noon. The most complete quiet and good order prevailed in all the voting precincts of Honolulu. An election conducted in the most intelligent and moral of American rural towns could be no more orderly.

The ministry had taken the most careful precautions for the maintenance of order; the liquor saloons were closed, the ballot was secret, and both parties worked with the utmost determination and precision to get their supporters to the polls. This defeat of the existing Government is deeply to be regretted, for it has been accomplished by a most reckless appeal to race prejudices and to all the elements of corruption and disorder in the Kingdom. It is well known to the Department of State that in July, 1887, the best citizens of these islands, composed of most of the property holders, the men of business, and the professions, chiefly Americans, English, and Germans—largely of the first named—were driven to a revolution, accomplished without bloodshed, resulting in the overthrow of the corrupt Gibson rule and the adoption of the reform constitution, by which the chief power was taken from the King and given to the Legislature and a responsible ministry. It has been under this constitution that the country has been governed the past two and a half years with signal success. Few of our American States in that time have had their affairs more honestly conducted, their laws more faithfully administered.

Two of the ministers are of the best American stock, the sons of missionaries, and another, the minister of foreign affairs, was born and educated in the State of New York, though he has been many years identified with this country. These three men have done their utmost to govern the Kingdom wisely and honestly. To do this they have been obliged to resist the King and all the worst elements of the islands. Among these are the men who thrived on former maladministration, whose plundering devices had been brought to an end. I am sorry to say that some of the worst men in bringing about the triumph of reaction are Americans, either by birth or adoption. Yet so successful has been the new constitution and the reform administration that the opposition party was obliged to pledge itself in speech and platform not to return to the former state of things, and to promise to carry on the Government according to the terms of the present constitution, which has so deeply entrenched itself in the existing state of things as not to be easily overthrown. Among the successful party there are some large property-holders, who will be driven to restrain their political associates, and these, with the determined efforts of the minority reform party, will be likely to keep the country to constitutional rule in a considerable degree.

It is proper for me to say that among the leaders of the party just successful at the polls are those not friendly to the United States, and that the Department of State and this legation will have to deal with the incoming ministry with great caution and circumspection. The new legislature will meet in May, when a new ministry undoubtedly will be chosen. In a future dispatch I will give the result of my most careful observations as to the status of things here relative to the interests of the United States and her immediate duties and responsibilities as to these islands.

I have, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

N. B.—Above I have given the present estimate here of the election result. It is possible that full returns from the other islands may not sustain the present hopes of the reactionists.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

[Confidential.]

No. 18. UNITED STATES LEGATION, Honolulu, February 10, 1890.

SIR: I am pleased to be able to report to the Department of State that the slight hope which was expressed in the postscript of my dispatch, No. 17, February 7, that full election returns from all these islands might prove the success of the reform party and of the present ministry has been fully realized in fact. While Honolulu and the rest of this island elected but one reformer out of seventeen, the other islands have supported so generally the present Government as to give the reformers a small majority in the legislature, and the reactionists' majority in Honolulu on nobles is so small that a change of 75 votes would have given the reformers all of them, and thus have secured them two-thirds of the legislature.

The opposition in this election contest has had the support of the King and of all his dependents and parasites and the chief element of corruption in the Kingdom. The issue has been made largely between those who have American sympathies and interests on the side of the reformers and of the present ministry, while all the worst element of society and violent race prejudices have been with the opposition. It is safe to say that three-fourths of the property-holders of the Kingdom are with the reformers and favorable to good relations with the United States. Herewith I inclose duplicate copies of clippings from Honolulu papers, containing editorials and speeches of Hon. L. A. Thurston, minister of interior, the most influential member of the reform party and the most resolute of the four cabinet ministers, the grandson of a missionary who came to these islands from his native State, Connecticut, more than sixty years ago. These remarks of Mr. Thurston are an index of the direction the political contest here has taken. The German consul openly gave his influence to the reformers. Probably a majority of the English voters went with the reformers, while there is little doubt that the English and French commissioners desired the success of the opposition.

I have, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

[The Times, Saturday, February 1, 1890.]

America's unfailing friendship to Hawaii, and to all nationalities within our borders, reaffirmed.—Hawaiian history and its application to present issues.

[A reply by L. A. Thurston to the National Herald.]

The Herald does me the honor of devoting practically its whole English issue of the 31st of January to a criticism of my remarks at the armory on Thursday evening. If the subject-matter related to me personally, only, I should not think of intruding upon the public at this juncture, when important issues demand the undivided attention of the reading public. But the subject-matter is so involved with an issue of vital import to the country, which issue awaits decision on the 5th of this month, that I make no further excuse for this statement.

I would first call attention to the circumstances under which, and the reasons for the allusion to the history of this country in connection with France, England, and the United States.

It has been publicly stated by the cabinet that they have initiated negotiations with the United States for the purpose of extending and rendering more permanent our present treaty relations with the United States.

The points concerning which the cabinet proposes negotiations, and the reasons therefor, have been publicly stated in all detail. It has also been publicly and offi-
cially stated that negotiations are preliminary in their character, of a nature necessary to bring the question up for discussion and action by the legislature, and that no final action is to be taken without full submission to and the approval of the legislature.

The published statement of the objects sought is a full enumeration of all that the cabinet has in view. The treaty sought is, we believe, a like preservative of the honor, dignity, and independence of the two countries, and conducive to their mutual commercial prosperity.

Without foundation therefor, regardless of the grave consequences of interference with the cordial relations existing between the two countries and solely for partisan influence upon the coming election, the gentlemen constituting the opposition to the present administration have for months filled the ears of the public, more particularly the native Hawaiians, with violent appeals and false statements concerning the intentions of the cabinet and of the United States. This has been the keynote of their whole campaign. They have placed their whole reliance upon the ignorance of the people of the facts and the prejudice which their misrepresentations have produced. They have worked up and are still working up, by every disingenuous method, a strong distrust, prejudice, and antagonism in the minds of many of the native people toward the United States upon a wholly false basis and by an entire perversion of facts and history.

Under these circumstances it was due the United States and essential to the welfare of Hawaii that the long-tried, continued, and more than generous friendship of the United States toward Hawaii should be stated, and the most signal and complete illustration of it, heretofore secret history, made public.

In order to do this intelligently it was necessary to state the historical facts which in logical sequence led up to it. For this purpose, and thus far only, was reference made to early history and the relations of Hawaii with other countries.

The Herald charges that I have "purposely and knowingly garbled and misstated Hawaiian history for political purposes," and that the demands of the French in 1849 and 1851 were based upon the differences existing between the two countries in 1839. In proof, and as sole proof, of these charges and statements, it prints a letter, dated 1839, signed by the "Hon. J. C. Jones, then American consul," and five other foreign residents, laudatory of Laplace and his actions in 1839.

The reference to the occurrences of 1839 in my argument at the armory was simply incidental in its nature, those events chronologically preceding the events of '49 and '51, and being illustrative of the arbitrary methods employed in those days in settling differences with this country in its weakness, the approved method being to submit peremptory demands and require immediate compliance therewith, with the alternative of the loss of independence. Otherwise the occurrences of 1839 are entirely unconnected with the events of '49 and '51, which led up to and were the direct cause of the treaty of cession to the United States of 1851.

I again affirm, and the evidence hereafter cited proves, that the events of 1839 were not the moving causes of the action of any of the parties in '49 and '51, and that the incidents and moving causes of the former are unessential to an understanding of the events of the latter period, except to illustrate the fact that redress for real or imaginary wrongs was obtained in those days by force.

The religious intolerance displayed by the Hawaiian Government during its early history toward the Catholic faith and its believers is a portion of the history of this country which every lover of the good name of the nation and of religious liberty regrets. It is no more and no less excusable than have been much more serious acts of religious intolerance perpetrated at different periods of their history by enlightened England, France, and New England.

Suffice it to say that the letter published by the Herald is a mere chip upon the stream of literature concerning the subject, which occupies hundreds of pages of diplomatic correspondence and volumes of contemporaneous history, written by the immediate parties interested upon both sides. Had my object been to discuss the religious differences of the time, there is far stronger documentary evidence on both sides concerning the subject than the letter referred to by the Herald.

In proof of the fact that the difficulties with France in 1849 and 1851, which caused the execution of the treaty of cession to the United States, I cite the following facts:

1. The further merits or demerits of the Laplace controversy are not germane to this issue. It is sufficient to say that, whatever the feelings of the Hawaiians on the subject, the French were satisfied and Laplace sailed away, which the Herald itself cites a letter to prove.

2. In 1839, a month before the arrival of Laplace, the Government had discontinued the policy of intolerance towards the Catholics, and in 1840 the King promulgated a constitution, guaranteeing religious liberty to all.

3. In 1843, England and France executed the famous "recognition" treaty, which was distinctly looked upon as a mark of friendly approval of the Hawaiian Government by those two countries.
4. In 1844, France voluntarily returned to the Hawaiian Government the $20,000 which had been exacted by Laplace in 1839, the original packages of money being sent back in a French warship, specially detailed for that purpose; the return being accompanied with considerable ceremonial and mutual expressions of friendship and regard.

5. In 1845, the late Bishop Maigret, who, during his long life here, held the confidence and respect of all classes and nationalities, irrespective of religious faith, wrote to Capt. Le Compt, of the French ship L'Heroine, as follows:

"HONOLULU, Aug. 7, 1845.

"M. Commandant:

"I am happy to be able to inform you that we enjoy, at this moment, perfect tranquility, that all our old subjects of complaint have entirely disappeared, and that it is, in a great part, to the conduct, prudent and full of sagacity, of our estimable consul, that we owe this happy result.

"The number of our neophytes amounts to-day to 14,000. We have a hundred schools and nearly 3,000 children who attend them; sites for our churches have been granted to us. Our schoolmasters have been licensed, and have even received encouragement. The marriages of our Christians are no longer thwarted. We can not, then, do otherwise than give our praises of the Government in respect to us, and we pray you instantly to be pleased to instruct the Admiral.

"Be pleased to receive the assurance of the perfect consideration, with which I have the honor to be M. Commandant,

"Your very humble and obedient servant,

"Monsieur LE COMPT,
"Commandant of the French Corvette L'Heroine."

6. In 1846 Bishop Maigret wrote a precisely similar letter.

7. In 1846 a new treaty was concluded with France, eliminating the harsh terms of the treaty of Laplace of 1839. This produced an exceedingly friendly feeling toward France, which continued unbroken until, unhappily for both parties, M. Dudoit retired in 1848 from the French consulship and M. Dillon was appointed in his place.

M. Dillon immediately initiated a systematic and irritating interference in the internal affairs of the Kingdom, arising largely out of personal hostility to R. C. Wyllie, minister of foreign affairs, picking flaws and making matters of extended diplomatic correspondence over circumstances of trifling importance. This continued until 1849, when the French Admiral Tromelin arrived, and after a short conference with M. Dillon the celebrated "ten demands" were formulated and presented to the Hawaiian Government with the peremptory request for immediate action. None of these demands referred to or mentioned the events of 1839.

Pending negotiations for the settlement of these demands the unprovoked spoliation of the fort, the destruction of the governor's furniture, and the seizure and removal of the King's private yacht took place, and Admiral Tromelin sailed away without further enforcement of the demands.

8. In 1850 Hawaiian representatives went to France and attempted to obtain reparation for the losses and indignities sustained and to come to an understanding to prevent a repetition of them, but without results.

9. In 1851 a new French consul, M. Perin, was appointed. Upon his arrival here he immediately, to the surprise of every one, re-presented the same "ten demands" which had been presented in 1849 by M. Dillon, although part of them had been already settled. An immediate compliance with the demands was required.

10. In 1849 and 1851 the foreign residents of Honolulu of all factions and all nationalities were a united front in favor of the Hawaiian Government and against the demands of France. This is evidenced by the fact that one of the ten demands for payment of damages to M. Victor was immediately paid by subscription by the foreign merchants under the following circumstances, as appears by the correspondence hereunder set forth.

"HONOLULU, Sept. 1, 1849.

"SIR: I have the honor to inclose you a copy of the subscription list signed by the most respectable portion of the foreigners residing in Honolulu, unconnected with the Government, together with the copies of the account of Victor Chancerel and his receipt, of which documents (bearing testimony as to the feeling of the community towards Her Hawaiian Majesty's Government in connection with the French claim, towards the officers and crew of Her Britannic Majesty's ship Amphitryon) you will make such use as you may deem proper.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"H. SEA.

"His Excellency R. C. WYLLIE,
"Minister of Foreign Relations."
Understanding that one of the demands of the French against the Hawaiian Government is for damages claimed by M. Victor, for disorderly conduct of some of the seamen belonging to Her Britannic Majesty's ship Amphitrite, we, the undersigned, not wishing any stain to rest on the Amphitrite or crew, agree to liquidate said claim:

G. W. Hunter ........................................... $3.50  Dugald Mactavish ........................................... $3.50  
Sea & Sumners ......................................... 3.50  W. J. Robertson ........................................... 2.00  
W. Wond .................................................. 3.50  William Gill ........................................... 3.50  
A. Porter .................................................. 3.50  J. Macduff ........................................... 2.00  
H. Macfarlane .......................................... 3.50  James Austin ........................................... 2.00  
F. Withington .......................................... 3.50  R. S. Barker ........................................... 3.50  
James Robinson & Co ................................... 7.00  D. N. Flitner ........................................... 3.50  
Isaac Montgomery ...................................... 3.50  Makee & Anthon ........................................... 3.50  
John Meek ............................................... 3.50  A. B. Howe ........................................... 3.50  
Robert G. Davis ...................................... 3.50  Swan & Clifford ........................................... 3.50  
J. C. Spalding ......................................... 3.50  W. Phillips ........................................... 2.00  
Andrew Auld ........................................... 1.00  Everett & Co ........................................... 3.50  
C. H. Marshall ........................................ 1.00  S. W. Williams & Co ........................................... 3.50  
J. M. Stanley .......................................... 3.50  A. H. Fayreweather ........................................... 2.00  
C. P. Robinson ........................................ 3.50  A. H. Parker ........................................... 2.00  
Joseph Booth .......................................... 3.50  T. Cummins ........................................... 3.00  
E. Brown .................................................. 3.50  George Friel ........................................... 2.00  
George Pelly ........................................... 3.50  Samuel Thompson ........................................... 2.00  

A much larger sum was subscribed, but as so many persons wished to sign, the amount of subscription was lowered as above.

H. Sea.

[Inclosure 2.]  
HONOLULU, August 30, 1847.  

Received of Henry Sea, esq., the sum of $93.50, being amount claimed by me against H. B. M.'s Amphitrite for damages done by her crew at the French hotel, kept by me in Honolulu, and being one of the demands made by Admiral de Trome-lin against the Hawaiian Government.

$93.50.

Witness to signature,  
V. CHANCEREL.

A true copy of original receipt in my possession.

H. Sea.

It will be noticed that many nationalities are represented in this document, and two of the signers of the document of 1839, John Meek and George Pelly, were also signers of the above document, which they would not have been had the circumstances of the then French demand been based upon the differences of 1839. The "Hon. J. C. Jones" had left the country. Incidentally it may be stated that Mr. Jones was not United States consul in 1839, he having been removed from that office by his own Government, in 1838, on account of his disreputable character.

11. The unsubstantial nature of the French claims of 1849 and 1851 are evidenced by the fact that upon a knowledge of the situation relating to the United States coming to the French consul he withdrew the "ten demands" and substituted in place thereof a mild statement of four points which was presented for the "consideration" of the Hawaiian Government, points which were thereupon referred by M. Perin to his Government for consideration, and nothing further was ever said or done about the "ten demands."

