

PAUL BURLIN

MAINE MIGRATIONS:
ARTHUR AND HAROLD SEWALL IN THE PACIFIC

The Sewall family of Bath, with a long tradition in Maine shipbuilding, helped shape America's expansionist Pacific vision at the turn of the century. Arthur Sewall, a vice-presidential candidate in 1896, articulated a policy of protectionism, territorial expansion in the Pacific, and free coinage of silver. Harold Sewall, consul general to Samoa and minister to Hawaii, was equally expansionist. Father and son, one a Democrat and the other a Republican, shared an understanding that events around the world had an immediate impact on hometown life in coastal Maine.

Joining the late-nineteenth-century race for overseas colonies, the American government focused on the islands in the Pacific as potential sources for raw materials and strategic fueling stations. The Pacific, with its exotic charm and potential profits, intrigued Americans from all walks of life. On one hand, the islands "excited the American imagination, inspiring novelists and poets to dream of what this new world might offer," as historian John Curtis Perry put it.¹ On the other hand, the Pacific raised awareness among politicians and business leaders of the power and profit that lay beyond the borders of the United States.



Sewall ships in Hilo Bay, Hawaii. Left to right: the bark *Santiago*, the steamer *Hawaii* (obscured), the ship *Indiana*, and the ship *Henry Villard*. The Sewalls sent ships around the world, but by the end of the century they were particularly interested in the Pacific. F. W. Patten photo, courtesy Maine Maritime Museum, Bath.

The Pacific islands enticed Americans from as far east as Maine. Arthur Sewall, a native of Bath, actively participated in this Pacific vision in terms of business and diplomacy during the latter half of the nineteenth century. While Sewall was more involved in commerce than most Mainers, his thinking nevertheless represents an important facet of Maine's outlook: an understanding that events around the world were important to hometown life. Sewall's vision illustrates how maritime commerce broadened the perspective of coastal Mainers. This same vision captivated Sewall's eldest son, Harold, who shaped his diplomatic career around the compelling dream of Pacific expansionism.

ARTHUR AND HAROLD SEWALL

The Sewall family has a long tradition in New England, as the ancestors of Arthur and Harold were part of the Puritan Great Migration of the 1630s. Samuel Sewall, a direct relative, was the first Chief Justice of the Colony and took part in proceedings involving the Salem witch trials. Other members of the family played important roles in colonial politics and participated in the Revolutionary War. In the early eighteenth century, some family members settled in York. Sewalls first settled in Bath in the mid-eighteenth century.²

In 1823, William D. Sewall, Arthur's father, entered a partnership to build ships. For almost a hundred years the Sewall family of Bath participated in shipbuilding and ship operations on a worldwide scale.³ From the halcyon years of the 1850s, when American sailing vessels were in their commercial prime, to the turn of the century, when American shipping was in decline, the huge vessels built by the Sewalls were famous the world over.⁴

During the initial years of the Sewall maritime enterprise the fleet was heavily involved in the southern cotton trade. Following the Civil War, the family's ships entered the Pacific, carrying grain from California around Cape Horn to the East coast and to Europe. In the 1890s, the Sewalls began transporting Hawaiian sugar to refineries in the United States. They also carried coal for the United States Navy and case oil across the Pacific to the Orient. During the early years of the twentieth century, with American shipping reeling under the pressures of foreign competition, Sewall ships were deployed to carry virtually any cargo still available to them.⁵

