness of the Emperor that I felt no inconvenient. The Empress wore a rich Brocade of red and purple colors. Her hair made in the Japanese Court style which made her very becoming. . . . The time consumed in this reception was about ½ hour.

The lady mentioned in the foregoing quotation as Miss Denoye was Miss Sueko Inouye, daughter of Foreign Minister Inouye Kaoru who accompanied her father to Europe in 1877 and was educated in England.

After the meeting with the Empress, Kalakaua had an interview with the Emperor. He wrote about the meeting as follows:

The Emperor after my presentation to the Empress offered me a seat near him. On my left stood Minister Armstrong and Colonel Judd. The members of the Imperial family and the Court, in full dress uniforms and decorations, all stood with perfect silence when the Conversation presented itself during the interview of the two Sovereigns and the Empress, Ishabashi having the high honor of a medium to transmit the words of greeting and congratulations. The impression on my mind was really awful and grand. Stately as all the surroundings appeared still there was an air of cordiality natural freedom assumed during the whole of the interview which made it a contrast to the stiffness of European Courts, especially England. The Emperor was attired in Full dress uniform wearing the Star and Cordon of the Order of Chrisanthemum. . . . The Imperial Family all wore the Grand Cross of the Order of the Rising Sun, Prince Arisagawa standing next to the Emperor being the only one Invested and wore the Order of Chrisanthemum.

It is interesting to compare Kalakaua's account of the meeting with the following account in Armstrong's book:

The Emperor and the King now rose and stood beside each other. The Emperor was slightly above the average height of his race; his complexion was dark; and his face an open one; his forehead was unusually high; his eyes black and penetrating; nor did he look like one who would put himself entirely in the hands of his Ministers; his dress was a European military uniform, and the breast of his coat was decorated with orders. The King, with a complexion unusually dark for a Hawaiian, towered above him, graceful, imperturbable. The contrast was striking; but the inscrutable face and eye of the Emperor disclosed the stronger character.

At the time of the meeting, Mutsuhito was twenty-eight years old, having been born in November 3, 1852, but had been on the throne for fourteen years; and Kalakaua was Mutsuhito's senior by sixteen years, having been born on November 16, 1836.

Following the meeting with the Emperor, Kalakaua was taken to Yenriokwan, a former feudal residence, which was provided by the Emperor as the residence for him and his suite during their stay in Tokyo. About this act of courtesy by the Emperor, Kalakaua wrote:

As we came the Royal standard being hoisted, the Yenriokwan assumed an appearance of being transformed into the Old Ihikapukalani Palace, which could not help bring my mind back to those days when Kamehameha III, Kamehameha IV, and Lunalilo and myself once lived in it, an emotion came over me which could not help to press a tear of Aloha.

The last notable event of an eventful day occurred after Kalakaua was settled in Yenriokwan, when the Emperor made a return call at 3:30 o'clock in the afternoon accompanied by Prince Fushimi.

Kalakaua was taken on trips to the government printing office on March 7, the arsenal on March 10, the civil engineering school on March 11, and the government paper factory on March 12. On all of these trips, he was impressed by the scientific progress which Japan had made in the brief period after its exposure to Western civilization.

The following entry in the diary regarding the trip to the arsenal shows that Kalakaua's interest was not confined to ceremonial matters but extended to other matters such as weaponry:

Early at 9½ H. I. H. escorted us to the Arsenal. General Oyama Gan General Murata were presented and with them we were lead to the various departments. Guns of the most improved patterns were orderly placed on racks in tiers from the ground to the Sealing as well as the upper second story. We went through the machinery, gun & cartridge Rooms and small gun factories, where they were making a new gun of their own invention. The piece was somewhat similar to the Hotchkiss American small arm and the test of the Arm showed great precision with low trajectory. . . . The breech lock is simple containing but 5 pieces to the whole mechanism.

General Oyama Gan mentioned in the diary was General Oyama Iwao, who later became Field Marshal and commanded the Japanese forces in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.