There continued to be disconnected diplomatic correspondence with France upon various subjects until 1857, when a treaty was concluded with her much more favorable in its terms to Hawaii than any of the three previous treaties with France.

Since that date our relations with France have been without cause of complaint, and we are indebted to the French Government and people for many acts of kindness and courtesy, and are now upon the most cordial terms with France.

In view of the fact that the early religious difficulties between the Hawaiian Government and members of the Catholic faith have been practically made the basis of the charges against me, it is not inappropriate for me to here say for the last forty or fifty years the Catholic bishops and their subordinates in this country have ever been the warm friends of the Hawaiian Government during its many succeeding administrations, and the staunch supporters of peace and good order during the
many trying periods through which the country has been called upon to pass; and that this has been largely due to the highminded and liberal character of the late Bishop Maigret and his successors, by reason of which the Catholic and Protestant faiths have flourished in the country, side by side, with little or no friction.

Concerning the personal abuse heaped upon me by the Herald, I have nothing to say.

Concerning the aspersions upon the character of my ancestors in this country, I would say that their records are too deeply engraven upon the history of this country to require any defense by me.

If I have disproved the charge of having "purposely and knowingly garbled and misstated Hawaiian history for political purposes," I claim that, in the interest of civilized journalism, the responsible editor of the Herald should, at least, admit that he was misinformed as to the facts upon which he based his charges.

In conclusion, I here reaffirm the fact, which was the only point I sought to establish at the armory, that the United States of America has always, under all circumstances, and upon all occasions, been our true friend, and that she has ever exhibited toward, and extended to, the native Hawaiians and all residents of other nationalities dwelling within the borders of Hawaii, without discrimination of race or creed, the same unchanging kindly assistance, support, and good faith, and there is no indication of any change of such policy.

LORRIN A. THURSTON.

HONOLULU, February 1, 1890.

A rousing meeting.—A large gathering of citizens interested in reform at the Old Armory.

Yesterday evening a mass meeting of the fourth ward was held at the Old Armory. There was a large attendance, including many prominent citizens. The meeting throughout was of the most enthusiastic nature. It was called to order by Mr. J. H. Fisher, who nominated Mr. Theodore C. Porter as chairman amid applause. Mr. E. O. White undertook the duties of secretary, and Mr. Luther Wilcox was interpreter.

Mr. Porter said they had met to hear the views and expressions of their candidates and others. He would first call upon his excellency Mr. Thurston, minister of the interior.

Mr. L. A. Thurston, who was received with applause, said: The course of the opposition for the last few weeks reminds me of a statement recently made by Chauncey M. Depew in connection with the recent election in New York. He stated that formerly the Democratic party learned nothing and forgot nothing, that its present exponents learned nothing and forgot everything. That is just the situation with the present opposition, although the country has a history concerning its relations with France, England, and the United States for the past fifty years they have learned nothing from it, and have forgotten all of it that they ever knew. They ignore facts and history and are running a campaign on ignorance and prejudice. They are pursuing the same course and using the same incendiary arguments and appeals to race feeling that they did prior to the 30th of July last. It led to bloodshed then and will not be their fault if it does not lead to bloodshed now.

The question of our relations with our great neighbor is a live issue with us. It affects us, our children, and our future. The only argument of the opposition is that the Government is trying to sell out the country and that the United States is trying to gobble us up. They state that we shall have to keep a watch on the United States or else they will come and take away our independence. It shows they have learned nothing of our past history. I will state briefly what the history of this country with France and England has been. In 1839 a French man-of-war arrived and demanded $20,000 damages. The Government was very poor and had to scratch around for money, finally getting it from white people, to save bombardment. At the point of the gun the captain forced the Government to make an unjust treaty, one claim of which was that there should not be more than 5 per cent duty charged on imports from France. In 1843 France and England entered into a treaty. They agreed not to interfere with this Government, which was not a party to it. If either country chose to take the country to-day they could; the treaty is between themselves, so far as that treaty is concerned. In 1849 another French war vessel arrived, and, trumping up a lot of charges, said if the Government did not come to terms, the King would be deposed and they would take the country. He would not weary them with all the demands, simply mentioning, four as follows:

1. That all correspondence between the two countries should be in French. 2. That the Catholic schools should have paid Catholic inspectors (the schools had an inspector for both Protestant and Catholic schools). 3. A small boy having gone into the Catholic Church, made fun of the priest and stuck his finger in the holy water, which had been bleached. 4. Because certain English sailors had gone into a Frenchman's saloon, got drunk on his brandy, and broke his glasses, a
bill was made out for damages. This last demand was so ridiculous that the merchants subscribed $3.50 each and paid the damages. This clause was withdrawn. While the Government was trying to arrange matters, and while the prime minister was on board the French man-of-war, a squad of soldiers was sent ashore, who took possession of the fort, dismantled the guns, threw them into the harbor, went to Governor Kekuanaoa's house, smashed the furniture, and threw it into the yard. As a finale, the French took the private yacht belonging to Kamehameha III and sailed it to Tahiti. It has never been heard of since nor has any compensation ever been made for it. They finally withdrew their claims. Next year Dr. Judd went to England and France and tried to arrive at some definite settlement with the French and see that it should not be repeated. He was put off, and returned to the islands in 1851. He had not been home long before another French vessel came in with similar demands. The Government at that time was weak, and in desperation the legislature passed the following:

JOINT RESOLUTION.

Be it resolved by the nobles and representatives of the Hawaiian Islands in legislative council assembled, That, in the sense of this house, the demands of France are so clearly unjust, and contrary to the laws of nations and to treaty; and the course pursued by her is so incompatible with the existence of a regular independent government in these islands. If France should persist in such a course, it will be the duty of the King to shield himself and his Kingdom from insult and oppression, by placing this Kingdom under the protection of some friendly state. and that should such emergency be so urgent as not to admit of the legislative council being convened, it shall be left to His Majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, under such emergency, to consult the honor and safety of his Kingdom according to His Majesty's best judgment; and that whatever he may do, will be binding upon the nation.

Passed both houses of the Legislature, June 21, 1851.

WM. L. LEE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

KEONI ANA,
President of the House of Nobles.

Approved by the King, August 4, 1851.

KAMEHAMEHA.

He would state some facts which formed part of the unwritten history of this country, which were probably not known by a dozen people. The Government invited General Miller, British consul, to see them, and after telling him of France's demands, asked him if England would protect the Islands, from France. General Miller replied, "I can not do it; we have a treaty (1843) with France." The Government then sent for Mr. Severance, father of the present United States consul-general, who at that time was the United States representative, and asked him if the United States would protect the Islands against France. He said, "They will." [Applause.] In accordance with the authority of the statute, a treaty was drawn up, and from this you can decide who has been the friend of this country when it needed a friend most. The treaty which is now made public for the first time is as follows:

We, Kamehameha III, by the grace of God of the Hawaiian Islands, King:

By and with the advice of our kuhina nui and counsellors of native chiefs, finding our relations with France so oppressive to my Kingdom, so inconsistent with its rights as an independent State, and so obstructive of all our endeavors to administer the government of our Islands with equal justice with all nations and equal independence of all foreign control and despairing of equity and justice from France, hereby proclaim as our royal will and pleasure that all our Islands and all our rights as sovereign over them are from the date hereof placed under the protection and safeguard of the United States of America until some arrangements can be made to place our said relations with France upon a footing compatible with my rights as an independent sovereign under the laws of nations and compatible with my treaty engagements with other foreign nations; or, if such arrangements be found impracticable, then it is our wish and pleasure that the protection aforesaid under the United States of America be perpetual.

And we further proclaim, as aforesaid, that from the date of publication hereof the flag of the United States of America shall be hoisted above the national ensign on all our forts and places and vessels navigating with Hawaiian registers.

Done at our palace at Honolulu this 10th day of March, A. D. 1851, and in the twenty-sixth year of our reign.
That King who signed it was the great and enlightened Kamehameha, who did more for his people than any other of the Hawaiian Kings, being the one who gave the people lands. He made the treaty, relying fully on the generosity and integrity of the United States, and his trust was not betrayed. [Applause.] That treaty was sent to the United States and laid there for months. The French admiral finally hearing from Marshal Parke, went to the court of King Kauikeaouli, who withdrew his claim and left the country. [Laughter.] It may be of interest to mention that the U. S. S. Vandalia, so well known here, was in the harbor at the time and rendered assistance. Orders were given to Marshal Parke and he sewed Hawaiian and American flags together, the latter at the top, and sent them to all the sheriffs. He had one in the fort ready to hoist directly the French landed.

There was the situation, the country was ceded and the deed in the hands of the United States Government. The King, with the full knowledge and consent of the Legislature, of the chiefs and of his cabinet, had deliberately and formally ceded the country to the United States, and that Government had only to sit still and do nothing in order to hold the country. If they had done so this would have been United States territory to-day. The American Government on learning that this had happened under pressure and fear of the French, said it would not be fair to take advantage of the situation. The treaty, which had never been published, was returned, the flag was never hoisted, and we remain a free and independent country to-day solely through the generosity of the United States of America. [Loud applause.] The episode when the British took possession in 1843 is well known to all. For five months the British flag floated over the islands. The King was deposed, ministers were out of office, the records of the Government show that the entire Government was carried on by Lord George Paulet and his subordinates. Another episode simply shows the feeling of the United States Government towards us. The United States frigate Constitution came into the harbor, the deposed King going on board. The royal standard was hoisted and a salute of 21 guns fired. Lord Paulet protested, saying "The islands are British territory, and you are saluting a man who has no authority."

The American admiral replied, "I have recognized the man who is the King of the country, and if you do not like it you can lump it." [Laughter.] England nobly atoned and has been a good friend to us ever since. Is there any question who has been our friend in the past, and who will continue to be our friend, first, last, and all the time? The United States has always been friendly towards these islands. The foreign office is full of expressions of regard and good-will from that country from the earliest records down to the last mail. A number of men in the opposition ranks were in the country and participated in these matters, but they have learned nothing from it and have forgotten it all. Now they have the cold impudence to come forward and talk about giving the United States the go-by and going to France for protection—through our distrust of the intention of the United States. They say that Thurston, Damon, and the other damned missionaries are going to sell the independence of the country; that they, the patriots, are the ones who will preserve it. Wilcox and men of his stripe are doing more to destroy the independence of this country than any other person. They are striving to produce a state of anarchy, and it will not take many more of such events of July 30 to lose our independence, and then who will we have to thank for it but the gallant leader of the opposition, R. W. Wilcox. [Loud and continued applause.]

The object of political discussion is to present arguments on principles involved, pro and con, and let the people decide at the polls. The opposition have a platform; do they discuss it? Do they discuss the Chinese question, development of the country, or the immigration question? On the contrary, we see Wilcox stigmatizing his countrymen as "traitors, murderers, thieves, and robbers," and he proposes "to break their necks, stamp on them, and throw them in the water and let the sharks eat them." Those are his arguments, by which he tries to show his patriotism. He went to Italy to be educated, and it has been the burden of his complaint that because the Government had supported and educated him for seven years it owed him an office and living, and that because he did not get it he was forced into despair and revolution. I have not heretofore stated that upon his return he came to me and asked me for something to do. I sent him to the superintendent of water works, who keeps in a book a record of water privileges, showing the distance from the sidewalk to the block. Mr. Wilson told Wilcox the record was two or three months behind, and he would give him $100 a month to keep it, and more if he did the work satisfactorily.

Wilcox took up the record book, and said that as the figures were in feet and inches and he had been educated in meters he did not feel competent to undertake the work. [Laughter.] He walked sadly and slowly out of the office from the $100 with unknown feet and inches to despair and revolution. [Laughter.] Wilcox's chief grievance was that his education had been cut off in the middle. If he could only have had two years more to complete his course he would have been equipped
for the battle of life. If he had had those two years more schooling he might then have been able to translate feet and inches into meters. [Laughter.] The Bulletin states there is no issue between the two parties; that whoever is elected, things will slide on about the same. I say there are live issues in this election and the future of this country depends a great deal on how it is decided. If Bush is to run bridge contracts and foreign diplomacy and Wilcox the engineering department, there will be a very different state of things to what the reform party has done. I leave it to you, next Wednesday, to say whether the reform Government shall go on with its work or whether you wish to see R. W. Wilcox sitting, with an Italian uniform on, in the Government building.

WILCOX’S LOVE OF LIBERTY.

The Voice of the Nation says that R. W. Wilcox has imbied too much of the spirit of liberty to undertake to pull this Government back to arbitrary methods and the old order of things. This is pretty good, considering that Wilcox himself testified on the stand, under oath, that his new constitution which he had prepared was like the old constitution, with but few minor changes.

It will be remembered, also, that he testified that he showed his constitution to Mr. Pahia, who told him that he had better put some check upon the power of the King to arbitrarily dismiss his cabinet, but that he (Wilcox) replied: “If you have a king, make him a king, just like the European kings.”

How much of the spirit of free institutions Mr. Wilcox has imbied the reader can see, when he recollects that Wilcox complains continually in his speeches about the mixture of all classes in this country.

Who does not remember his hackneyed information that “there are three classes in Italy: First, royalty; second, the middle class; third, the rest of the people—farmers, traders, etc.; and that none of the third class can even get into the second class, never mind how much they improve their condition?”

AN IG-NOBLE SPEECH.

Mr. H. G. Crabbe is running as a noble for the Island of Oahu. While we are not sticklers for form or too much dignity and reserve, still we, in common with all people, recognize the fact that the position of noble is intended to represent the more conservative, dignified, and staid element in the legislative body.

Mr. Crabbe, so far from maintaining his dignity in the opposition meeting at Palama last week, indulged himself in the use of billingsgate that would have done credit to an artist in the use of such language.

Getting more and more personal, he called Mr. Achi a “little half-Chinese monkey,” and wound up finally with an out-and-out filthy epithet in Hawaiian, which raised a murmur of disapproval among the native listeners that were standing by.

For fear that the reader will hardly credit this, and will take the opposition general denial as correct, we challenge Mr. Crabbe to deny it if he can.

WHO IS VIOLATING THE LAW?

Mr. Macfarlane is credited, in his speech to the natives last Saturday night at the old armory, with saying that the opposition would peaceably abide the result of the election if defeated, but that it looked as if the reform party would not; that already the reform party were taking steps to challenge and shut off opposition electors from their vote.

The trouble is that it is the opposition itself and not the reform party that purposes to break the law, and has already done so. Unquestionably a large number of parties have registered as noble voters at the instigation of runners of the opposition who are not qualified to vote for nobles or anywhere near it, and perjured themselves thereby. These men should be challenged, and undoubtedly will be, and without placing the reform party open to the charge of wishing to make a disturbance or to violate the law.
Mr. Macfarlane would do much better if he asserted more control over his party and urged his following not to attempt to vote the noble tickets next Wednesday, even though on the register of noble voters, if, as a matter of fact, they violate the law and their consciences in so doing.

To-morrow will be the election day in which eight men will be chosen, for better or worse, to hold power without further control on our part until the year 1896. Eight more will serve for four years, and the balance—both representatives and nobles—for two years.

The six-year men will be still in the legislature when our present treaty relations with the United States shall have expired, and all will have very important measures to pass upon before election day comes round again.

It is customary, we believe, to spring new matter on your opponents at the last minute, when it is too late for them to refute it.