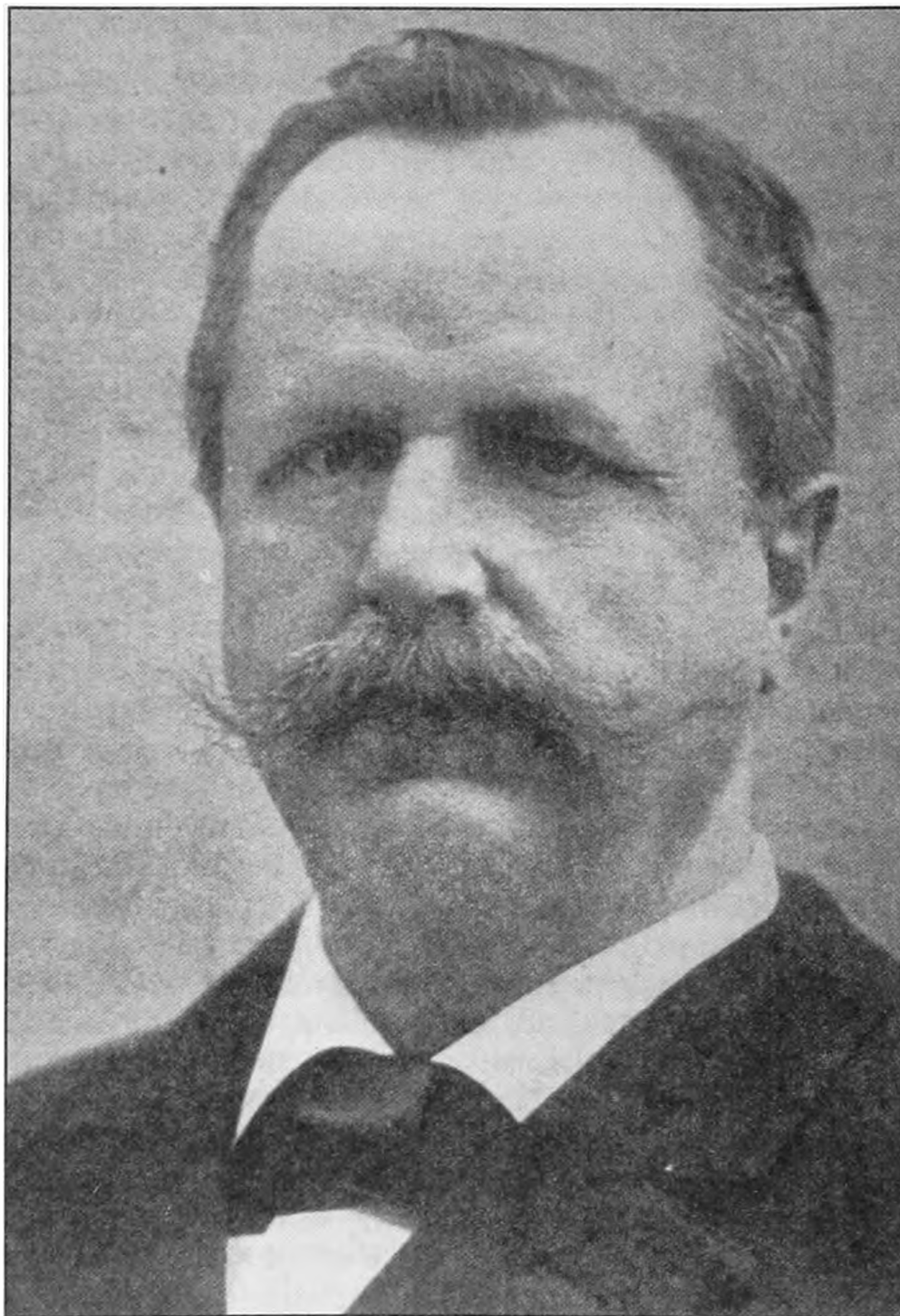
It was not the involvement with deep-water commerce that brought attention to the Sewalls; rather it was the breathtaking dimensions of the ships they built and the famous passages they made, particularly after Arthur assumed control of the family business during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Under Arthur's tutelage, the company built four extremely large wooden Down-Easters. These vessels were designed specifically for the Cape Horn grain trade. These full-rigged ships, the *Rappahannock*, *Shenandoah*, *Susquehanna*, and the *Roanoke*, launched between 1889 and 1892, were so large that it was

thought the limits of wood construction finally had been reached. The *Roanoke*, the last wooden ship built by the Sewalls, was 311 feet in length and 3,347 registered tons — the second largest wooden vessel ever built in an American yard.⁶ In 1894, the Sewalls launched the *Dirigo*, the first steel sailing vessel built in the United States and the first of five large steel ships built by the Sewalls through 1901. These vessels were immense — all of them larger than the earlier wooden ones. The last, the *William P. Frye*, was 332 feet long.⁷

The Sewalls were players of some significance in international maritime commerce. Their vessels carried huge cargoes across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Given the nature of the family's business, it should not be surprising that Arthur Sewall was inclined to view issues from a global perspective.

During most of Arthur Sewall's adult life, American deep-water shipping was hard pressed. As a result, Sewall was acutely sensitive to matters of foreign competition. He viewed the external world, defined in terms of aggressive nation states, as a threatening place. His recurrent nemesis was Great Britain, and over the years he recommended a variety of protective measures to stave off British competition and preached the importance of American shipping from a nationalistic point of view.⁸ This imperialistic view shaped his opinion regarding American policy toward the Hawaiian islands and the Philippines. With his ships concentrated in the Hawaiian sugar trade, Sewall advocated the annexation of those islands. In addition, he supported the acquisition of the Philippines, if, perhaps, somewhat belatedly and reluctantly.⁹ In 1899, while in Honolulu, Sewall spoke about the limitless economic potential of the Pacific:

The Pacific ocean will be black with shipping and her ports crowded with tonnage when the developments which have lately gone forward with such rapidity reach the full tide of their progress. Stable government is the magic power that will make this ocean the theatre of vast commercial activity.¹⁰



Arthur Sewall was a man of vision in shipping and in politics. With an eye to the family's shipping interests, he extolled the limitless economic potential of the Pacific.
Photo courtesy Maine Maritime Museum.

In an article published in 1900, he argued that only a revitalized shipping industry—one which would once again carry the bulk of American commerce throughout the world—would allow the United States to take full advantage of the “grand vista opened up by this country’s expanding importance among the nations of the world.”¹¹ A revived merchant marine was an indispensable tool, were the United States to fully capitalize upon its fledgling world power’s feet.