On March 8, Kalakaua was honored by a military parade of the troops stationed within the Tokyo area. According to Armstrong, about ten thousand men participated in the parade. That morning, Kalakaua proceeded to the parade grounds with Prince Higashifushimi on a state carriage, escorted by the lancers of the Guards, and went straight to the Emperor's tent. Thereafter, the following occurred:

The Emperor rose and approached me as I entered to receive me and motioned me to take a seat near the table. Tea was served. After exchanging a few words of welcome and in regard to the weather we both mounted on steeds prepared for our purpose, the Emperor riding a yellow cream colored horse richly mounted in Gold saddle colors. The Foreign Representatives who were all present and richly dressed in gorgeous uniforms besides the Imperial Princes and the Court made the pageantry a most brilliant spectacle. I rode on the left of the Emperor. As we rode along the line, each regimental, brigade and division detachment saluted as we passed. Returning to the point of review near the tent, we waited the different corps and saluted them as they passed. The march past was very well executed by the Imperial Foot Guards as well as other Infantry Corps, considering the grounds had been drenched the night previous. Still everything went off well and creditable to the Marshal . . . , for there was no hitch as seen on some occasions in other countries, or bustle or noise save the tramp of men and neighing of horses and rattle of the artillery. Everything went like clockwork. . . . Returning to the tent after a few minutes conversation with the Emperor, through the interpetation of His Ex. Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Uyeno, we parted very much impressed with the kindness of the Emperor and pleased with the review of the day.

March 9 was another memorable day for Kalakaua, but in a different sense from previous occasions. That was the day Kalakaua met a young student prince, fifteen years old, named Prince Yamashina Sadamaro. Kalakaua did not get the name of the prince correctly, and mentioned him in his diary as Prince Yashima.

On that day, Prince Higashifushimi took Kalakaua on trips to the Naval Academy, the Fukiage Gardens, and the Military Barracks of the Guards. At the Naval Academy, where he was a cadet, Sadamaro was assigned to Kalakaua as his aide-de-camp for the day. Kalakaua's diary for the day contains the following entries about the young prince:

This day we were to visit the naval school and after a refreshing sleep and a good breakfast we drove on carriages to the Naval Depot. . . . At the reception Rooms His Imp. Highness Prince Yashima, who is a naval cadet in the institute was presented. He is a lively young, very bright, intelligent and promising lad of 13 years old.

After the visit here we went to the Palace Grounds of Fukiage Gardens. The garden of Tsukiage was the home of the Powerful Daimio. An area covering over 30 acres of Ground and as beautiful as nature and the art of human hand can make it. . . . Alighting from the carriage in Company with the Prince (Higashifushimi) and Prince Yashima, we proceed through the garden thick with . . . tall graceful Bamboo. Had Tiffin at the Palace Grounds, Prince Yashima sitting at my right.

Being much pleased with what I saw during the day we returned to the Yenriokwan arriving at 5½ p.m. Here H. I. H. Prince Yashima left me, being obliged to return to the School having performed a short but pleasant service as Naval Aide-de-Camp attached to my staff for the day.

Those entries are significant as showing that Kalakaua instantly developed an attachment and fondness for Sadamaro. Before his sojourn in Japan was over, Kalakaua conveyed to the Emperor, through channels, a proposal that Sadamaro be betrothed to Princess Kaiulani, who was then less than six years old, having been born on October 16, 1875. The proposal was duly declined in the letters of Foreign Minister Inouye Kaoru to Kalakaua, dated February 10, 1882, and Yamashina Sadamaro to Kalakaua, dated January 14, 1882. Both letters are in the Kalaniana'ole collection of Bishop Museum.