We believe, however, that such a course is cowardly, and brings neither credit to the man who does it or much harm to the party against whom it is aimed, and we have refrained in this (practically) our last issue to present any new personal charges against the opposition. What charges we have made have been made openly and with full opportunity given the object of our attack to defend himself or themselves from it.

A charge kept back at the last minute is usually kept back because if put forward soon enough could be refuted. A well-founded charge should stand the test of a public sifting.

A SERIOUS CHARGE.

Mr. John Phillips is indignant that the board of education has had the temerity to advertise for bids for the erection of schoolhouses and accept the lowest bid in all cases where they were satisfied that the bidder was responsible and able to fulfill his contract. This is indeed a serious charge! Why, it gives the poor mechanic, even though he is a native Hawaiian, an equal chance, so far as the board is concerned, with the owner of a planing mill! Those who are opposed to such a fair way of transacting business will vote for Mr. Phillips.

A DENIAL BY THE CABINET.—THE PROPOSED TREATY NEGOTIATIONS AND THE LANDING OF THE TROOPS.

Some three months ago the cabinet met a committee of citizens who desired information concerning the proposed revision of our treaty relations with the United States.

Full information was verbally given at the time, and in the course of a few days a lengthy written statement was published.

The committee made no report to the meeting which appointed them, although they several times announced that they intended to report.

In yesterday’s Herald a member of the committee makes an altogether false statement in the native language of what occurred at that interview. He states that the committee were told by the cabinet that the King had rejected two sections of a proposed treaty, they being sections which allowed the landing of troops with their munitions of war.

No such statement was made.

We would further state that no proposition to allow the landing of troops and munitions of war on Hawaiian soil has been made either by the United States or the Hawaiian Government, nor will any such proposition be entertained or supported by the present administration.

LORRIN A. THURSTON.
JONA AUSTIN.
S. M. DAMON.
AMERICA'S GOOD FAITH AND GENEROSITY.

Amid all of the snarling, wrangling, and blackguarding of the opposition, and their attempts to engender bad blood and prejudice against the United States, the fact stands out bold and clear that:

Hawaii voluntarily surrendered her independence to the United States and the United States voluntarily restored it.

TEN REASONS FOR SUPPORTING THE REFORM PARTY.

1. The Reform party has given us a free constitution.
2. It has vigorously instituted and carried on a policy of public improvements.
3. It has improved our reputation and credit abroad. (Under its administration government bonds have gone to a premium.)
4. It has borrowed money at a lower rate than ever before.
5. It has energetically pursued the policy of segregating the lepers.
6. It has introduced the principle of civil-service reform.
7. It has reduced the number of Chinese in the country by 3,000.
8. It has opened up several hundred holdings to settlers under the homestead act.
9. It has been economical.
10. It has swept away a corrupt régime with all its attendant abuses, and has thereby abolished the use of the civil service for partisan purposes, the control of the Legislature by the Crown, the misappropriation of public funds, the violation of law in the conduct of office, the wasting of the public resources in disgraceful enterprises, impoverishing the country at home and disgracing it abroad, and the neglect of necessary public improvements, besides a host of other things which our space forbids us to mention.

TEN REASONS FOR NOT SUPPORTING THE "NATIONAL REFORM PARTY."

1. Because its prominent leaders are opposed to the new constitution.
2. Because it proposes to revise the constitution in some unknown way.
3. Because it proposes to modify or abolish altogether the property qualification.
4. Because it proposes the election of certain public officers by the people (which is not known).
5. Because its declared foreign policy is dangerous to the reciprocity treaty, and consequently to the commercial prosperity of the country.
6. Because it is unwise to abandon a party which has deserved well of the country.
7. Because a change of administration is always in itself a serious misfortune, and will be injurious to our credit abroad.
8. Because the candidates of the party, with some honorable exceptions, are composed of men either without any record or with a bad one.
9. Because the party has conducted the campaign by a systematic attempt to rouse race hatred and set the Hawaiian against the entire foreign element.
10. Because this campaign is an undisguised attempt to nullify all the fruits of the revolution of 1887, and to carry out the insurrection of 1889.

Which ticket are you going to vote for?

VOTE FOR PERMANENT RECIPROCITY. ITS EFFECT ON WOOL.

Wool, upon which a duty of ten cents a pound exists and which now barely pays the expense of putting on the market, and which we now ship across two oceans to Germany and elsewhere, would go through the Golden Gate, and the abolition of the duty would put sheep on every available spot on the mountain slopes of Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea, where the single station of Humuula now tells what might be done with sheep if an impossible duty did not shut our wool out from the market which nature has ordained to be our national outlet.

VOTE FOR PERMANENT RECIPROCITY. ITS EFFECTS UPON OUR FRUIT INDUSTRY.

Permanent reciprocity means that every banana, lime, pineapple, orange, coca-nut, etc., that we raise goes into the United States free of duty until the crack of doom. It means that fruit orchards, which under a seven years' treaty there is no use to create or spend any money on, will cover that home of tropical fruit, the two
Konas, and cultivated bananas will be found in every one of the thousand gulches of the Hilo district, which, too steep for cultivation of sugar, now lie idle between the fields of cane. It means that the wood lands, running 60 miles from Hilo to Kukuihaele, too high for cane, will afford a home for the lime and coffee tree, where one can now see limes as large and coffee as healthy as ever gladden the eye of man.

Waialua, whose orange trees, neglected and slighted as they are, still insist on bearing fruit which discount California's best, will be as familiar an object in the hotels of the Pacific slope as Florida's favorites are in the markets of the East.

VOTE FOR PERMANENT RECIPROCITY. ITS EFFECT ON CLERKS.

Clerks can remember the Hon. Charles R. Bishop, P. C. Jones, J. C. Glade, T. H. Davies, and many others, who came here and worked their way up the ladder step by step, and with the upward movement of permanent reciprocity commence to climb the stairs themselves. It looks as if the clerks of this city were now booked to remain such for good, or else be fired out by Asians; but new times will make a change.

Remember that a name scratched is a vote lost for the party that constitutes the backbone and enterprise of the land.

That a vote for the best man on the other side, as the issues have narrowed down, is a vote for all that that man has identified himself with.

VOTE FOR PERMANENT RECIPROCITY. ITS EFFECT ON MECHANICS.

Mechanics can remember that Young, and Renton, and Thomas, and Daniel Foster, and many others coming here as mechanics, worked their way to the front on the tide of prosperity which came with reciprocity, and from their example can take heart that in a newer and broader commercial dispensation they, too, will work their way to that competency which is the legitimate ambition of every honest man, but which seems shut out by the absorption of one developed industry.

Remember that your vote is essential to the sure and complete overthrow of the reactionary elements among us:

That the men on your ticket represent the spirit of progress among us, and as such should be elected to a man.

VOTE FOR PERMANENT RECIPROCITY. ITS EFFECT ON CAPITAL.

Abiding, which can not be revoked without mutual consent, means the settling of values and the restful confidence of capital. The complaint against the steady withdrawal from the country of hundreds of thousands of dollars made in it would cease, for there would be no occasion for it.

REFORM PARTY. GENERAL ELECTION OF 1890. PLATFORM.

1. We pledge ourselves to maintain inviolate the autonomy and independence of this Kingdom, while securing at the same time the amplest commercial benefits in our treaty relations with the United States.

2. To secure adequate legislation, by constitutional amendment or otherwise, whereby Asiatic immigration shall be restricted to the agricultural necessities of the country, and Chinese not now engaged in trade or the mechanical occupations shall be prohibited from hereafter engaging therein.

3. To favor wise and liberal appropriations for internal improvements, and to sustain a progressive policy in the development of our national resources.

4. To secure such an extension of the present homestead act as will facilitate the settlement of small landholders throughout the Kingdom.

5. To procure for the people an honest, economic, and efficient administration in all departments of the Government.

CANDIDATES.


For Nobles—Island of Hawaii.—J. Kanahane, J. M. Horner, six years. R. R. Hind, Hon. Dr. J. Wight, four years. Hon. Samuel Parker, Dr. C. H. Wetmore, two years.


To the readers of the Times:

When your eyes shall rest upon this last issue of the Times, election day will already have partly run its course.

At such a time above all others we would make no mad appeal for the Reform party, no loud declaration against the opposition; but wish only to address you in the language of soberness and truth.

A strong movement, like that begun on the 30th of June, by the Reform party must naturally expect some day to have to meet the reactionary wave that is always sure to follow. That wave has come to-day full-crested with the accumulated passions, prejudices, and disappointment of those who, like the Bourbon of France, "decline to forget anything or to learn anything new," and while you are now summing these lines those two waves are meeting in a clash and collision that will settle things one way or other before the sun goes down.

If, after the collision, the Reform party is found still moving on, then reaction is gone forever. Bush, Wilcox, and their partisans have lost their employment for good. Nothing can then revive the past.

If, however, reform goes down, the leadership of Wilcox and his following are assured, and hundreds of dubious hearts will follow in his train and hasten to enforce his mandates and back up his demands who now are waiting to see which way the tide will turn.

We believe this country will never see social or political place as long as men can run politics on race lines or consent to reap the advantages to such work when done by hirelings. Every man who is opposed to such methods should see to it that Messrs. Widemann, Maclarlane, Muller, Phillips, and others are rebuked to-day for such a course, to the end that it may be established in this land of varied races from now on, that any political party, however laudable its objects may be, which seeks to secure them at the price of stirring up ill-will and race prejudice among the people, will for that act alone be shunned under so deep that even Gabriel's political trumpet will fail to rouse it from its slumber.

We believe that an intelligent glance at the platform of the Opposition shows clearly, and the tone of its campaign confirms the fact, that it will if successful inaugurate a foreign policy impractical to the United States and imminently dangerous to our present commercial relations with that country. Feeling as we do that the whole fabric of society with us, political, social, and commercial, rests on that sheet of parchment we call the treaty, we can not, as a public organ, but warn the people against the folly of provoking results which will blight and bankrupt the country, drive out mechanics, force properly on the market until it becomes a drug, and crowd the delivery of the country once and for all to Asiatics as the only class that could survive the collapse and save the forty millions invested in sugar.

Let us hold to our present treaty relations with the United States as a drowning man clings to the life buoy. Let us in all honorable ways promote the good will and fellowship now existing between our neighbor and ourselves, and press for such broader and more permanent commercial relations as will give this country and all the spare capital within it a new start, and to the young men of the land fuller and increasing opportunities to make a start in life for themselves.

With these words the Times bids the public farewell, with many thanks for its kind reception. Aloha nui!

Remember! That your opponents will vote the straight party ticket.

That they will not scratch any names in favor of men on your ticket whom you like best.

That those who advise you to scratch do so in the interests of the party whom you wish to see defeated.

That if the Reform party wins the election, progressive constitutional government is assured.
Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 17.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, March 4, 1890.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential dispatch (No. 17) of the 7th. ultimo, touching the result of the late election in the Hawaiian Islands, and its probable effect on the interests of the United States. It has been read with attention.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 19.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, March 6, 1890.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 18 of the 10th ultimo, by which I learn that, contrary to the indications of the first “returns” of the late elections in the Hawaiian Islands, the result throughout the islands proves favorable to the “reform party” and the present ministry.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

[Confidential.]

No. 20.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,  
Honolulu, March 20, 1890.

SIR: The archives of the Department of State are conclusive evidences of the interest which the Government of the United States has long taken in the affairs of the Hawaiian Islands. That these territories are of great importance to the future development and defense of American commerce in the Pacific, hardly will be questioned. To secure the influence over them which the United States so long has considered its right and duty to maintain, some decisive steps must soon be taken which, in the past, were not of pressing necessity. For more than half a century the American Missionary Board, with the agencies and influences in its control, has served as a strong fortress to the United States in these islands. The large financial contributions, amounting to nearly one million of dollars, which that organization obtained through innumerable channels of American benevolence and religious zeal, and the large number of educated and resolute agents which it sent to these islands, secured an influence over the ruling chiefs and native population which held them as firmly to America as a permanent military force could have done.

But a change of facts and circumstances in recent years is bringing near the time when this well-sustained power must be strongly reinforced. In a large and increasing degree other influences have come in to counterbalance and relatively to decrease the American missionary influences. The native population of sixty years ago is reduced to
less than a third it then was, and is continually growing less. The chiefs, who were formerly the supports of monarchy and mainly controlled the affairs of the islands and who for many years were largely influenced by the teachings of the American pastors, no longer exist. The grave has closed over them forever. The native pastors, who now hold the places once occupied by the American missionaries, have not the strong American sympathies of their predecessors, and if they had they possess not the strength of character to hold their parishes by any effective influence relative to affairs of government. Of the ninety thousand population now on these islands less than one-half is of the original Hawaiian race, and but a small proportion of the lands and other property are in their possession.

The following is believed to be very nearly the present make up of the population: Natives, 37,500; half-cast, 5,000; Chinese, 19,000; American, 3,000; Hawaiian, born of foreign parents, 3,000; Britons, 1,250; Portuguese, 12,000; Germans, 1,500; French, 150; Japanese, 8,400; Norwegian, 250; other foreigners, 500; Polynesian, 500; total, 92,050. It is not necessary for me to elaborate the argument to show that a population thus composed has not the inherent tendencies and unity of force to hold them to American interests. It is doubtless true that more than one half of the property of the country to-day is possessed by those of American birth or of American blood. But wealthy men of other nationalities are becoming numerous here, and the number of adventurers and of those of cosmopolitan ideas, caring little for any country, is always considerable in lands peopled as this now is, with commercial and political circumstances as they are.

To thwart and hold in check the increasing influences here hostile to the United States some effective measures are absolutely necessary. In view of the facts as they existed for half a century a drifting policy was safe enough. Rapidly changing circumstances demand a prompt abandonment of the drifting policy of the past. Left to themselves, the prevailing logical force of things would ultimately drive out the best American elements and swamp these islands with adverse influences. To hold an assimilating control of the largely preponderating Asiatic and native Hawaiian population there must be maintained an American policy, strong, conservative, but not costly, if adopted in time. The longer this is postponed the more difficult and expensive it will be in the end to secure the desired result. The laying of an ocean cable from San Francisco to Honolulu, with the aid of the United States Government, and the expenditure of a sufficient sum of money to make a fair commencement of the improvement of Pearl Harbor would be of immediate benefit to American commerce, would be a salutary notice to foreign powers of our intentions in these waters, and operate as a powerful incentive to retain and to increase an enterprising and influential American population in these islands.

As monarchy and feudalism, formally so strong here, have no longer any solid foundation, and government has become constitutional, and largely by the ballot, the moral pressure of the United States is absolutely necessary to enable the Americans and other intelligent citizens of the country to withstand the Asiatic and other influences adverse to Christian civilization, its laws, and agencies. Fairly governed and retained under auspicious American influences, these islands are capable of supporting a population of 250,000, possessing financial resources ample to pay all the taxes necessary for the support of their institutions and the ordinary means of defense. The vital question, one that can not be possibly ignored or held in abeyance, is: Shall Asiatic or
American civilization ultimately prevail here? The near future is to show conclusively that only the strong pressure and continual vigilance of the United States can enable American men and American ideas to hold ascendency here and make these islands as prosperous and valuable to American commerce and to American marine supremacy in the North Pacific as the isles of the Mediterranean have been and are to its adjacent nations. The data in possession of the Department of the Navy, and doubtless well known to the Department of State, show how valuable Pearl Harbor easily can be made as a commercial marine and naval station, and the great and pressing importance of an ocean cable, under American control, is so plainly obvious as to require no elaborate argument for its clearer demonstration.