A protectionist, economic nationalist, and imperialist, Sewall’s vision always extended abroad because of the nature and circumstances of his business.¹² The outside world was never too far from his mind. Clearly, the Kennebec River, which flowed down through Bath on its way to the sea, connected Arthur Sewall—and his ships—literally and figuratively to the far corners of the globe.

This helps explain Sewall’s prominence in national party politics and his stand on a key political issue of the 1890s: free coinage of silver. This is significant because outside the narrow circle of those interested in maritime history, Arthur Sewall is remembered only because of his vice-presidential candidacy on the Democratic ticket with William Jennings Bryan in 1896. He attained that position, at least in part, because of his espousal of free coinage of silver.¹³ Since this was anathema to most of the eastern business establishment of which he was a part, Arthur Sewall has always remained something of an enigma. Yet this same cosmopolitan perspective, which suggested that the health of the shipping business was connected to the health of the nation, also buttressed Sewall’s views on currency. Like many of his contemporaries, Sewall believed that the demonetization of silver in the 1870s, which placed the United States on a de-facto gold standard, was responsible for the chronic deflation that characterized the 1870s through the early 1890s. Although Sewall was involved with railroads and banking, in addition to shipping, he always viewed himself as a “producer”—a producer of ships. It was the producer, from Sewall’s perspective, who was hurt by deflation.¹⁴ As prices declined, the value of money rose

to a corresponding degree, and it was the "monied powers" which were at the root of the problem.

Sewall argued that the United States should move to inflate prices by expanding the money supply.¹⁵ Rather than simply argue for a return to a bimetallic currency, however, Sewall went further, at least privately: with his eye to foreign competition, he advocated the silver standard for the country. This, he thought, would give the United States an advantage over powerful gold-standard competitors such as Germany and England. Because silver was cheap and abundant, it would also free the country from "any cornering of money in the money centers by the capitalists and Jews of Europe."¹⁶ While such views seem provincial and antisemitic, it was his preoccupation with international commerce and international financial affairs that informed Sewall's position on the money question. Just as the shipping industry needed protection, so too did the national economy as a whole. Silver would do for the overall American economy what discriminatory tonnage duties or ship subsidies would do for the beleaguered maritime industry.

Given the nature of Arthur Sewall's principal business interest, and the cosmopolitan perspective it entailed, it should not be surprising that his son found his way to the Pacific. Arthur Sewall's son Harold was described by a life-long friend as having been a young man with a precocious interest in politics and public affairs.¹⁷ Upon graduation from high school in Bath, Harold entered Harvard College and then went on to Harvard Law School. In June 1884, the young Sewall headed west across the continent in search of a good location to settle and to begin the practice of law. After a brief stop in Chicago and the Dakota territory, Harold moved on to San Francisco, the principal port of call for the Sewall fleet. Disappointed by the large number of lawyers already practicing in the West, Harold soon moved on.¹⁸ His next trip, across the Atlantic to Liverpool, another major port of call for the family's huge ships, was much more successful. With Grover Cleveland as president, Democrats like the Sewalls were in a good position to secure consular or diplomatic appointments. Through the

benefit of his father's prominence in the party, the younger Sewall was appointed vice consul at Liverpool.¹⁹

Harold Sewall remained in Liverpool from 1885 until 1887. His tenure in the English port was uneventful, although he did help facilitate the family business while attending his official duties.²⁰ An ambitious man, Sewall almost immediately sought a better consular position. His father was not able to obtain a position for him in Paris or St. Petersburg, as the young official hoped, but in early 1887 he was appointed consul general to Apia, Samoa.²¹

Sewall was appointed at a very troubled time for American involvement in Samoa. Germany, Great Britain, and the United States had been politically involved in the islands since the early half of the nineteenth century. The United States formalized its relationship to Samoa through treaties in 1872 and 1878, which gave it the right to build a naval station in the harbor of Pago-Pago. Germany and Great Britain concluded very similar treaties, which exacerbated rivalries between the nations.

The imperial rivalry which characterized relations among the more powerful western nations during the latter part of the nineteenth century was therefore evident in Samoa. In the islands, that rivalry typically took the form of individual imperial powers giving support to different native political factions. Theoretically, the foreign benefactor would become relatively more influential with the ascendancy of those factions it supported.²² This rivalry is exemplified in the declaration of an American protectorate over Samoa by Sewall's predecessor in Apia. The consul had taken the precipitous action on his own authority because he believed Germany was about to achieve paramount position by supporting a supposed Samoan political renegade. Although the State Department subsequently repudiated the consul's action and replaced him with Sewall, mutual suspicion still characterized relations between the foreign powers when the young Mainer arrived in Apia.