On March 13, Prince and Princess Higashifushimi held a luncheon for Kalakaua at their residence to which they invited Prince and Princess Fushimi, Prince and Princess Kitashirakawa, Armstrong and Judd. The event was another touching experience for Kalakaua, who wrote:

The Prince received us in the front entrance of the Building and conducted us to a side room on the left or East Room on the second story. On a small table was placed a floral cushion of white jassimin flowers and the word ALOHA inscribed in the center in large letters made of the Red Cherry blossom. When this rare and precious token of friendship met my eyes, a thrill of gratefulness penetrated my whole frame and only restrained the emotion by the faint exclamation *how beautiful*.

Within the door, H. I. H. Princess Higashifushiminomiya advanced to welcome us and led me to a sofa near the fire, bade me to sit, she seating herself on my left. Trays of warm tea and cordials were placed before us and through the medium of the interpretation of Mrs. Uyeno the conversation alluding to the inclemency of the weather and other topics, she arose to allow Princess Fushiminomiya and Princess Kitashirakawa to be presented. When Luncheon was announced she arose and offering myself lead her to the table. . . . I sat on Princess left and Prince Fushiminomiya opposite.

When the Roast were brought in His Imperial Highness Prince Higashi arose and proposed my health in a most cordial manner. In arising to reply I was so choked with emotion that I hardly could speak, but in a broken sentence thanked him for his kindness.

Mrs. Uyeno, mentioned in the diary, was apparently an accomplished linguist because she was one of the persons who was considered as an interpreter for the Emperor before Ishibashi was finally selected.

In his book, Armstrong wrote that the luncheon was given by Prince Arisugawa, that Prince Arisugawa was educated in one of the military schools

in England and translated the conversation at the luncheon. I am quite sure that Armstrong had a lapse of memory and was in error. Although there is a record that Prince Kitashirakawa attended a Prussian military school, there is no record that Prince Arisugawa attended an English military school.

The climax of Kalakaua's sojourn in Japan occurred on March 14. On that day, the Emperor invited Kalakaua, Armstrong, and Judd for a luncheon at the Palace. Kalakaua and his party arrived at the Palace shortly before one o'clock, in full dress uniform and wearing all their orders, accompanied by Prince Higashifushimi. There, they were received by Prince Arisugawa, Prince Fushimi, Prince Kitashirakawa, and the Minister of the Imperial Household. After they divested themselves of their overcoats in the anteroom, the Minister of the Imperial Household led them to the reception room where they were received by the Emperor. Kalakaua recorded the proceedings which ensued in his diary as follows:

After exchange of welcome, he lead us to the throne room, where stopping in front of the throne and there through the interpretation of Mr. Ishabashi desired me to divest myself of the cordon of the Order of Kamehameha I as he was about to confer upon me the Order of Chrysanthemum. The Minister of the Imperial Household advanced and received my cordon, then the Emperor advanced and presented the Cordon and Star of the Order, which was attached to my left breast by the Emperor and the assistance of the Minister of the Imperial Household in investiture of the Cordon. Bowing graciously at the Emperor I acknowledged the kind act which animated him to bestow upon me so distinguished a mark of his good will and favor. Mr. Armstrong and Col. Judd were taken to a separate Apartment and there was conferred upon them by the Minister of the Imperial Household the Second grade of the Order of the Rising Sun which is a brilliant Star of carboncle (carbochon) stone in the center piece with enamelled rays mounted on a silver field of eight points to be worn on the right breast.

Armstrong's account of the event is quite different. He wrote:

The ceremony of the reception was a repetition of that of our first introduction. After a few moments of subdued conversation the Emperor arose and took from a lacquer box in the hands of the Minister of Ceremonies the star and broad scarlet cordon of the 'Grand Cross of the Order of the Rising Sun'. These he placed with his own hands upon the King. He then took from the Minister another lacquer box holding the star of the 'Grand officer of the Order of the Rising Sun' and presented it to me, whispering some words in the vernacular; and to the Chamberlain he also handed another box, containing the insignia of the same Order, but one degree lower.

Obviously relying on Armstrong's account, Kuykendall wrote in *The Hawaiian Kingdom* that Kalakaua was invested with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Rising Sun.