The most careful study of the situation here leads me to urge a limited appropriation for Pearl harbor, financial aid to the ocean cable, and such modification of the existing treaty as shall increase the American population here and permanently strengthen the bonds between Hawaii and the United States. The sooner this is done the less difficult and expensive it will be in the end. It is certain that time and events will not wait for us, and that a drifting and waiting policy is now the most hazardous.

I have, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

From the Minister of Finance I have just received the inclosed report of the Collector of Customs, a single advance type written copy, showing the increased commercial importance of these islands to the United States.

HONOLULU, H. 1., March 13, 1899.

His Excellency S. M. DAMON,

His Majesty's Minister of Finance:

SIR: In conformity with the provisions of section 553 of the Civil Code, I have the honor to submit to your excellency the annual report of the business of this bureau for the year ended December 31, 1889.

I beg to call your excellency's attention to the reports with each table, which, I think, will give more information than in former years. Your attention in particular is called to tables numbers 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16.

The exports have increased from $4,875,894 in 1880 to $13,874,341 in 1889, and the imports from $3,673,268 in 1880 to $5,438,790 in 1889.

The trade with the United States has increased 5.78 per cent during the past year, and is now 79.10 per cent of our entire imports.

Our exports, virtually, all go to the United States. The exports of our principal product, sugar, has increased over the exports of previous years, as follows: 1889, 242,165,825 pounds, against—

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Increase.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>25,573,965</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>38,431,458</td>
<td>12,857,493</td>
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<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>49,020,972</td>
<td>10,589,514</td>
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<td>61,944,471</td>
<td>12,923,502</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>93,789,483</td>
<td>31,845,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>114,177,939</td>
<td>20,388,456</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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An average increase of 119,035,144 pounds per year.

Rice has fallen off from the output of 1888, 3,208,704 pounds; a large amount of this shortage is due to the number of Japanese laborers having been introduced. The true amount of rice produced in this Kingdom can never be ascertained from the records of this Bureau for the reason that this article is used to a greater or less extent by our own population.
Wool has decreased to 241,925 pounds. The export of this article reached its highest point in 1882 and its lowest in 1887.

Bananas have increased in the number of bunches exported from 1876 to the present year, when it reached 105,630 bunches.

Tallow has decreased from the amount exported last year.

The manifested value of sugar for the past year was 5.45 cents per pound.

It will be seen by reference to the table that the United States received practically all of our domestic products.

Japan imported 92 head of Hawaiian cattle.

China did not import anything. In former years a large amount of betel leaves and tallow have been exported there.

Our import trade with the various countries of the world has increased to a considerable extent. The aggregate of our imports for 1888 was $4,540,887, while for 1889, $5,438,790, an increase of $897,903. Reviewing our trade with each country, we find that we imported from the United States 79.10 per cent, an increase of 5.78 per cent over the previous year, or more particularly an increase of $976,108 from that country alone; from Great Britain 12.38 per cent, a falling off from the previous year; from China and Japan 3.68 per cent, also a slight falling off; and from other countries a similar falling off. The relation which our imports from the United States of free by treaty and goods paying duty bear to each other is as 4 of the former to 1 of the latter. The class of goods which compose the duty-paying class are to a great extent of foreign origin, and American beer and wines.

The United States received the bulk of our trade, both in exports and imports; Great Britain received 3.45 per cent, and China and Japan 1.10 per cent.

The trade of the United States with this Kingdom has increased 1.61 per cent over that of 1888.

The total imports and exports have increased from $16,248,486 in 1888, to $19,313,132 for the period just ended.

The increase in the imports and exports carried by American vessels in 1868 was 66.19 per cent, while in 1889 it carried 72.34 per cent. The percentage carried by vessels of other nations has decreased in each case.

The imports of specie for the year just ended amounted to $1,116,925, and $1,207,533 for the previous year, showing a slight falling off.

The exports of gold increased from $25,953 for 1888, to $40,477 for 1889.

The value of our foreign and domestic goods exported amounted to $13,874,341. The value of foreign goods exported amounted to $64,270, it being the smallest amount exported for ten years past.

The value of our domestic exports has increased $2,178,635 over the previous year, and it represents a production of $172,624 per capita for the entire population, basing the calculation on the census returns of 1881.

The vessels engaged in carrying our domestic products were divided among principally four nationalities. American, guaged by the value, carried 80.22 per cent against 73.09 per cent in 1888; Hawaiian, 15.20 per cent against 21.72 per cent for the previous year, the falling off being occasioned by one of the regular steamers being laid up for repairs and an American vessel taking its place.

The number of Hawaiian-registered vessels has decreased in number as well as in tonnage. This has been caused through the sale abroad of the bark Kalakaua and the brigantine Allie Rowe, the breaking up in port of the bark Lilian and the brigantine Hazard, and the losing of the bark James A. King and the schooner Jennie Walker by being wrecked.

The additions to the list were the steamers Hawaii and Akamai; the bark Andrew Welch and Toookay Sare, and the brigantine Geo. H. Douglass, and the sloop Kaloani, all vessels of the first class.

We have in our merchant marine five vessels built of iron, three being steamers, and among the coasters one iron steamer. The number of men employed by all vessels, both merchantmen and coasters, is 850, in the capacity of sailors.

The number and tonnage of vessels entered and cleared at all ports, Hawaiian Islands, remain about the same as in the previous year. The total number entered has increased, while the tonnage has decreased, showing that vessels of smaller tonnage have been employed.

Vessels under the American flag had a total tonnage of 129,005, and in 1888, 113,459; British, 19,139, and in 1888, 29,519; Hawaiian, 54,913, against 64,607; German, 4,197, against 5,820 for the previous year.

There was an excess of departure of passengers and tourists of 53 during the year, as against 499 excess of departures in 1888; while there was an excess of arrivals of immigrants of 1,558, which indicates that there was a gain to the population of this Kingdom of 305. The Chinese population has increased by 1,069 persons; 32 Chinese females have arrived, and 43 have departed.
The consumption of spirits in this kingdom varies very little from that of 1888, save in the withdrawals of beer, which has increased from 40,000 gallons to 61,000 gallons for the year just ended. The consumption of light wine remains about the same. European wines, which have been always of a high test, have been all along displaced by California wines; but during the past year the experiment was tried of importing a quantity of a lower test, corresponding to its California rival. The result is a small increase in its consumption.

There has been an unexpected increase in the receipts for duties in some articles which showed a decrease in 1888, while others have unexpectedly fallen off, but the total amount shows a slight increase over the previous year. It largely exceeds our estimate for the biennial period, which was estimated at $500,000 per year.

Marine railway.—I would draw your excellency's attention to the increasing importance of the marine railway, and since the arrival of the warship Nipisce from Samoa was placed on the railway for extensive repairs many foreign vessels have taken advantage of it through the experience gained from that vessel.

The number of coasters and merchantmen placed thereon during 1889 was 70, of which number 33 were steamers, the largest being 1,070 tons and the smallest 18 tons; and the other 37 were sailing vessels, the largest being 1,088 tons and the smallest 6 tons. The demands made upon the statistical department of this Bureau has largely increased during the past year, and is likely to increase with the increase of our commerce and as we become better known abroad. It is on account of these ever increasing demands, and increasing commerce that our report is later than usual.

I have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient servant,

A. S. Cleghorn,
Collector-General of Customs.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 22.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 7, 1890.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Nos. 4–19.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 21.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 24, 1890.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 20 of the 20th ultimo, touching the commercial relations of Hawaii with the United States. A copy of your dispatch has been confidentially communicated to the Secretary of the Navy.

I am, sir, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 24.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, May 20, 1890.

SIR: The import and intent of the reciprocity treaty between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands are well understood by all Americans who have a patriotic regard for the future commercial
growth and power of their country in the Pacific. The bearing which the continuance of the terms and advantages of the present reciprocity treaty has on the political relations of the Hawaiian kingdom with the United States renders it proper for me to inform the Department of State of the present alarm caused here by the sugar provisions of the tariff bill reported by the Committee on Ways and Means of the Washington House of Representatives. The production of sugar is the principal business of these islands, as the figures of the nearly $14,000,000 of exports to the United States in 1889 plainly show. Sugar is the chief source of the financial life—is the banking capital—on which the present and future prosperity of this country depends. To destroy this productive industry and chief source of wealth is to spread ruin and disaster throughout the islands.

It is certain that the present treaty is the chief cause of the present large dimensions of sugar production, having already more than doubled the entire property of the islands. In the opinion of all well-informed persons here, to place sugar on the free list would be the virtual annulment of the reciprocity treaty and the destruction of the prosperity of the islands. Thus it is easy to understand why there is so deep an anxiety among the business men of Hawaii as to the present aspect of the sugar question in Congress. They clearly understand that it is a matter of life and death to the Hawaiian kingdom. To all sincere Americans here it is especially alarming, as they see plainly that the virtual destruction of the chief productive industry of the country is to weaken essentially its fraternal relations with the United States. It would have been better never to have had the treaty than now to annul its chief financial advantage and knock the main props from the business of the islands. I am sure that these fears are not exaggerated. The business men here have no more faith in the “bounty system” than have the business men of the United States.

It certainly seems highly inopportune to abandon the protective principle as to sugar just at the time when in various sections of the United States extensive arrangements are being made to invest large sums of money to produce sugar from cane, beet, and sorghum. That the sugar tariff has not already led to a large production of sugar in the United States is no conclusive reason why it will not in the future, now that greatly improved methods of producing sugar have recently come into use and capital is much more available for sugar-raising than formerly. There are strong reasons to believe that if sugar-raising can be protected in the future, say by a specific duty of 50 per cent on the raw product, it will increase on a large scale and become a very important interest in eight or ten States of the Union, and that at no distant day the United States and its dependencies and allies will produce sugar sufficient to supply the increasing demands of the American people. Logically and practically there seems to be no stronger reasons for abandoning the protective principle as to sugar than as to any other agricultural interest or productive industry of the country. Believing the commercial and political relations of these islands to be of inestimable importance to the United States, duty impels me to state the grave injury and danger there are involved in the proposed annulment of the sugar tariff. I am sure I have not overestimated the calamity it would bring to Hawaii, and I am clearly of the opinion that a 50 per cent specific duty on raw sugar would be well for the ultimate interests of the United States.

I have, etc.

JOHN L. STEVENS.
Sir: I improve the first mail opportunity to inform the Department of State that the Hawaiian Legislature assembled May 21 and was opened by the King with the customary formalities. Contrary to the hope of the best citizens of the islands, the reform party, through whose agency the present constitution was made and carried into effect, is found in minority. Two or three members elected by the reformers, half-caste and native Hawaiians, have joined the opponents of the present order of things. The opponents of the ministry elected the speaker and other legislative officers by a small majority, and the committees appointed are similarly constituted. The resolutions thus far offered and the discussions had in their regard indicate a matured purpose of the majority to force out the present ministry and put in its place one hostile to the present constitution or that regards its requisitions of secondary importance.

The situation is somewhat complicated by the fact that one of the ministers, the attorney-general, a Canadian by birth and sympathy, has deserted his colleagues and become a bitter partisan of the present legislative majority. Not long since he made a visit of several months to Canada, spending, I think, a few days in Washington, and returned here since the Hawaiian election an earnest opponent of a new treaty with the United States and an advocate of an ocean cable and a reciprocity treaty with the Canadian Dominion. It is strongly suspected here that he is now in the pay of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, if not an agent of Sir James McDonald, the Canadian premier. Recently, instead of following the advice of the three more respectable and responsible members of his cabinet and the united opinion of the supreme court as to cabinet power and responsibility, the King has adopted the opinion of this Attorney-General Ashford that a single cabinet member can neutralize and block the decision of the other three members.

This course of the attorney-general and the diverse heterogeneous and irresponsible elements of which the majority in the Legislature is composed render the present political situation less favorable than could be wished. The aspect of the “sugar question” in Congress at Washington strengthens the opponents of the existing ministry and continues to depress and alarm the Americans here and those who hold that the United States is the best ally and the real hope of the Hawaiian Kingdom. As soon as the present legislative majority agree upon a new cabinet there is no doubt that a probably successful effort will be made to carry a vote of “want of confidence” in the present ministry, though some signs of discord begin to be manifest among the opponents of the three best members of the cabinet. I inclose two copies of the King’s speech well known to have been formulated by the three responsible ministers.

I have, etc.,

John I. Stevens.
The King's speech at the opening of the Legislature May 21, A. D. 1890.

Nobles and Representatives:

The meeting of the Legislature to-day affords me the opportunity to congratulate the nation upon the measure of prosperity enjoyed by it during the period which has elapsed since the commencement of the last session.

The friendly relations between this Kingdom and foreign nations continue to promote the happiness and security of our subjects, and of all sojourners within our borders.

During the biennial period just closed, the country has enjoyed a great degree of prosperity. Industry and enterprise have been well rewarded, and as will appear from the reports of the several departments of the Government, great progress has been made in the development of our material interests.

It is a source of gratification that our credit is good, and that our financial affairs have been placed upon a sound basis.

I sincerely trust that the laws which you shall enact for the welfare of the Kingdom will foster and encourage the extension of public improvements in the full confidence that they will return to us rich rewards, and I recommend for your consideration, liberal expenditures for the development of the industries of the Kingdom, especially in the encouragement of railroads and other facilities for the transportation of merchandise and of passengers.

The authorities charged with guarding the health of the people have been vigilant, and have succeeded in a great measure in the suppression of our chief malady.

The subject of education, so closely connected with the foundation of good government, has received the earnest consideration of those appointed to forward its interests, and our progress in this important branch of human welfare has received the commendations of all nations, as expressed at the Paris Exposition, where our educational exhibit was rewarded with the highest order of prizes.

In view of the probable completion of an interoceanic ship canal in the near future, and of the promised extension of lines of steam communication, it is of the highest importance that our harbors should be prepared to furnish accommodation to the great increase of commerce which will surely follow.

Let us also hope that arrangements may be made during the present period, whereby an electric cable under the Pacific shall place us in instantaneous communication with the thoughts and feelings of the whole human race, and add largely to our commercial advantages.

We shall deem it wise with your concurrence to pledge the credit of the Hawaiian Kingdom for such purposes and it can not be doubted that the material welfare of the nation will be thereby greatly enhanced.

Nobles and representatives: Invoking the blessings of the Almighty upon your deliberations, I now declare the Legislature of the Kingdom open.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 26.] UNITED STATES LEGATION, Honolulu, June 9, 1890.

SIR: I improve the first mail opportunity to forward two copies of the speech of Hon. L. A. Thurston, Minister of Interior, just delivered in the Hawaiian Legislature. It is a clear, strong statement of facts, as I had previously ascertained them by careful investigation, and these plainly indicate the actual political situation here, showing that in my former dispatches I had not been mistaken as to my general views of the condition of affairs.

Mr. Thurston is a gentleman of marked ability, of tried integrity, and of real courage. He is a native of the islands, as were his father and mother, both of his grand parents being of sturdy Connecticut stock, having come here as missionaries nearly seventy years ago. He has been, from its beginning, a bold and earnest leader in the reform party, and has the entire confidence of the best men of the islands. He can always be relied on as a friend of the country of his ancestry. His speech has made so decided an impression that it is possible that the heterogeneous majority of the opposition party in the Legislature may become a minority and not be able to force out the present ministry.