Over the next year, Harold Sewall found himself embroiled in constant conflict with German officials who sought to extend their country's influence in Samoa. More important, Sewall



The U.S. Consulate at Apia, Samoa, where Arthur Sewall lived from 1887 to 1889. Sewall criticized the Cleveland administration for its unassertive stand against rival German interests. The Democrats requested his resignation. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum, Salem.

remained at odds with his superiors in Washington who, from his perspective, were not aggressive enough with the Germans.²³ In response, Sewall took a leave of absence and returned to Washington to make his case in person. Throughout the fall of 1888, Sewall lobbied influential friends and colleagues and met with Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard and President Cleveland.²⁴ Then, in early December, perhaps because he was unable to make headway with Cleveland or Bayard, or possibly because Cleveland was defeated by Republican Benjamin Harrison, Sewall became involved with Maine's Republican Senator, William P. Frye.²⁵ Sewall's return to the islands was delayed because

he was called to testify about Samoa before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chaired by Frye. Because Sewall severely criticized Cleveland and Bayard in his testimony, the Democrats requested his resignation, dismissing him from his post.²⁶

Although his tour of duty in Samoa from 1887 to 1889 was the most important period of his foreign service career, it was only the beginning of his involvement in the Pacific. Upon his dismissal, Sewall seems to have made overtures to the Republicans about reappointment. Even though the late nineteenth century was a profoundly partisan age, this move is not surprising. While the elder Sewall was a major figure in the Democratic Party both nationally and in Maine, it is clear that he had a good working relationship with Frye, as the Senator was a strong proponent of protective legislation for American shipbuilding.²⁷ It is perhaps because Frye was already well closely associated with the Sewall family that Harold became involved with him concerning Samoa. In addition, the new president, Benjamin Harrison, appointed another Mainer, James G. Blaine, as secretary of state. Arthur Sewall was not as close to Blaine as he was to Frye, but they were on friendly terms.²⁸

Shortly after his dismissal by Bayard, Harold Sewall was appointed as the "disbursing officer" of the American delegation to the pending Berlin Conference on Samoa.²⁹ The conference was called by Bismarck for the purpose of resolving the acrimonious relations between the three imperial powers.³⁰ Although Sewall's position was of secondary importance, his well-established anti-German reputation did not go unnoticed. Sewall must have felt vindicated: Bayard and Cleveland were gone, and he was back in an official position with influence on American policy in Samoa. Moreover, the outcome of the conference was largely in line with his own policy objectives.³¹

Although the Berlin Conference served to reassert American treaty rights in Samoa and stave off German annexation, it is fair to say that Sewall's disagreement with Bayard had more to do with appropriate tactics than with overall goals; they generally

agreed on what constituted American interests in Samoa.³² Although Bayard frequently disagreed with Sewall's assessment of the situation in Apia and with his provocative stance toward the Germans, at no point was the secretary prepared to abandon American treaty rights as he perceived them.³³

If Sewall's involvement at Germany seemed a partial vindication, then his reappointment to his former post at Apia under Republican auspices must have been gratifying indeed. His second tour of duty in Samoa began in May of 1890, and he remained there until July of 1891. He then took another leave of absence and traveled throughout Southeast Asia, China, and Japan before returning to the United States. He returned to his post at Apia in early 1892, but only remained there a short time before resigning his commission in June of that year.³⁴

The situation in Samoa during Sewall's second appointment was considerably less tumultuous than it had been in 1887 and 1888. Nevertheless, the Berlin Conference had not produced a final solution to the problem of imperial rivalry in the islands, and therefore Sewall continued to be suspicious of both German and British designs in Samoa and elsewhere in the Pacific. He reported to the State Department about his concerns on a continuous basis. As part of his duties he also helped formally secure the site for a naval station at Pago Pago.³⁵