There is an irreconcilable difference between Kalakaua's diary and Armstrong's account, not only with regard to the kind of decoration which Kalakaua received but also with regard to the manner in which the decorations were presented to the recipients.

The proof that Kalakaua's account is the correct one is that, among the decorations received by Kalakaua which are on display at the Heritage Theatre of Bishop Museum in King's Alley, are the Grand Cordon of the Order of

Chrysanthemum with the Badge attached to it and the separate Star of the Order.*

There is a world of difference between the Order of Chrysanthemum and the Grand Cross of the Order of the Rising Sun.

At the time Kalakaua was invested, the Order of Chrysanthemum was the highest order which the Emperor could award, and there was only one class to the order. It may be recalled that at the first meeting between Kalakaua and the Emperor, only the Emperor and Prince Arisugawa wore the Order of Chrysanthemum. Prince Higashifushimi, Prince Fushimi, and Prince Kitashirakawa wore only the Grand Cross of the Order of the Rising Sun.

There is at present a higher class of the Order of Chrysanthemum, which is *Kikka Sho Kubikazari*, or the Order of Chrysanthemum with Chain. But that higher class of the Order was established on January 4, 1888, seven years after Kalakaua was decorated.

At Imperial functions, the recipient of the Order of Chrysanthemum has precedence even over the Premier.

At the time Kalakaua was decorated, *Kun Itto Kyokujitsu Daijusho*, described by Kalakaua and Armstrong as the Grand Cross of the Order of the Rising Sun, was the second highest decoration. On January 4, 1888, a higher class of the Order of the Rising Sun, *Kun Itto Kyokujitsu Doka Daijusho*, or the First Class of the Order of the Rising Sun with Paulownia Flowers was established. General Douglas MacArthur was awarded this higher class of the Order of the Rising Sun but not the Order of Chrysanthemum.

Upon the conclusion of the investiture of the decorations, the Emperor led Kalakaua to the Luncheon Hall. In his diary, Kalakaua started to describe the seating arrangement verbally but finally ended up by drawing a seating chart, which is copied below.

Kalakaua recorded the events which followed the luncheon as follows:

Luncheon finished at 3 p.m. and we adjourned again to the throne where the Empress received us. Here we drank tea and smoked cigars and at 3½ we returned to Yenriokwan as we started. Shortly after our arrival the painful news of the death of the Emperor of Russia was received by telegram. . . . I immediately dispatched Col. Judd with my condolence to the Minister of Russia and to the Foreign Ambassadors at the Imp. Court and sent my condolence to the Mikado by Prince Higashifushiminomiya. The Imperial Court as well as myself and staff went into mourning. This threw a solemn gloom over the Court and more so to all our arrangements and enjoyments for the rest of the day. The Ball given by the Masonic Fraternity at Yokohama to take place that evening was given up as well as the Ball at the Yenriokwan.

The Emperor of Russia, whose death cast such a pall of gloom, was Alexander II. He was killed on March 13, by the explosion of bombs thrown by Nihilists while he was riding on a St. Petersburg street.

March 15 had previously been set aside as the day on which the Emperor would dine with Kalakaua. Despite the restraint imposed by the death of the Emperor of Russia, Mutsuhito kept his appointment and came to Yenriokwan, but accompanied only by the Minister of the Imperial Household. Prince Higashifushimi was already at Yenriokwan.

Date	o Minister
Its	o Account
Col. J. J. J.	o Prime Minister
V.P. Man	o Public Peace
Abraham	o Religious Peace
Empire	o Hegel's
King	o Armstrong
P. H. H.	o Stein
Min. House	o General
Iwakura	o Minister
Nachikawa	

Before the luncheon, Kalakaua invested the Emperor with the Order of Kamehameha I by proxy. (Kalakaua sent the decoration itself later.) According to the entry in the diary, "Having done so his Majesty arose and making a bow acknowledged the acceptance by thanking me." Kalakaua also invested Prince Arisugawa, Prince Higashifushimi, Prince Fushimi, and Prince Kitashirakawa, by proxy. Prince Higashifushimi accepted the investiture on behalf of all of the Princes, the other Princes not being present.