I have, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.
The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR: I am ready to speak to the question of privilege in regard to the reply of the attorney-general to the questions of Nobles Crabbe and Muller. The answer of the attorney-general amounted to a general charge against the cabinet of interfering with him in the discharge of his duties and of acting in a manner derogatory to the interests of the community, in maintaining last April an armed guard at the police station. The charges of the attorney-general resolve themselves into three, which I shall take up in turn.

1. That the marshal maintained, during April last, an armed guard at the police station. The charges of the attorney-general are such as to initiate the very disorders it was intended to prevent.

2. That such action was unwise, unnecessary, and groundless.

3. That if there was any reason to apprehend a disturbance the action taken was necessary to precipitate the very disorders which the cabinet had been accused of creating.

Mr. President, I admit the first charge. I admit that the majority of the cabinet maintained a guard at the station house not only without the consent of the attorney-general, but that he did everything in his power to prevent it. The thing that he did not do was to go down and find out what was actually going on. I think that instead of censuring the marshal, he deserves the thanks of the community that in spite of the resistance of his superior officer he had the principle and the courage to take measures which, I think, prevented the recurrence of happenings similar to those of the 30th of July last.

Having admitted the first charge, that the marshal defied his superior officer and the cabinet approved it and advised it, only a strong reason can exculpate the cabinet, and if I do not give sufficient reason for their action, I ask that they be condemned as they should be.

Our defense is that at that time the majority of the cabinet had good reason to believe that Volney V. Ashford and Robert W. Wilcox were contemplating violence, and that the attorney-general, if not actually assisting, was conniving at it. Now I maintain that I have not furnished legal proof of this, such as would be needed to procure a conviction before a jury; but if I show that we had good reason to believe it we were justified in the action which we took. I don't propose to indulge in rhetoric or adjectives, but to make plain statement of facts and of the information which I received, and then let the gentlemen here draw their own conclusion. The reasons which actuated us involve a considerable amount of the secret history of this country during the last three years. I do not propose to state any facts which are not essential. There are a large number which bear on the subject which I have stricken out, but I think that I have retained enough to convince the house.

I will show first why we had cause to distrust R. W. Wilcox and to believe that he was intending to disturb the peace.

As you all know, Mr. Wilcox was several years a ward of this country studying abroad, until his return in 1887. A fact not so generally known is that he organized at that time a movement to depose the King, overthrow the ministry, and proclaim a new constitution. One of those who assisted him in drawing up the constitution is now present in this house. They went so far as to actually have the constitution engrossed, and Wilcox, with others, went into the palace and demanded of the King that he abdicate and declare his sister Queen. They even had the form of abdication written out for him to sign. If it had not been for the faithful service of Robt. Parker, the matter which came to a head in July, 1889, might have come to a head in the early part of 1888. The tactics which Wilcox pursued were almost identical with those which he employed in last July, except that he went into it so subtly that he managed to draw in a great many innocent persons, who did not understand until they were so deep in the trouble that they could not withdraw. One of these became frightened and came and told us, and that is how we came to know about it. As soon as I learned about it, I sent for several of the prominent conspirators, one after another, and charged them with it, and they confessed. I put their statements in writing and they signed them, and I have those statements to-day. The object was, straight and simple, to compel the King to abdicate. They had the abdication all written out and they tried to compel him to sign it. Within a day or two after the matter came to my knowledge, they all knew that I knew it. The wife of R. W. Wilcox came to me (as she said, at the request of her husband) and begged me with tears that they might be allowed to go away. She said they would go back to Italy and that would be the last of it. It may be said that the cabinet ought to be condemned for not bringing it all out at that time, and so preventing the trouble of July 30.

Perhaps we were right and perhaps we were wrong. The reason we did not was that the country had been disturbed and we did not wish to again arouse alarm.
Nobody knew of the affair, and they promised to reform. Robt. Wilcox came to me himself and admitted the whole affair; said that he had been wrong, that he saw his mistake, but had been desperate, living as he was on charity. That he was angry with the King for not giving him an office which he had expected and been promised. He said he would go back to Italy and take service in the Italian army where they were fighting in Arabia, and that perhaps he would obtain promotion there. It seemed to us best, after mature deliberation, not to prosecute, and so no arrests were made, no publicity was given to it. Wilcox was allowed to go and he went. After this there were no disturbances, no rumors—everybody went about his business with the unconsciousness that everything was all right and that the country was secure.

This state of things continued until Wilcox came back in 1889. He had scarcely arrived before we began to receive information that he was trying to bring about the same thing again. There is no need of my repeating the events of July last, as it has all been before the courts. Now, after all that had happened in 1888, after his exposure and failure, his repentance and promises, he came back and repeated his attempt, and to-day he has the blood of 7 poor Kanakas on his head. The results of his second attempt you all know. He was tried and acquitted. You know what has happened since. He made a triumphal tour through the country, not only expressing no regret and repentance for what he had done, but glorifying in it, representing himself as a patriot and saying that if he had a chance he would do the same thing again. So things went on until some time before the election. Then rumors again began to go around, and I received direct information that he was again discussing schemes of violence and that as a first step he intended to take the station house; that he had been discussing that with V. V. Ashford, and with his assistance was devising plans as to how it might be accomplished. P. W. Wilcox stated to several of his friends the substance of his conversation with V. V. Wilcox.

Two of them gave me their statements in writing. They are persons who were politically opposed to me. It is unnecessary for me to state that one of them was Antone Rosa, since he has stated the same thing over his own signature in the public press.

I went immediately to Mr. Rosa, upon hearing that he knew of the matter, and said: "You and I are not politically in accord, but we both know that there is nothing will so damage the country as a repetition of July 30. We can sink our political differences in the attempt to prevent anything of this kind. I shall certainly do all that I can, and I think it is your duty to do all you can to prevent anything of the kind." He said that he took the same view, and would do what he could to ferret out what was going on, and he did. I think Mr. Rosa deserves the thanks of this house and of the community for sinking his political differences and doing what he could to prevent what would have injured the country.

Mr. V. V. Ashford soon heard of the rumors with regard to his conversation with Wilcox and sent for him and asked him if he had made any such statement. Mr. Wilcox said he had not. Mr. Ashford asked him if he would put that in writing, and Wilcox said he would. Mr. Ashford prepared a written statement which Robert Wilcox signed, and that statement is now in Mr. V. V. Ashford's possession. Then Wilcox went after Rosa for having told of it. Mr. Rosa said: "Didn't you tell me what I say that you did." Wilcox replied: "Yes; but I told you in confidence, and not to tell anyone else."

This put a quietus on Mr. Wilcox for some time. After the election Mr. Wilcox felt jubilant. He said that he had made the party successful and was entitled to the leadership of it, and would be made minister. Upon this some of the respectable members of his party began to grow restive, and expressed themselves in very decided language to the contrary. Then Mr. Wilcox told some of his friends that he was beginning to suspect the good faith of his haole associates, and that they would not help him to become minister and that he must look out for himself. He accordingly consulted with some of those who had been associated with him in July last, and asked them if they would be willing to help him again, if necessary. Some of them said yes, some were kanaka, and some said that they had had enough. Peckers were sent out and various persons were asked if they would assist in turning the Government out if matters came to a head. I have information from a gentleman in whom every member of this house has confidence, who was asked in front of the post-office by one of Wilcox's intimate friends if he would help take the station house; that they were going to have a meeting that night to discuss it.

I cannot say how my informants were then, and still are, members of the opposition party. One actively expressed himself during the election for the express purpose of getting the cabinet out of office.

This brings the matter to the 17th of April, which the attorney-general considers the culminating iniquity of the cabinet.

The second question which I shall consider is why the cabinet distrusted V. V. Ashford and believed that he was favorable to creating a disturbance. I will not go back to the 30th of July last, although there are a number of earlier instances
which I might mention. Shortly after July 30 rumors and statements began to be circulated that V. V. Ashford, although he commanded the force against Wilcox, yet knew more than he ought to about that movement, and that his heart was not entirely in the action which he took that day. At first I did not take much stock in these rumors, for people talk as much here as they do anywhere; but as time passed on I received intimations that there were facts at the bottom of these reports, and I thought that I ought to investigate. I did not consult C. W. Ashford. Blood is thicker than water. Although I will state that I had at that time implicit confidence in the attorney-general. As a result of my investigations I have statements in writing from friends of the Government, from enemies, and from neutrals, and I state unhesitatingly that V. V. Ashford knew of and counseled and advised the disturbance of last July; that he sent messengers to Wilcox saying that the King and the cabinet were at loggerheads, and that now was the time to act.

Matters were quiet after the 30th of July, so far as his action was concerned, except that it was continued, characterized by the most violent denunciations of the cabinet, publicly and without stint, to such an extent that a member of the diplomatic corps came to a member of the cabinet, and although as he said he was acting beyond the scope of his official duty, warned them not to have confidence in a man talking as V. V. Ashford was.

V. V. Ashford became a frequent contributor to opposition newspapers, declaiming against the Government in the bitterest terms, giving out false statements with regard to the cabinet, and stating that he got them from his brother, although I did not believe anything of the sort. As an illustration, one of the members of this house lately told me that at about that time Mr. Ashford told him that he was so anxious to have this ministry turned out that he would rather have the country go back to the old régime than see it go on with them in office, and would rather see the country reduced to ashes than have them remain.

The canvass continued, Mr. President, until two or three weeks before the election. That was a time of a good deal of uncertainty. Both parties were confident, and neither was sure. At that time V. V. Ashford had a quarrel with his political friends. Although in a position, as commander of the volunteer forces, of high responsibility and trust under the Government, he had been an active political worker against the Government. Then he sent word to me and asked for a truce between himself and the Government, and asked that I make an appointment with him (which for reasons was not kept), a second, which also was not kept, and finally a third was made, which was kept in my office. In the presence of a mutual friend the interview was held, and he made this statement. He said that he wished to be perfectly frank. He said that he had worked against the Government, admitted that he had been writing for the Elele to a large extent, but was sick of his associates, they were a mean lot generally and he wanted to be done with them. He did not care for the war and he wrote against the cabinet and work secretly for us or to resign altogether and take the stump openly. He made, however, one condition. He said, "My reason for opposition to you has been my belief that you and the other members of the cabinet were engaged in a conspiracy against my brother. But if you and the others will promise to stand by him in the next Legislature, I will do all that I can for you."

I heard all that he had to say, and then replied what we wanted is votes. Votes are what counts, and that we should be glad of your assistance and vote and the votes that you control. As for promises, I have stood by you straight through and have done nothing for you that I ever agreed to do, and the only result has been that you have constantly vilified me. I consider myself discharged of any obligations to you and will make no promises and no agreements with you. As far as the relations of the cabinet to C. W. Ashford are concerned your course will have nothing to do with it. C. W. Ashford has stood by so far as I know and we propose to stand by him, and if we go down we will go down together.

Shortly after the election of the colonel came up, and V. V. Ashford was elected. The election was certified up to the cabinet and it became our duty to decide whether to approve or reject it, and it was not until after consideration of all the facts that I have mentioned, that we came to the conclusion that it was our duty not to endorse the election, and that we would be faithless to the interests of the community. If we again allowed that man to go in as the head of the military. I don't say that we had evidence to warrant his arrest and trial. We did not feel justified in taking that action, but we did feel justified in refusing to ratify his election, as we knew that he was a man in whom we could not confide in case of another 30th of July.

We therefore did not recommend him to the King, and the matter was referred back to the officers again. Mr. V. V. Ashford asked for our reasons. We refused to give them orally, but said we would make application in writing. We would state them in writing. He stated that he would apply in writing, but later he sent a letter to the minister of foreign affairs stating that he would make no written application, as it was contrary to military principles and etiquette.
The next step was his reflection by a majority of the officers. Before we took action on the reflection the attorney-general returned.

This brings me to the third branch of my statement, viz., the reason why we have distrusted C. W. Ashford, and this brings me to one of the most painful experiences of my life, because C. W. Ashford has not only been my official companion for three years, but because ever since he came here, seven years ago, he has been my intimate friend, and in this world intimate friends are not many. I have worked with him, trusted him, have passed through trying periods with him, shoulder to shoulder, have stood by him. When prominent members proposed to put him out of the cabinet last Legislature and go on with a new minister, I said no, if we go out we go out together. And I wish to say here that I believe, and know from previous experiences many years, that we have never had an attorney-general who has worked harder and more faithfully in the conduct of the business of his office than he has.

The relations of the cabinet with the attorney-general continued most cordial up to the time of his departure for the United States. He has mentioned a point of difference of opinion with regard to the treaty. It did not interfere with our cordial relations and was solely a matter of discussion, and was adjusted by the cabinet. As evidence of this and against the published statements made by C. W. Ashford, over his own signature, and before the finance committee I will refer to the reply on October 4 last to the committee which waited on the cabinet concerning the treaty.

This reply was constructed in the following manner: After full discussion of the whole topic, each member of the cabinet made a draft of a reply. Then sections were taken from each and embodied in the final draft, so that the three replies, including Mr. Ashford's, are there. The beginning shows that it is the reply of the whole cabinet, and the title so states. The ministers take pleasure in informing you, etc. It is signed by the minister of foreign affairs because it was a matter of his department. I will read a passage, showing that there was no difference of opinion at that time:

"...Animated as we are by the desire to strengthen and extend the commercial ties which have done so much for our national prosperity, and to secure the safety and perpetuation of our institutions by an alliance whereby we shall have the positive and efficacious guarantee of a strong friend against interference by itself or others with our perfect autonomy, independence, and sovereignty, we have instructed our representative at Washington to ascertain if the United States would be willing to negotiate with us a convention whereby the following objects may be secured."

"...The cabinet for more than a year has studied carefully many reasons for and against the points submitted for negotiation, and has taken counsel with others, both connected and unconnected with the Government, and has considered various propositions and suggestions, some of which have been approved and some disapproved."

"Any statements of objects or intentions, and any purported draft of a treaty stating more or other than is above indicated which may have been published, are unfounded and incorrect."

"The ministers are strongly and unanimously of the opinion that the accomplishment of the objects above indicated will tend to greatly increase the material prosperity of the country, and perpetuate the independence of Hawaii and the sovereignty of His Majesty and his successors over all his dominions."

Mr. Ashford left on November 16, 1889, with the utmost cordiality of feeling between the cabinet. He left, as he stated, on account of his health, expecting to stay over one steamer. Two personal notes were all we had from him until his return on March 8, 1890. We had otherwise no direct communication with him, but saw numerous interviews in the papers in which he discussed all sorts of subjects, treaties, steamship and telegraph communication from Canada, all vital matters which should have been dealt with by one in his office only with the advice and consent of the cabinet. What he did in Canada we do not know. He gave us the barest outline of what he did. He did state that he had an interview with the Canadian prime minister, that he traveled as a guest of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in a private car—[Attorney General, No]. Then some one else told me about the private car; and to this day we don't know what his objects were or what he did. The first question which came up after his return was the colony.