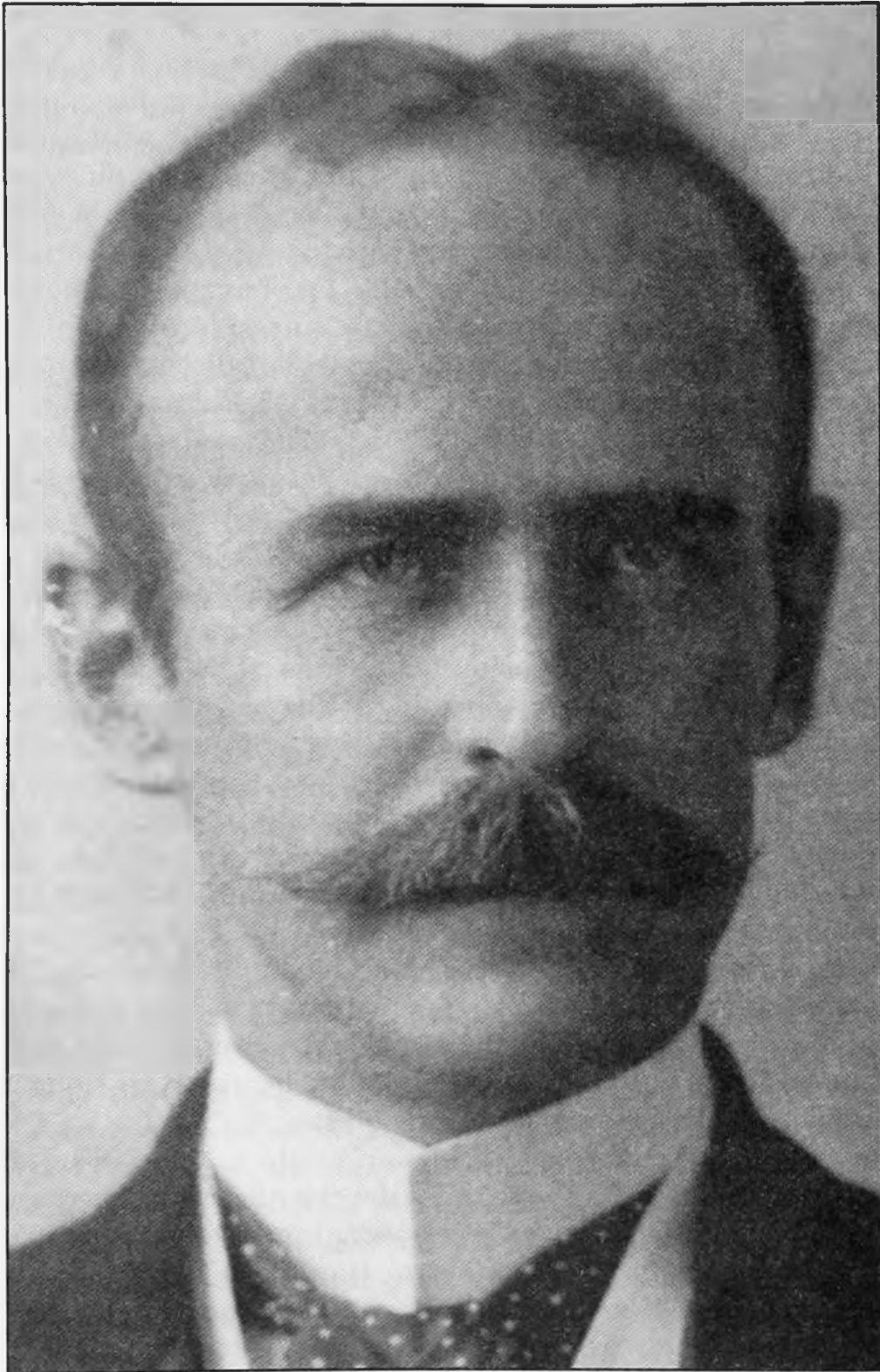
Despite his resignation from the consular service, Sewall's Pacific involvement did not end. In early 1893, in the wake of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarch, Sewall traveled to Honolulu as a correspondent for the *New York Sun* to report on events. Sewall, an avid annexationist, not only reported the news back to New York, but he also influenced events in the islands to the benefit of the revolutionaries.³⁶ By this time, Cleveland, who had been reelected, withdrew Harrison's annexation treaty. Sewall viewed this as simply another case of Cleveland's obsequious foreign policy and remained a strenuous advocate of an expansionist posture in the Pacific.³⁷

Sewall visited the Pacific for reasons other than politics and business. In September 1893 he married Camilla Ashe of San Francisco, and following the wedding the couple embarked,

fittingly enough, on a round-the-world honeymoon, a gift from Arthur and Emma Sewall.³⁸ After a visit to Japan, the couple traveled on to the Philippines and then embarked for what is now Indonesia. Outward bound from Manila, their vessel hit a reef off the island of Bentang and had to be abandoned. The Sewalls clamored into an open boat and spent a harrowing night outside the roaring breakers bounding the Indonesian isle. In the morning, they passed safely through the surf, only to come upon the body of the ship's captain. Dutch colonial officials eventually rescued the couple, who proceeded back to Bath by way of Asia Minor and Europe.³⁹ While the trip was incidental to Sewall's Pacific vision, its global scale is commensurate with what one would expect, given the broad perspective of the father and interests of the son.

After the couple completed their honeymoon they settled in Bath. But despite his return to Maine, Sewall did not give up his interest in Pacific affairs. Because Sewall had made something of a name for himself at the national and international levels, the Maine Democratic Party, with the off-year political election looming, elected him a delegate to its upcoming nominating convention. Sewall took the opportunity to renounce the Democratic party in a very public way and to join the ranks of the Republicans. His rationale for the switch stemmed from his view that the Cleveland administration remained a poor steward of American interests in the Pacific and elsewhere. Citing his own experiences in Samoa and what he took to be Cleveland's shameful withdrawal of the Hawaiian annexation treaty, Sewall claimed that he could no longer support the Democratic Party in good faith.⁴⁰

Arthur Sewall defended his son's right to follow his own political conscience. By this point the elder Sewall had become equally disillusioned with Cleveland, although for reasons that were not the same.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Harold's political apostasy caused a great deal of stir in 1894, and would prove even more embarrassing to Arthur during the 1896 election campaign, when Harold campaigned against his father. Since Maine was traditionally a Republican stronghold, there were journalistic



Harold Sewall returned to official duty in the Pacific in 1897, preoccupied with the impact of Hawaiian annexation on American shipping and determined to become the territory's first American governor. Courtesy Maine Maritime Museum, Bath.

jokes about Arthur Sewall's inability to keep even his own family within the Democratic fold.⁴²

With the Republican victory in 1896, William McKinley appointed Harold Sewall Minister to Hawaii. A combination of Frye's influence and Sewall's good credentials won him the post. His appointment indicated that the administration would favor annexation of Hawaii. With Senate confirmation, Harold and his wife Camilla moved to Hawaii in June 1897.