The luncheon was then served, with the Emperor sitting on Kalakaua's right, Prince Higashifushimi opposite and the Minister of the Imperial Household on the left. During the course of the luncheon, Kalakaua arose to propose the health of the Emperor, to which they all drank and which the Emperor "cheerfully accepted". After the luncheon, they all adjourned to the reception room, where they had coffee and cigars. The Emperor took leave at three o'clock.

Kalakaua left Tokyo early in the afternoon of March 16 for Yokohama to resume his trip around the world. At Yokohama, he bid farewell to Prince Higashifushimi, who was constantly with him for almost two weeks. Accompanied by Hachisuka, Ishibashi, and Nagasaki of the Emperor's reception committee, he departed from Yokohama at four o'clock for Kobe and Nagasaki on the *Tokio Maru*, which was placed at his disposal by the Mitsubishi Line.

The members of the Emperor's reception committee who accompanied Kalakaua did not take leave of him until the *Tokio Maru* reached a point one marine league off the coast of Nagasaki, which marked the outer limit of Emperor Mutsuhito's domain under the international law of the time.

In the last entry in the diary, Kalakaua wrote:

Adieu Japan—Beautiful Japan. I felt as if I would have a continual longing to see this interesting country with its kind and hospitable inhabitants for a long long time. Aloha Nui.

The events which are recorded in Kalakaua's diary raise two questions.

The first question is, if Kalakaua did not give the Japanese government any advance notice of his arrival, how did it happen that the Emperor was so well prepared to receive him, and, why did the Emperor go to the extent he did in entertaining him. The answer is simple. In the latter part of February, the Japanese government received a message from its Consul in San Francisco that King Kalakaua was on his way to Japan. The Hawaiian Kingdom, although but specks in the Pacific, was an independent nation which had a treaty relation with Japan, and Kalakaua was its chief of state. As a matter of fact, Hawaii was superior to Japan in one respect. The treaty contained the most favored nation clause, which meant that Hawaii had extraterritorial jurisdiction in Japanese ports. International protocol required that the chief of state of such treaty nation be accorded due courtesy. Furthermore, Kalakaua was the first reigning monarch and incumbent chief of state to visit Japan.

The second question is, granted that Kalakaua was entitled to the courtesy due to a chief of state of a treaty nation, why did Mutsuhito bestow upon him the highest honor which was in his power to bestow. The answer to this

question is not simple. Any answer will be pure speculation. My speculation is that Mutsuhito did so in appreciation of Kalakaua's voluntary offer to eliminate the extraterritorial right, a treaty revision which Japan had been seeking for many years from major powers. This offer was conveyed to Foreign Minister Inouye by Armstrong on or about March 6, and Kalakaua highly recommended the revision in the letter to his Foreign Minister W. L. Green, dated March 10, 1881. Ultimately, Japan did not accept the offer at that time because of the risk of creating international complications, but there is no doubt that the offer was appreciated by the Japanese government.

The events which are recorded in Kalakaua's diary did not bring about any result of lasting consequence. They merely added some romantic touch, and thus provided a fascinating and intriguing vignette, to early Hawaii-Japan relations.

CORRIGENDA

Page 52, line 7. The sentence should read:
Apparently, it lay in the archives of the Museum for many years unnoticed and unread by the public. This is so despite the fact that the manuscript has been exhibited by the Museum on several occasions and has been made available to other researchers.

Page 59-60. The Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum may now be viewed at the Museum proper, rather than at the Heritage Theatre.

* *George Kerr, who is doing research on King Kalakaua's foreign travels, has obtained a certificate from the Japanese Bureau of Decorations that Kalakaua was awarded the Order of Chrysanthemum on March 14, 1881, the 13th person to be so decorated.*