The attorney-general having returned just before the second election, when the question came up he immediately called upon the cabinet to reverse its decision on the matter, to nominate Mr. V. V. Ashford to the King, and to appoint him. It is unnecessary to say that the cabinet pursued no such exhausting course, but followed its previous decision. The attorney-general stated that he considered this action against his brother as simply an attack upon the Ashford family, and he was not going to stand it. The question had to be settled, and the attorney-general was requested to state whether he intended to carry his opposition so far as to advise the King not to confirm the nominee of the cabinet. Mr. Ashford refused to state
what he would advise the King. I said it is an anomalous thing, something unheard of in this or any other cabinet, to go to the King divided. He admitted it was anomalous and regretted it, but said that he could not change his course on that account, but would take the matter into consideration. He considered for a few days and then stated that he declined to inform us what his course would be, as he did not choose to abridge any of his legal rights, and should reserve to himself the right to advise the King as he saw fit when the time came. We accordingly held a cabinet council with His Majesty, March 21, in which three members of the cabinet stated that they did not consider Mr. V. V. Ashford a fit man for the place and recommended H. P. Hebbard. The attorney-general then advised His Majesty not to concur in this advice and not to appoint Hebbard, because, first, there was no reason why V. V. Ashford should not be appointed, and, second, on the technical ground that the period of incumbency of the present colonel had not expired. His Majesty stated that he wished to do what was proper, and asked each party for an opinion in writing, which was given. He answered in writing laying down the broad principle that he should take no action in any matter requiring by law the advice of the cabinet unless he chose, unless he had the advise of the whole cabinet. As this raised a vital principle, striking at the very roots of constitutional government, it seemed proper to submit the matter to the supreme court, and we did so, after first submitting our statement of the case to the attorney-general, which he admitted contained a correct statement of the facts. The supreme court gave a decision upholding the position of the majority of the cabinet, that the majority should govern the legislature, and of every law that comes. On April 10 we met His Majesty again. There were two subjects for discussion, first, the appointment of colonel, and, second, the commissioning of Mr. Carter to negotiate the treaty. The majority of the cabinet advised His Majesty to appoint Mr. Hebbard, and presented him with the opinion of the supreme court, stating that it was his duty to follow the advice of the majority of the cabinet. The attorney-general then advised His Majesty as follows (the exact words were taken down at the time):

"The opinion of the supreme court is not in the slightest degree binding and is of no more effect than that of any other three men of equal ability. I advise Your Majesty to decline to follow the advise of the majority of the cabinet and that of the supreme court."

This brings us down to the time when an armed force was being maintained at the station house.

Now as to the special charge that the guard was kept in such a manner as to excite disturbance. The attorney-general has in unmeasured terms denounced it, here and elsewhere, and has declared that it was in a high degree improper and unwise, and detrimental to the public good, for from five to eight men, citizens, to guard the police station, arms being in the station, available for volunteers and regular forces if necessary. This at a time when R. W. Wilcox was at liberty; when, as he states in his reply, street rumors connected V. V. Ashford with disturbance; when the town was so disturbed that the heads of business houses were consulting as to what should be done to protect life and property; and this, although his words in August last, when the country was roused, when Wilcox and his confederates were in jail, locked up in prison, were what I shall now quote.

On the 29th of August, 1889, the attorney-general wrote the following letter to the marshal:

"Department of Attorney-General,

Honolulu, H. I., August 28, 1889.

J. H. Soper, esq., marshal:

"Sir: In regard to the protection of the arms and munitions of war now under your charge at the police station in this city, the subject has been discussed by the cabinet, whose ideas I here put upon paper, in the form of instructions to you, in order that none of the misapprehensions to which verbal instructions are liable may in any way interfere with a full mutual understanding of the situation.

"The cabinet regard it as of the highest importance that those munitions shall be vigilantly and effectually guarded, and that all other matters in your department, existing or reasonably to be apprehended, shall be made subordinate to the due protection of the police-station building, its inmates, and contents.

"I understand you have now in operation a system of guarding that building with six foreign policemen (two from each watch), in addition to those who are necessarily or incidentally on the premises as officers of the respective watches, turnkeys, etc. This, in addition to D. H. Hitchcock, jr., whom I understand is still retained as special night watchman in your own office, will make a special guard of seven foreigners, which, if its members are intelligent and vigilant, should be sufficient, supported, as it ever is, by the prevailing facilities for defense and the opportunity to secure prompt reinforcements by telephone.

"But in order to its highest effectiveness, such guard should be under the immediate charge and command of some particular officer, and a definite system should be
observed as to the place and character of the vigil of the different members. In addition to this, there should be adopted a definite rule as to admissions to the building during the night, and such rule should and must be strictly enforced.

The necessity in this latter direction is best illustrated by a recital of circumstances actually witnessed during the present month, during the day as well as at times during the evening hours, I having been the witness as to some of them myself. Thus there are certain foreigners in town whose fidelity to the present condition is at least questionable and their sympathy with the late insurrection at least suspected. In addition to these are some native and half-white members of the bar, whose hostility upon this point is hardly a matter of doubt. And yet it is no uncommon thing for the parties referred to, sometimes several at once, to enter the police building and walk unchallenged through any part of at least the ground floor thereof. For instance, they have been seen to go, as a matter of course, into the back recesses of your office, whence the route to the armory is through a door unsecured, as a general rule, by either lock or guard. The key to the armory, moreover, has very recently been accessible to any one from that recess.

I recite these facts, not in a spirit of complaint, but as tending to show how easy it might be for half a dozen armed and determined men, gaining the advantage of such an entrance, either day or night, to spring upon and overpower, shoot down, or intimidate the unsuspecting officer in charge and thus capture the building. If it be thought that such an event is not probable, the answer is that our aim must be to guard against possible and not alone probable attacks.

I have, therefore, to request your careful attention to the following system of guarding that building, which may, of course, be supplemented by any details you may think necessary to add, viz:

That the main door and all other means of access to said building, except the door to the receiving station, be closed and bolted (unless upon special occasions) not later than 8 o'clock in the evening, and I think an even earlier hour preferable.

That the special guard shall always have among their own number a leader whose orders they will be obliged to obey, and who shall be responsible for the due execution by the guard of their stipulated duties, and who, in the absence of the captain of the watch or other superior officer, shall have full command of the building and all the officers therein and the premises. From the fact of his being on watch during the entire night and not changing with the different watches, I should suppose Mr. Hitchcock (if satisfactory in other respects) an eligible man for this position.

The guard should be armed with clubs and pistols, and should have, each man, his rifle and filled cartridge belt conveniently at hand, elsewhere than in the receiving station. At least one of the guard (I think two preferable) should be kept constantly on patrol in Merchant street between Nuuanu and Kaahumanu, to observe movements in the three streets named, as well as Bethel street. These patrolmen should be relieved, say, every two hours, by other members of the guard, and should be kept diligently on the move and observant of events. Half-hourly circuits of the block in which the building stands should be made by one of such patrolmen, i.e., around to and along Queen street. The rest of the guard should be on the alert, so disposed throughout the building as to be able to rally on any post immediately upon call, and at least one of them should be in the receiving station all the time, whence the means of access to the yard and ground cells is very easy.

The patrols will of course give the earliest possible notice of any persons or events in the locality out of the natural order, and thus the entire guard will be ever ready to meet any exigency or repel any attack. In this connection let me caution you that nothing short of a tragedy within plain sight, or orders from the marshal, should tempt any member of the guard away from the building or his beat.

In case of an attack they should meet it upon the sidewalk, at the doors, or retreat within the building; secure the doors and defend the premises from the windows, as the force and direction of the attacking party might suggest to the one in command, and telephone at once to the marshal or his deputies. Seven reserve men, well armed, should be able to hold that building for hours against any force that could be brought against it from the front.

I understand that the hours of special guard are now from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. While I do not now think it necessary to extend these hours, yet captains of watches coming on duty at 6 p.m. and 6 a.m., respectively, should be especially instructed to give particular attention to the guarding of the building prior to the advent and after the departure of the special guard evening and morning. This, I think, during one hour of each of those watches, should take the form of a small detail of their foreign patrols for this service.

Now as to the indiscriminate admission of all comers to the different offices of the building. This should be guarded against during the day by some practicable yet reasonable rule, that will at once permit the despatch of business and secure the privacy of portions of the premises. After office hours in the evening no one except
members of the force, regular or special, or other officers of the Government, and attorneys and others upon legitimate business, to be stated to the officer in charge, should be admitted to the building. Let this principle be enforced.

In particular I would call your attention to the oft-recurring absence of "all hands" from your own office during business hours, which of course leaves open opportunities such as should not exist for any venture such as herein discussed. I have frequently (and several times during the present month) tried in vain to ring up some occupant of your office. A trial of both telephones convinced me that no one was present. I need not assure you that this should not be, particularly at the present juncture, and I shall expect to see it remedied.

Not wishing to handicap you by the enumeration of details to be observed in the carrying into effect of the foregoing instructions, I leave them chiefly for your own device and application. The main purpose, and in fact the only purpose, of my writing thus at length is to secure the ample protection to that building which its present importance demands.

I repeat, that nothing herein is penned in a spirit of complaint but of caution and admonition only. I shall expect the main object of these instructions to be scrupulously observed and lived up to. I purpose to myself test the efficiency and vigilance of the guard in question from time to time, and recommend the same course to you. While I desire that they should have a general notice to this effect, for the purpose of keeping them on their mettle, I shall give no special notice of the hours of my visits.

Yours faithfully,

C. W. Ashford,
Attorney-General.

That was the opinion of the attorney-general in August last, when he thought that we ought to guard against possible, not merely probable, danger; when he thought that it was necessary to have men armed to the teeth with clubs, pistols, rifles, and cartridge belts. Now, when we have a volunteer guard at night only, with no weapons on them, he complains and sees a threat and a menace to the community.

The statement that there was unnecessary ostentation and display is without foundation. As a matter of fact, the guard was there two weeks before the public knew anything of it.

At this time garbled accounts of what was being done by the cabinet appeared in both English and native, which could only have come from the attorney-general. Arguments which the attorney-general made in the cabinet, down even to the under-scoring, came out next day in the newspapers with these very points in italics. If anyone wants to know what it is to be in hell without waiting for eternity, let him be in a divided cabinet, knowing that every word and act is being reported and misconstrued by a traitor, with the knowledge that a man is among you whom you can not trust and the possibility of another 30th of July hanging over your head.

That was the situation. What was to be done? The attorney-general was giving demoralizing and revolutionary advice to the King. Never before has the King refused to follow the advice of the supreme court. That was the bulwark of the country, and the King never dreamed of refusing to follow their advice, until the attorney-general advised him to do so. I say the action of the attorney-general was revolutionary, and it has brought the King into a revolutionary position, which he has maintained ever since. The chairman of the foreign affairs committee has referred to my "brutal statements" to the King. Mr. President, I am no courtier; I never was and never shall be one; I believe in speaking the truth, and I have done it. I have made no brutal statements to the King. I have treated him with perfect respect, but with perfect candor. When he was taking a course contrary to the law and the constitution, I did not tell him that he was doing right, but that he was taking a course that would bring disaster upon himself and upon the country.

In this situation, with the history of Robert Wilcox before us, with the facts in regard to V. V. Ashford before us, with the attorney-general in open hostility to the cabinet, refusing to resign and saying that he would stay to paralyze all action in this situation I say that even if there had been no truth in the report which came to us there would still have been ample ground for taking the precautions urged by the attorney-general in August last. The marshal came to me to consult. He had received information from a different source from mine of a similar character. He felt that he could not consistently with his duty to the community and to himself go to the attorney general and tell him what he knew. After talking it over with the other members of the cabinet, the marshal stated that he could get volunteers, and stated who they were, men of the most respectable standing, clerks, bookkeepers, etc., as well as a few Government employees, who took steps, and the station house was guarded for several weeks before it was known at all.

Now in regard to the night of the 17th of April, when the minister of the interior "was there," the Gatling gun run out, and the 40 armed men on hand.
A 1 a. m. I was rung up with the statement that a policeman had seen a body of armed men. I thought it sufficient to put us on our guard. I went down, found 5 men on guard, and we telephoned for 3 or 4 more. No one else was there. The statement as to 40 men is entirely without foundation. We stayed till daybreak. The guns were not put out into the street; there was no unnecessary exhibition of force; there was no guard sent out to the Rifle's armory, unless you consider one tame prisoner such a guard. One or two men patroled. I took the statement of the policeman writing. He stated that there was a passer who could confirm it, and the next day he brought the man who stated that he had seen some armed men in that neighborhood. Whether there were any armed men there, you know as well as I. At any rate there was the information, and I considered it was my duty to be on hand, and for the marshal to be on his guard. Suppose no precaution had been taken, and the station had been captured, then what?

The fact is it was the duty of the attorney-general to inquire into the situation and guard the peace. He did nothing whatever, and the rest of the cabinet had to take the responsibility of guarding, not merely against "probable," but "possible" dangers.

As to the statement that these precautions were calculated to create a disturbance, this strikes me as one of the thinnest, flimsiest and most ridiculous propositions that I ever heard. Precautions of this kind are the first thing to prevent a disturbance. Look at Berlin on the 1st of May, labor day; it was a garrison. Look at London a few years ago at the Hyde Park riots, and citizens were sworn in as special police by the thousands. And yet it is claimed that the precautions taken here tended to excite a disturbance; that the presence of a few men at the police station, probably playing cards when not on duty, must so tend to excite Mr. Wilcox's nerve centers as to lead him to shoulder a musket and try to capture the police station, just because there were a few men there who had a perfect right to be there.

Mr. President, on this statement I am ready to leave it to the house whether the inaction of the attorney-general is to be commended, or the positive course of the majority of the remainder of the cabinet. Taking into consideration what happened on the 30th of July, would we not have been responsible for any loss of life or property, if we had neglected these precautions and a disturbance had occurred. I am willing to leave it to the house, but if every man votes against me, I would still, in a similar situation, when I thought the country was threatened with a possibility of danger, act as I have, whether the attorney general approved it or not.

Representative Bush moves to amend by referring to printing committee to have both copies printed in English and Hawaiian. Representative Brown seconded the amendment.

The motion as amended was carried.

House adjourned at 1:10 p. m. until Monday.

Diplomatic reception—Brilliant entertainment at the United States legation.

His excellency J. L. Stevens, United States minister resident, and Mrs. Stevens, held a reception at the legation, Nuanu avenue, from 3 to 6 o'clock yesterday afternoon. It was an event both brilliant and pleasant. Flags almost covering the house showed their bright colors to the street through interseces of the luxuriant foliage. Lovely bouquets, clusters of gorgeous lilacs, and other floral designs, with profuse traceries of vines, made the interior a delight to the eye, while filling the air with fragrance. An elegant collation was spread in the dining room, and no guest was permitted to depart without receiving an invitation to be refreshed.

His excellency and amiable lady gave a cordial greeting to all. Mrs. Stevens was assisted in receiving and in dispensing the hospitalities of the legation by the Misses Stevens, Mrs. Severance and Miss Severance, Mrs. J. O. Carter and the Misses Carter, Mrs. W. Foster, the Misses Winter, and Miss Waterhouse.

The band of the United States flagship Charleston, sixteen pieces, under Bandmaster Carlo, played on the grounds alternately with the Royal Hawaiian Band. The playing of the naval band was very much admired. The programme of the concert was the following:

Overture—Massaniello .................................. Auber.
Chorus—Tanhauser .................................. Wagner.
Gravette—Festival, Lohann.
Reminiscences of Verdi .................................. Godfrey.
Fantasia—Recollections of the War ...................... Meyer.
Waltz—1,001 Nights .................................. Strauss.
Patrol—Guard Mount .................................. Ebenberg.
Medley—Ye Olden Times .................................. Catlin.