The Sewalls remained in Hawaii until mid-1900. While the political situation in Honolulu during their three-year stay was quite tranquil, compared to Sewall's first tour of duty in Samoa, a number of important issues did arise. While Sewall never appears to have considered Samoa a suitable location for a long-term post and residence, that was not the case with Hawaii: Once the islands were annexed by the United States, he made a serious bid for appointment as their first governor. Had he been appointed, it is conceivable that the Sewalls would have remained for an extended period of time.

Japanese migration was perhaps the most pressing issue to come up while he was in Hawaii. The issue took on all the trappings of a crisis almost from the day of his arrival. The official correspondence to and from Washington suggests that the entire future of the islands was thought to be at stake. The fear that Tokyo was deliberately flooding the islands with Japanese immigrants, as a way to achieve "domination," alarmed both the Hawaiian government and Washington. As a result, the Hawaiian government turned away several boats containing Japanese immigrants, thereby offending Tokyo. Sewall reported rumors that the Japanese and deposed Hawaiian royalty were conspiring to overthrow the existing Republic. Washington was anxious, and instructed Sewall to declare a protectorate over Hawaii if the Japanese Government reverted to force. One can only imagine the satisfaction Sewall must have felt having been granted this authority: This was not to be a repeat of his first tour of duty in Samoa.⁴³ Eventually the crisis cooled, and Sewall never had to declare a protectorate. As William Michael Morgan argues, however, the timing of the treaty of annexation, which

McKinley submitted to Congress in 1897, was inspired by the Japanese threat to the islands.⁴⁴

In addition to the immigration issue, Sewall was also preoccupied with the impact of Hawaiian annexation on American shipping. This was an issue of vital concern to his family, and Sewall kept up a stream of correspondence to Bath as well as to Washington on the subject. As a matter of fact, on this particular question, Sewall seems to have been more concerned than Washington and took the initiative to impress his superiors about its importance. The concern was that owners of foreign built ships, in anticipation of annexation of Hawaii by the United States, were beginning to apply for Hawaiian registers. With their ships registered under the Hawaiian flag, they would presumably be eligible for American registry after the islands became territory of the United States. This was a shrewd way to circumvent American navigation laws which prohibited foreign built ships from carrying the American flag and excluded all but American flagged vessels from the coastwise trade. Echoing his father's long interest in protecting American shipping — and Maine shipbuilding — the younger Sewall pushed this issue.⁴⁵

The final matter of interest is Sewall's bid for governor of the annexed territory. Sewall may have taken the post of minister to Hawaii with the hope that McKinley would ultimately appoint him as governor if and when the islands were annexed. These ambitions certainly intensified following the transfer of sovereignty in August 1898.⁴⁶ It was Sewall, after all, who stood in front of Iolani Palace and symbolically received the transfer of sovereignty from the outgoing president of the Hawaiian Republic, Sanford Dole. In a letter to his father describing the ceremonies as "my day," he alluded to his plans to pursue the gubernatorial position and to the fact that Dole was his principal rival. He also took the opportunity to ask his father for money to invest in the islands. He had worked hard for annexation, he complained, and now many who had not done so were "reaping the rewards" of the dramatic rise in investment values attendant to Hawaii's new political status.⁴⁷

Believing he had a good relationship with the native Hawaiian people and their deposed royalty, Harold Sewall felt he was the most credible candidate for the governor's post. Dole could not make such a claim, of course, because he was involved in the revolution that overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy.⁴⁸ Sewall also believed that he had the backing of many of the whites who had initially rallied to the revolution and to Dole. "As to my candidacy," he wrote to his father, "it is *not* with Dole's support, but it has the support of the people who put him in power and the good will of natives and royalists and is the only thing that will restore good feeling here and start out the party on a sound basis."⁴⁹

In addition to enlisting the aid of his father and Senator Frye, Sewall may have attempted to benefit from familial affairs. Visiting the islands during the formal transfer of sovereignty was Jessie Newlands, niece of Republican Senator Francis Newlands of Nevada, who had sponsored the congressional resolution for annexation of Hawaii.⁵⁰ Harold and Camilla Sewall chose that same day for the christening of their second child, Arthur II. Upon being asked to serve as the child's godmother, Newlands wrote a letter to her uncle which offered glowing support for Sewall as a gubernatorial candidate. The letter was equally scathing about Dole.⁵¹

The Sewalls named their first daughter, born the following year in 1899, after the recently deceased young Hawaiian Princess, Kiaulani. While there is no clear evidence, it appears that there was a political motive behind the name. When coupled with the Sewalls' political aspirations and their financial investments in the islands, it seems that this branch of the Sewall family had a vested interest in Hawaii.

Ultimately, Harold Sewall did not receive the appointment; the position of governor went to Dole. Sewall and his family returned to Bath, where they spent the rest of their lives. Sewall, however, remained politically active at the state level, serving several terms in the legislature in Augusta and running once for a congressional seat in Washington.⁵² While he never received another diplomatic position, in 1921 he was appointed by

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President Warren Harding to the Advisory Committee to the Washington Naval Conference.⁵³ One last time Harold Sewall was involved with the Pacific and world affairs. A few years later in 1924, almost a quarter century after his father's demise, Harold Sewall died. The obituary, which appeared in a Bath paper the next day, was perhaps a fitting epitaph for both father and son. Noting the relationship between the Sewall ships and the broad knowledge and perspective they inspired, it said:

Maine was ever dear to Mr. Sewall's heart. Here his forefathers founded reputation and wealth and their ships travelled the water highways of the world. And along with this came to them understanding of the world.⁵⁴

From the Kennebec to the far-flung corners of the globe, figuratively or literally, Arthur and Harold Sewall were important Maine migrants. Each functioned on a world scale, yet they both maintained strong ties to Maine, and continually worked on Maine's behalf. Both men could have lived their final days anywhere in the world, but both decided to spend them in Maine, where they continued to work on behalf of Maine shipping and Maine politics.

NOTES

¹John Curtis Perry, *Facing West: Americans and the Opening of the Pacific* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994), p. xx.

²"Arthur Sewall," box 558, file 18, Manuscript Collection No. 22, Sewall Papers (hereafter SP), Maine Maritime Museum, Bath, Maine.

³Mark W. Hennessy, *The Sewall Ships of Steel* (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Press, 1937), pp. 10, 18.

⁴John G.B. Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1969), pp. 397-440; Edward C. Kirkland, *A History of American Economic Life*, 4th ed. (New York: Appleton, 1969), pp. 186-192, 449-452.

⁵Earle R. Warren, "On the Brink of War: The Sewall Fleets, 1860-1861"; and "Ocean to Ocean: The Sewall Coastal Trade," papers delivered at the Annual Symposium on Maritime History, Maine Maritime Museum, 1975, 1979).

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⁶William Hutchinson Rowe, *The Maritime History of Maine: Three Centuries of Shipbuilding and Seafaring* (1948; reprint, Gardiner: Harpswell Press, 1989), pp. 163-164; Basil Lubbock, *The Down Easters: American Deep-water Sailing Ships, 1869-1929* (1929; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1987), pp. 172-182, 184-185, 186-189.

⁷Rowe, *Maritime History of Maine*, p. 164; Lubbock, *Down-Easters*, pp. 192-204.

⁸U.S. Congress, Joint Select Committee on American Shipping, *Report to Accompany H.R. 7061*, 47th Cong., 2d sess., 1882, H.R. 1824, pp. 10-11, appendix; Arthur Sewall (hereafter AS) to Grover Cleveland, November 25, 1887, box 561, file 1; AS to Stephen White, March 8, 1897, box 562, file 2, SP; Arthur Sewall, "Subsidies for American Ships," *Harper's Weekly*, April 14, 1900.

⁹Harold Marsh Sewall (hereafter HMS) to AS, November 2, 1898, box 599, file 18; HMS to AS, February 3, 1899, box 599, file 19, SP.

¹⁰"Sewall On Pacific Trade," *The Hawaiian Star*, December 28, 1899.

¹¹Arthur Sewall, "Subsidies for American Ships."

¹²For Sewall's view of the world, see Paul Thompson Burlin, "Arthur Sewall: Portrait of a Nineteenth Century Shipbuilder," *American Neptune* 55 (Winter 1995).

¹³Leonard Schlup, "Bryan's Partner: Arthur Sewall and the Campaign of 1896," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 16 (Spring 1977); William J. Bryan, *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896* (Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1896), pp. 229-232.

¹⁴Robert C. Puth, *American Economic History* (Chicago: Dryden Press, 1982), pp. 277-279.

¹⁵AS to William Putnam, October 6, 1893, box 561, file 3, SP.

¹⁶*Ibid.*; AS to F.S. Bosworth, February 14, 1895, SP.

¹⁷18 Arthur G. Staples, *The Inner Man or Some Contemporary Portraits of Prominent Men of Maine* (Lewiston: Lewiston Journal Company, 1923), pp. 77; Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1935), 8: 606-607.

¹⁸HMS to AS, ca. July 1884; HMS to AS, ca. July 1884; HMS to AS, July 15, 1884; HMS to AS, ca. July 1884; HMS to AS, August 1, 1884, box 599, file 6, SP.

¹⁹*Report of Class of 1882, Harvard College, Seventh Report, 1932* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 206.

²⁰HMS to Arthur Sewall and Company, April 1, 8, 17, 27, 1886; June 5, 9, 24, 26, 1886, box 90, file 1, SP.

²¹HMS to AS March 9, 12, 1887, box 599, file 9; February 23, March 21, 1887, box 599, file 10; Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8: 606-607.

²²On Samoa, see Paul M. Kennedy, *The Samoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations, 1878-1900* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1974); George Herbert Ryden, *The Foreign Policy of the United States in Relation to Samoa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933); Charles Callan Tansill, *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard* (1940; reprint, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), pp. 22-119.