The Star Spangled Banner
Hawaiian Ponal.
Their majesties and the heir apparent were among the callers. The King was
attended by Mr. Jas. W. Robertson, vice-chamberlain, and His Majesty's staff.
Mrs. Robertson was lady-in-waiting to the Queen. Hon. A. S. Cleghorn was
present with Princess Liliuokalani. Visitors were coming and going during the
three hours, the following being some of them:

Their excellencies Jona. Austin, minister of foreign affairs and C. W. Ashford,
attorney-general; Hon. C. R. Bishop, Hon. and Mrs. W. F. Allen, Hon. and Mrs. J.
A. Thorthon, Miss Atherton, Hon. and Mrs. W. G. Irwin and Mrs. Ivers, Hon. and
Mrs. W. D. Alexander, Mrs. J. I. Dowsett, and the Misses Dowsett; Major J. H.
Wodehouse, British commissioner, Mrs. and Miss Wodehouse; Mr. G. C. B. d'An-
glaie, French commissioner; Mr. A. de Souza Canavarro, Portuguese commissioner,
and Mrs. Canavarro; Mr. Masaki, Japanese diplomatic agent, and members of his
legation; Rear Admiral Brown, U. S. N.; Mr. H. W. Severance, United States consul-
general, Mrs. and the Misses Severance; Mr. F. A. Schafer, consul for Italy and
dean of consular corps; Mr. H. W. Schmidt, Swedish consul, and Mrs. Schmidt;
Mr. C. Aftong, Chinese commercial agent, and Miss Aftong; Mr. A. W. Richardson,
United States vice-consul-general; Mr. T. R. Walker, British vice-consul; Capt.
Remy and staff, U. S. flagship Charleston; Capt. Green and staff, U. S. S. Adams;
Capt. McCurley and staff, U. S. S. Nipsic; Lient. Dyer, Lient. Blunt, and Mr. Cole
(of the admiral's staff); Lient. Qualtrough, Fleet Surgeon Woods, Dr. Weber, Fleet
Paymaster Arthur Burris, with Mrs. Burris; Fleet Engineer Inch, and Mr. Hollis,
with Mrs. Hollis, U. S. flagship Charleston; Chief Engineer Webster, U. S. S. Nipsic;
Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Honolulu and Mrs. Willis, Rev. and Mrs. H. Bingham, Rev.
and Mrs. S. E. Bishop, Rev. and Mrs. W. C. Merriit, Rev. and Mrs. A. Mackintosh
and Miss Von Holt, Mrs. R. F. Beckerton, Mrs. W. Foster, Dr. and Mrs. A. B. Lyons,
Dr. and Mrs. C. T. Rogers, Dr. Lindley of Kentucky, Dr. and Mrs. J. S. McCreve,
Dr. J. S. Emerson, Dr. Kimball, Col. V. V. Ashford, Capt. Mist, R. N., and Miss
Mist, Prof., and Mrs. M. M. Scott, Prof. and Mrs. G. Sauvket, Maj. and Mrs. C. T.
Gullick, Hon. Jas. Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. J. O. Carter and the Misses Carter; Hon.
and Mrs. B. F. Dunning, Misses Dunning and Clarke, Mrs. Helen Mather, New York;
Mr. and Mrs. George Fritch, Mrs. Eugene B. Reil, Mr. and Mrs. Layton, San Fran-
cisco; Mrs. S. C. Allen, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Hall, Mrs. G. E. Boardman, Mrs. Robt.
Lewers and Miss Lewers, Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Lansing, Mrs. W. W. Dimond, Mr.
and Mrs. W. C. Wilder, Mr. G. K. Wilder, Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Dillingham, Mr. and Mrs.
J. G. Specker, Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Carter, Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Jones, Mr. and Mrs.
H. H. Remjes, Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Wielman, Mrs. S. B. Rose and Miss Rose, Misses
Chamberlain, Waterhouse, Winter, Payson, Atkinson, Brewer, and Snow; Messrs.
Paul Hamill.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 27.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, June 14, 1890.

SIR: I have received your No. 25, of the 28th ultimo, apprising me
of the unexpected change in the attitude of "two or three" of the
new members of the Hawaiian Legislature, by which the opposition to
the reform party gains strength enough to control that body; also of
the fact that one member of the present ministry, of Canadian birth,
is in declared agreement with the opposition party.

Noting your reference to the circumstance that the present "aspect
of the sugar question" in our Congress "strengthens the opponents of
the existing ministry and continues to depress and alarm the Ameri-
cans" in Hawaii,

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

[Confidential.]  

No. 27.]  

UNITED STATES LEGATION,  
Honolulu, June 26, 1890.  

SIR: Corresponding to strong indications of which I have previously informed the Department of State, there has been made an entire change in the Hawaiian ministry. The attorney-general, C. W. Ashford, a Canadian by birth, since his return here in April from a visit in Canada, where he is known to have been in intercourse with the leading members of the Dominion ministry, had completely changed in his attitude towards his colleagues and in his views as to commercial relations with the United States. He is believed to have strongly entered into the Canadian plans of connecting these islands with the Canadian Pacific Railway by cable and steamer and commercial arrangements. He suddenly took ground against the reform party, with which he had been identified, and sought to sustain himself by uniting with the party he had before strongly opposed, and stimulating the reactionary tendencies among the less responsible portion of the citizens and residents here. The other three ministers, finding it impossible to carry on the Government with him, tested their strength by a motion of want of confidence in Ashford. The vote in the Legislature was a tie—24 to 24. At once the three ministers offered their resignations, and this forced the resignation of Ashford.

A new ministry has been formed, composed of two from each party. John A. Cummins, a half-caste and a large sugar planter, is the minister of foreign affairs. Godfrey Brown, minister of finance, was born in England, leaving his native country at three years of age; he lived years in New York and California, and has recently spent a while in the city of Washington. C. N. Spencer, the minister of interior, is a native of New York State, but came to these islands in childhood. A. P. Peterson, the attorney general, is a native of Massachusetts, and is regarded the ablest man of the new cabinet. As a whole, the ministry has less intellectual force and character than its predecessor. The reform party is in a measure satisfied, because it is better than it feared. The more numerous portion of the party of the King and of the native factions is dissatisfied because it has only two of the four ministers, and these not of the most pronounced type. It is less decidedly American than the three best of the retiring cabinet, yet it is reasonable to hope that it will favor strong friendly relations with the United States.

I have, etc.,

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JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 29.]  

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, July 3, 1890.  

SIR: I have read with interest your No. 26, of the 9th instant, in which you transmit a copy of a speech delivered on the 6th June last, in the Hawaiian Legislative Assembly, by Hon. L. A. Thurston, minister of the interior, relative to the political situation in Hawaii.

I am, etc.,

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JAMES G. BLAINE.
No. 31.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 14, 1890.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 27, of the 26th ultimo, announcing a recent change in the cabinet of His Majesty and communicating a sketch of its members.

I am, sir, etc.,

ALVEY A. ADEE,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

No. 2.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 16, 1890.

SIR: I inclose for your confidential information copy of a letter recently received from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting one from the commander in chief of the United States naval force in the Pacific station, in regard to political affairs in the Hawaiian Islands. The letter in question seems to confirm the general tenor of your dispatches on the same subject.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

[Confidential.]

No. 30.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, August 19, 1890.

SIR: I regret to be obliged to report to the Department of State that the political affairs of this island Kingdom have recently assumed a less assuring aspect. It is well known that the present constitution was gained by the people, especially by the property holders and business men, in 1887, much as the Magna Charta of England was gained by the barons from King John in 1215. Kalakaua has always been restless under this constitution, to which he has solemnly sworn. The result of the elections last February encourages him to hope that the constitution might be so changed as to restore to him much of his former autocratic power. A movement has been put on foot to this end. A popular delegation, composed mainly of the less intelligent natives, led chiefly by unscrupulous demagogues, has formally marched to the palace and presented petitions in a revolutionary sense, asking the call of a constitutional convention. The King, without having consulted or received the sanction of his cabinet, has commended the objects of these petitions in a message to the Legislature.

The constitution specifically provides how it may be amended, which is by voting proposed amendments by the Legislature, which amendments must be resubmitted and voted by another Legislature two years...
subsequently. The businessmen and the more responsible citizens of the islands are greatly disturbed. For good reasons they fear to have the country convulsed by such an issue. The English commissioner and the undersigned have been urged confidentially by the leading member of the cabinet and by the most conservative of the Legislature to counsel the King against the rash and dangerous step. My English colleague, who has been here twenty years, fully agrees with me as to what the situation demands of us. Yesterday, in a confidential interview, the commissioner and myself gave our opinions and advice to His Majesty. Of his bearing toward us we have no reason to complain. The two ablest of his four ministers are against changing the constitution in the revolutionary way proposed, and it now looks as though the other two will decide to go with their colleagues. A careful count in the Legislature indicates that a small majority will vote to adhere to the constitution as it is, consenting to small amendments to be made in the way provided. There is some fear of a mob in surprise to force a revolutionary vote by intimidation, and there is little reliance placed on the native police in an emergency. The King professes that he is neutral in the controversy, and that he has only brought popular grievances to the attention of the Legislature. But the facts are conclusively against this pretension. None of the best citizens here have the least faith in these royal professions. He and a few corrupt parasites are at the center of the conspiracy, back of which is a big loan in London for their corrupt handling.

Under the circumstances it is my duty to say that one United States ship of war should remain at Honolulu. The English commissioner thinks it highly necessary that one English ship should continue here constantly. All of the more responsible business men here are of like opinion. The presence of this force has a suggestive meaning to the disorderly element here. I shall continue to act cautiously but firmly, in the light of former precedents of the Department of State and of this legation, varied only by different facts and circumstances. Admiral Brown, who was here two months, who had former experience here, before he left on the Charleston a few days since was strongly of the opinion that one vessel, or more, of the United States Pacific naval force should be kept here, though when he left the aspect of affairs was apparently more auspicious than at present. The Nipsic is here, and I understood from the Admiral that on the departure of this vessel her place would be taken by the Iroquois or Mohican. I assume such to be the naval orders.

I have the honor, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

No. 4.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 10, 1890.

SIR: I inclose copy of a letter of the Secretary of the Navy and a copy of the report therewith on the serious political situation in Hawaii, which as confirmatory of your No. 30 of the 19th ultimo will doubtless be read with interest.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 2.] UNITED STATES LEGATION, Honolulu, September 17, 1890.

SIR: My commission as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary has been duly received at this legation, and I have officially communicated the fact to the Hawaiian Government, and the King has received me formally in said capacity as the following authoritative publication shows:

BY AUTHORITY.

Foreign office notice.

FOREIGN OFFICE, Honolulu, September 8, 1890.

This day had audience of the King his excellency John L. Stevens, United States minister resident, to present his credentials as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

His excellency Hon. John A. Cummins, His Majesty’s minister of foreign affairs, presented to His Majesty the King his excellency John L. Stevens, who addressed His Majesty as follows:

“SIR: In appointing me envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, placing the representative to His Majesty’s Government on an equality with the American representatives to the great nations of the world, the Government of the United States once more manifests its strong friendship for the Hawaiian kingdom and its firm resolution to respect its autonomy and to promote its welfare.

“His Majesty may be sure that it always will be my earnest effort faithfully to carry out the instructions of my Government.

“In doing so I shall endeavor to show proper respect to His Majesty, and in any counsel or advice which I may give I shall seek the peace and prosperity of his kingdom. Thus I shall help to foster good relations between the two countries so closely united by near neighborhood and common interests.”

His Majesty was pleased to reply to His Excellency John L. Stevens as follows:

“Mr. Envoy: It is with pleasure that I receive from you the assurance of the continuance of the friendly regard of the President and the people of the American nation for the sovereign and people of Hawaii.

“And I am well pleased to receive as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States a gentleman who has already in the capacity of minister resident given so many proofs of the good will and kindly feelings entertained by him towards my kingdom, myself and my people.

“And I fully appreciate the honor done to my crown and kingdom by the action of the President of the United States in placing the representative of the United States in my kingdom on an equality with the American representatives to the great nations of the world, and the expression thereby of his firm resolution to respect our autonomy and to promote our welfare.

“The officers of my government will be instructed to tender to you every attention and courtesy during your official residence in my dominions.

His majesty was attended on this occasion by the Hon. John O. Dominis, Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, his honor the Chief Justice A. F. Judd, Hon. John S. Walker, president of the Legislature; his excellency, Hon. J. A. Cummins, minister foreign affairs; colonel, the Hon. G. W. McFarlane, his majesty’s chamberlain; J. W. Robertson, esq., his majesty’s vice chamberlain; Maj. John D. Holt, jr., A. D. C.; captain, the Hon. Edward K. Lilikalani, esquire in waiting.

I have the honor, etc.,

John L. Stevens.
No. 3.]  

UNITED STATES LEGATION,  
Honolulu, September 25, 1890.

SIR: In my dispatch 27 of August 15, I gave an account of the political status of things here touching a constitutional convention and the advice of the English commissioner and myself privately given to the King. Since the date of that dispatch the situation has gradually improved. The counsel we gave His Majesty appears to have operated even more favorably than we expected. By the intent or want of restraint of the King the fact that we had advised him against the revolutionary scheme of the convention became known to the public, as we presumed it probably would. The effect of this has been to unify and strengthen the efforts of the best citizens who are opposed to the convention, and to lessen the numbers and influence of its supporters. The King is not of those who stick to a losing cause.

Seeing the increasing strength of the opponents of the convention in the legislature, and among the chief property holders and responsible citizens, he is more ready to appreciate our advice. We have it from good sources that the King is now opposed to the convention, and present appearances are that the convention scheme will be defeated in the Legislature by a decisive vote. The committee having the matter in hand, originally supposed to be in favor of the convention, have just made a majority report against it by a vote of two-thirds of its members. It is agreed that the question shall be taken up by the Legislature September 29. There are threats of attempts to constrain the Legislature by intimidation and violence. But at present writing it looks like a pacific solution by the legislative approval of some constitutional amendments in the manner prescribed by the constitution as it is.

By the next mail following this I hope to be able to announce the decision of the Legislature and the final adjournment of that body.

I have, etc.,

John L. Stevens.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 8.]  

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, October 13, 1890.

SIR: I have received your No. 3 of the 25th ultimo, informing me that the majority report of the committee on the bill in the Hawaiian Legislature to convene delegates to frame a new constitution is opposed to such a convention, and stating, also, that His Majesty is believed to be now opposed to such a convention.

I am, sir, etc.,

James G. Blaine.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 7.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, Honolulu, October 22, 1890.

SIR: Though it may be somewhat outside of the conventional rules of my office, a due regard for the interests of the United States Government seems to require that I should make a brief statement in respect to a coal depot in Honolulu. Admiral Brown has called my attention to the subject and asked me to express my views thereon to the Department of State. Previously to the admiral’s arrival here circumstances had led me to the conclusion which I shall here indicate. I need not repeat the well-known truths as to the necessity of good stopping places and coaling stations for vessels of commerce and vessels of war. Napoleon’s adage that armies march on their bellies has an equally strong application to the agents and servants that win commercial and naval victories on the seas. It goes without saying that the Hawaiian Islands have a commanding position in the North Pacific. The Government of the United States has long recognized this fact. If it is well to have a coaling station at the Samoan group, how much more important it is to have one at Honolulu. To one familiar with the facts it is plain that the supply of its naval vessels here should not depend on private parties and local dealers. The price of coal greatly varies at these islands, owing to the distance from the sources of supply and the irregularities and varying contingencies of the demand. At one time the wholesale price is nearly double what it is at another. If our Government can have proper and convenient landing and building for its coal, filled from our mines at home or by cargoes purchased here at the lowest market rates, I am confident that a large saving can be made in the cost of coal supplies to our naval vessels, which thus would not be subjected to undue exactions of the local dealers and to uncertain contingencies. I am clearly of the opinion that the views of Admiral Brown on the subject are based on substantial facts, and are those which business men would carry out in their private affairs. The owners of the land of whom he speaks are personally known to me as reliable and responsible men, and I think their terms for the first twenty-five years of lease are reasonable, and that it would be well to secure the option of a subsequent lease unless our Government should decide to make an absolute purchase at the present time, which I would regard preferable.