²³HMS to AS, August 16, 1887, box 599, file 12, SP. See Sewall's 1888 correspondence in "Dispatches From United States Consuls in Apia, Samoa, 1843-1906," Record Group 59, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter DS).

²⁴HMS to (?) Edward P. Mitchell, October 17, 1888, box 560, file 11; HMS to AS, ca. October, 1888, box 600, file 1, SP.

²⁵John T. Morgan to Thomas Bayard, December 12, 1888, Book # 133, Thomas F. Bayard Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter Bayard Papers).

²⁶*New York Times*, February 4, 7 & 9, 1889; *New York World*, February 8, 1889; *New York Sun*, February 8, 1889; Harold M. Sewall, "Samoa," transcript, Subcommittee of the

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Committee of Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate," January 11-16, 1889, p. 14, box 2, file 18, George Handy Bates Papers, University of Delaware, Dover, Delaware.

²⁷AS to HMS, November 13, 1897, box 562, file 2; HMS to AS, February 21, 1898, box 599, file 18, SP.

²⁸HMS to AS, March 7, 1889(?), box 599, file 14, SP.

²⁹James G. Blaine to HMS, April 2, 1889, in "Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State to Special Missions," RG 59.

³⁰Kennedy, *The Samoan Tangle*, pp. 76-87.

³¹*New York Times*, February 9, April 13, 14, 16, 1889; HMS to AS, March 12, 1889, box 599, file 13, SP; Ryden, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 433-434; Tansill, *Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard*, p. 119; Charles W. Calhoun, "Rehearsal for Anti-Imperialism: The Second Cleveland Administration's Attempt to Withdraw from Samoa," *The Historian* 48 (February 1986): 215-216.

³²Kennedy, *The Samoan Tangle*, pp. 87-97; Ryden, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 445-521.

³³Tansill, *Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard*, p. 22-119; Ryden, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 266-421.

³⁴Harvard University, *Report of the Class of 1882* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1895), p. 59.

³⁵Ryden, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 522-542; Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8: 606-607; HMS to Wharton, May 3, 1890; May 30, 1890; June 5, 1890; June 6, 1890; June 10, 1890; June 13, 1890; October 17, 1890; January 19, 1891; March 31, 1891; May 22, 1891; June 8, 1891; July 14, 1891; March 2, 1892, DS.

³⁶HMS to AS, July 22, 25, 1893, box 599, file 16, SP; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), 3: 624-625; U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Report of Commissioner to the Hawaiian Islands*, HD #47, 53 Cong., 2d sess., pp. 13-15, 22; U.S. Congress, Senate, SR #227, 53 Cong., 2d sess., p. 393.

³⁷*New York Tribune*, November 1, 1894.

³⁸HMS to AS, August 16, 1896 (misdated), box 599, file 16, SP.

³⁹*Bath Independent*, January 27, 1894; HMS to Caroline Ashe, December 9, 1893, box 600, file 7, SP.

⁴⁰*Bath Times*, June 27, 1894; *Kennebec Journal*, September 5, 1894.

⁴¹Marion Wilder Day to AS, October 20, 1894, box 558, file 29; AS to Day, December 22, 1894, box 561, file 3, Sewall MSS; Burlin, "Arthur Sewall: Portrait of a Nineteenth Century Shipbuilder."

⁴²*Piscataquin Observer* August 6, 1896; *Portland Advertiser*, August 29, 1896.

⁴³Sherman to HMS, telegram, July 10, 1897; Day to HMS, July 7, 1897, "Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State 1801-1906 to Hawaii," RG 59.

⁴⁴William Michael Morgan, "The Anti-Japanese Origins of the Hawaiian Annexation Treaty of 1897," *Diplomatic History*, 6 (Winter 1982).

⁴⁵HMS to Arthur Sewall and Company, September 20, 1898 (telegram); November 16, 1898, box 90, file 1; William Frye to AS, February 6, 1899, box 565, file 25; HMS to AS, September 13, 1897, box 599, file 17, SP.

⁴⁶See HMS to AS, October 18, 1897, box 599, file 17; HMS to AS, July 20, August 2, 15 1898, box 599, file 18, SP.

⁴⁷HMS to AS, 15 August 1898, box 599, file 18.

⁴⁸Helena G. Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark, 1988).

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⁴⁹HMS to AS, August 15, 1898, box 599, file 18, SP.

⁵⁰William Frye to HMS, May 26, 1900, box 600, file 15, SP.

⁵¹HMS to AS, August 15, 1898, box 599, file 18; Jessie Newlands to Francis G. Newlands; Jessie Newlands to Francis Newlands (telegram), HMS to Francis Newlands, all dated July 20, 1898, box 601, file 19; HMS to AS, July 20, 1898, box 599, file 18, SP.

⁵²Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8:606-607.

⁵³*Bath Times*, August 14, 1922.

⁵⁴*Bath Times*, October 30, 1924 (obituary). Arthur Sewall died in 1900).

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