I have, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 9.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, November 12, 1890.

SIR: I have received your No. 7 of the 22d October last, favoring the establishment of a coal depot at Honolulu, for the use of our naval force.

A copy has been sent to the Secretary of the Navy.

I am, sir, etc.,

F R 94—APP II—22

JAMES G. BLAINE.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 8.]  

UNITED STATES LEGATION, 
Honolulu, November 14, 1890.

SIR: After a session of 146 days the Hawaiian Legislature adjourned finally today. The general course of its proceedings has been more deliberate and conservative than it was generally anticipated by the most thoughtful citizens.

As my previous dispatches have indicated, the first months of the session were somewhat stormy and there was considerable public excitement, mainly growing out of the attempt to change the constitution in a revolutionary way and in a reactionary direction. The defeat of this movement was so complete and decisive that the malcontents gradually lost a large degree of their influence and gave up their efforts as hopeless, at least for the present. Some amendments to the constitution have been voted nearly unanimously, while the constitutional convention scheme was rejected by a large majority. But the amendments thus passed through their first stage do not restore to the King any of the power taken from him by the constitution of 1887, and the functions of the Legislature and of the ministry are not at all impaired. This result has been largely owing to the good conduct and superior ability of the reform members, who, with a majority of two or three against them at the beginning of the session, were enabled largely to control the Legislature. In this they had the cooperation of some of the most conservative of the opposition party. A careful review of what has transpired confirms the opinion that the earnest advice which the English commissioner and myself gave His Majesty was expedient and salutary.

In this connection I may be allowed to remark that the sudden return here by Admiral Brown in the Charleston from Puget Sound, about which more or less comments were made by the Pacific Coast press, was not at my solicitation, but was entirely unexpected by me, my request having been only for the retention of one United States ship here. But it is just to say, that it is the judgment of the best informed and most responsible men here that the coming into the harbor of that powerful ship of war, the circumstances being as they were, had a very pacifying effect on the disorderly elements here. The average native mind and the more irresponsible of the foreign population looked upon it as a plain determination of the United States Government not to tolerate disorder on these islands.

After the decision of the question of the constitutional convention the most exciting and important issue before the Legislature has been that of "labor." The sugar and rice farmers have a pressing need for seven or eight thousand more laborers than are attainable in the islands. The Japanese and Chinese are regarded the most available, and a majority of the planters prefer the latter. Yet there is among all classes a strong aversion to receiving into the country more Asians. The Legislature has passed, finally, with general unanimity, a very stringent bill, allowing the admission of more Chinese under a specific contract, with adequate bonds that they shall engage in no other employment than on the sugar and rice plantations, and that at the close of their terms of engagement they shall return to China. This measure does not apply in any of its provisions to persons now in the islands.

The amount of appropriations voted are large, considering the population of the country. The total amount for the two years covered is
$4,774,171. Of this sum $200,000 is for the improvement of Honolulu harbor and its entrance; $63,000 for the new wharves and sea wall at Honolulu; $275,500 for additional water supply and the improvement of the works; $244,500 for the care of the lepers; and $270,000 for educational purposes and school buildings. The liberal annual subsidy of $24,000 for the San Francisco steamers is continued, and subsidies to the amount of $15,000 have been voted for a monthly steamer to Tahiti, and an equal sum for a monthly steamer to Southern California. Liberal appropriations have been made for roads and bridges, thus continuing the wise and highly necessary policy greatly enlarged and stimulated by the reform party when it came into power in 1887. A resolution has been passed, nearly unanimously, requesting the ministry to open negotiations with the Government of the United States for the purpose of enlarging the free list of the two countries under Reciprocity.

While some bills have been passed which are not creditable in their character, in the main the doings of this Legislature have been such as to receive the approval of the best public opinion.

I have, &c.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

N. B.—Allow me to express the earnest hope that no part of my dispatches relating to any feature or fact of Hawaiian politics be allowed to go into the published volumes of the Department of State.

The official copy not having yet been received at this legation, I inclose newspaper copy of the resolution passed yesterday relative to Reciprocity.

J. L. S.

Whereas, recent tariff legislation by the United States has, to a great extent, diminished the value to Hawaii of the existing treaty of reciprocity with that country, and

Whereas, the history of the relations of the two countries has been such that Hawaii can with confidence ever depend upon the integrity, good faith, and generous friendship of the United States of America,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that it is the sense of the nobles and representatives of this Kingdom in the Legislature assembled that the Hawaiian Government should, while guarding most jealously the freedom, autonomy, and independent sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hawaii, enter into negotiations with the United States Government for a treaty revision looking toward the extension of the principle of reciprocity between the two countries to other articles which may be the product or manufacture of the two countries with a view to the continuance and increase of the mutual benefits which have heretofore accrued to both countries under the existing reciprocity treaty.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 9.]  UNITED STATES LEGATION, Honolulu, November 20, 1890.

Sir: His Majesty, King Kalakaua, with consent of his cabinet and friends, will probably take passage on board the U. S. ship Charleston, Admiral Brown in command, Tuesday, February 25, for San Francisco. He makes this visit to the Pacific coast for the benefit of his health, at this time not very good. I understand he would be pleased to have official recognition on his arrival at San Francisco, but there-
after would wish to travel incog., or in a private manner. It is not now supposed that he will go east of the mountains, unless on his arrival at San Francisco he should receive advices from Minister Carter to the import that it is an opportune time to enter on new negotiations at Washington relative to Reciprocity. The belief prevails here among the best informed that the fitting time for this will not be before late in the winter or in the spring.

If deemed necessary and proper, a telegram can be sent from Washington directing that the usual salutes be fired on the arrival of the King in the Charleston. It is thought that the passage from Honolulu to San Francisco will take from twelve to fourteen days. The King will be accompanied by his chamberlain, Col. George W. McFarland.

I am, sir, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 11.]  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, December 3, 1890.

SIR: I have received your No. 9 of the 20th ultimo, relative to the departure of His Majesty, the King of Hawaii, for San Francisco.

Stating that every proper courtesy will be shown to His Majesty on his arrival,

I am, sir, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 10.]  
UNITED STATES LEGATION,  
Honolulu, February 3, 1891.

SIR: Eight days prior to its reception at this legation the Department of State had received the sad intelligence of the death of His Majesty, King Kalakaua, in San Francisco, and of the attending circumstances. The Charleston, Admiral George Brown in command, arrived here on the morning of the 29th with his remains, causing a deep impression among the native and foreign population. In the afternoon of the same day, commencing at precisely 5 o'clock, the body was taken from the Charleston and transferred to the royal palace, the hearse being followed by the Hawaiian ministers, members of the diplomatic corps, American and English naval officers, escorted by a body of marines and sailors from the Charleston, the Mohican, and the English naval vessel, the Nymph, and an immense concourse of citizens. This display of honor was admirably conducted, largely under the direction of Admiral Brown, the chief portion of the military escort being American.

By a note from the minister of foreign affairs, the evening of the 29th, I was officially informed that the remains of the King would lie in state from 11 a. m. to 11:15 of the 30th, for the observation of the diplomatic corps, and in company with Mrs. Stevens I improved the opportunity in an appropriate manner.
In the afternoon of January 29th, prior to the removal of the royal remains from the Charleston, the new sovereign was proclaimed, of which fact I was duly informed by the following communication:

**FOREIGN OFFICE,**
**Honolulu, January 29, 1891.**

SIR: I have the honor to inform your excellency that on this day Her Royal Highness, Princess Liliuokalani, Regent, was publicly proclaimed as successor to His late Majesty, Kalakaua, deceased, as Queen of the Hawaiian Islands, in accordance with the twenty-second article of the constitution, under the style and title of Liliuokalani.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,
Your excellency’s most obedient humble servant,

**JOHN A. CUMMINS,**
*Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

The remains of the deceased King will remain in state at the royal palace until the 10th instant, when the final funeral obsequies will take place. The present ministers perhaps will continue in office until the meeting of the legislature in 1892, the Queen not having the power to change them without the previous action of that body. This sudden and unexpected change of sovereigns has been made without commotion and with no extraordinary excitement.

I am, sir, etc.,

**JOHN L. STEVENS.**

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**Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.**

**No. 18.]**

**UNITED STATES LEGATION,**
**Honolulu, February 9, 1891.**

SIR: Herewith inclosed I transmit to the Department of State a copy of resolutions adopted at a public meeting of a large number of influential native-born citizens of the Hawaiian Islands, relative to the death, and its attending circumstances, of the late King Kalakaua. I also inclose a copy of my remarks addressed to the committee who called at this legation and placed the said resolutions in my hands.

I forward likewise a copy of resolutions adopted at a less numerous assemblage of native Hawaiian citizens, among whom I may name John E. Bush, formerly a Hawaiian minister, now editor of a native newspaper, and a present member of the legislature, a halfcaste, R. W. Wilcox, leader of the revolutionary attempt of July, 1889, and others of similar political sympathies.

I am, sir, etc.,

**JOHN L. STEVENS.**

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**RESOLUTIONS.**

Whereas the unbounded courtesy and kind attentions extended to his late Majesty, King Kalakaua, in his recent visit to California by the United States Government, the State of California, the city of San Francisco, as well as citizens and residents in San Francisco, and by Rear-Admiral George Brown and the officers and men of the United States Flagship Charleston have placed the Hawaiian nation under a deep debt of gratitude to the United States and to citizens of said country, and to said Rear-Admiral Brown, his officers, and men: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Hawaiian people recognize, with the deepest gratitude, the great courtesy of the United States Government, and of officials and citizens of the
State of California, in the courtesies extended to his late Majesty, the King, upon the occasion of his recent visit to California, where he met his most untimely death; and be it further

Resolved, That we recognize a like debt of gratitude to Rear Admiral Brown, of the American Flagship Charleston, and to his officers and men, in their more than courteous treatment and care of his late Majesty, King Kalakaua, both in going to California and in their tender care and attention during his illness and in returning his remains to our midst; and be it further

Resolved, That an engrossed copy hereof be presented to his excellency John L. Stevens, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States in Honolulu, for transmission to Washington; that a like copy be sent to the governor of California; another to the mayor of the city of San Francisco, and another be presented to Rear-Admiral Brown, on behalf of his late Majesty's grateful subjects and friends.

HONOLULU, H. I., 5th February, A. D. 1891.

PAUL P. KOMOA,
W. L. HOLOKOHIKI,
S. K. KANE,
J. KALUA KABOOKANO,
JOHN LOT KAULAKOU,
JOHN F. COLBURN,
PARK P. ROBINSON,
SAMUEL PARKER,
W. G. IRWIN,
E. C. MACFARLANE,
W. R. CASTLE,
ALEX. YOUNG,
C. O. BERGERY,
PAUL R. ISENBERG,
F. M. SWANZY,
JOHN W. KALVA,
A. ROSA,

Committee.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 18.]

Remarks of Minister Stevens.

Gentlemen: It is with no ordinary emotions that I meet you under the afflictive circumstances which call you to this legation. I recognize in your committee the honored representatives of a large and influential portion of the native citizens of Hawaii, all equally interested in the welfare of their country. As the American minister at this capital I receive the resolutions which you place in my hands as the expression of the warm and sincere feelings cherished by the citizens of Hawaii for the citizens and Government of the United States. The manner in which these sentiments are called forth, and the attending circumstances of your late Sovereign's death, can not fail to strengthen permanently the fraternal and friendly relations between this island Kingdom and the American nation, which are united by the triple bonds of moral sympathy, of near neighborhood, and of common interests.

It will be my duty as well as my pleasure to transmit copies of your resolutions to the President of the United States, to the governor of California, and to the mayor of San Francisco.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 19.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, February 16, 1891.

Sir: The Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, an important commercial body, wishing to express thanks to the United States Government and to the people of California for the honors and kindness shown to the late King Kalakaua in his visit, illness, and death, has adopted resolutions, an engrossed copy of which is here inclosed, which is forwarded to the Department of State agreeably to request.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.
Resolutions unanimously passed by the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce.

Whereas the Hawaiian nation is under the highest obligation to the United States Government, to the State of California, to the corporation of San Francisco, and to the citizens of said State and city, for their truly royal welcome and entertainment of His Majesty King Kalakaua, and for the distinguished feelings of friendship and esteem exhibited toward him and the Hawaiian people in their tender and sympathetic care of the King during his recent illness, and in the funeral obsequies held in San Francisco, and in returning His Majesty's remains to its home; and

Whereas a like obligation has been incurred to Rear-Admiral George Brown and his staff, and to the officers and crew of the U. S. S. Charleston for their unfailing care and attention to the King in his recent visit to California, and in the return of his remains to Hawaii: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce joins with all others in this country in expressions of the most cordial thanks to the United States Government, to the State of California, to the corporation of San Francisco, and to the citizens of said State and city for their courteous attentions to His Majesty the King during his recent visit and for the like respectful and tender care of the dead King's remains, and

Resolved, That we likewise tender to Rear-Admiral George Brown and his staff and to the officers and crew of the U. S. S. Charleston the heartiest thanks of this association for the courteous attentions paid to His Majesty during his visit to the Pacific coast and in the honorable attentions paid to his remains upon their return to the land of his birth.

Resolved, That an engrossed copy of the above preamble and resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary of State of the United States, to the governor of the State of California, to the mayor of the city of San Francisco, to Rear-Admiral George Brown and Captain Remy, commanding U. S. S. Charleston.

Resolved, That the above preamble and resolutions be spread upon the records of this Chamber of Commerce and that the same be published in the newspapers of this place.

F. A. Schaeffer, Vice-President.
I. B. Atherion, Secretary.

HONOLULU, February 4, 1891.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

[Confidential.]

No. 20.] UNITED STATES LEGATION.
Honolulu, February 22, 1891.

SIR: The funeral services, with the customary honors, of King Kalakaua, took place February 15, a full account of which being contained in the printed slips which I forwarded with a previous dispatch. In the two weeks while the royal remains were lying in state in the palace, there was a good deal of friction between the dowager Queen, Kapiolani, and the reigning Queen. Almost from the day of the arrival of the news, by the Charleston, of the death of Kalakaua, there has been a deep interest here as to what may be the course of the new sovereign as to the cabinet and the persons who may have her confidence. Unfortunately, from the first hour of her accession she has been surrounded by some of the worst elements in the country, persons of native and foreign birth. The present ministry has been but a few months in office, and the best men of the islands, including nearly all the principal business men, wish the present ministry to remain, who, by the present constitution, are chiefly independent of the Crown and can not be removed except by impeachment, or by the vote of the Legislature. Under her extreme notions of sovereign authority and the influence of her bad advisers, the Queen is trying to force the resignation of the ministers and to get a cabinet composed of her tools. So far the min-
isters have refused to resign and the best public opinion increases in their support. Should the supreme court sustain the right of the ministers, which is very clearly and strongly intrenched in the constitution, the ministers will be supported by such a united determination of the business men and other better citizens of the islands as will force the Queen to yield; if she should still persist and attempt to form a ministry of her own, without the consent of the Legislature, she will surely imperil her throne. She is well known to be much more stubborn in character than her brother, the late King, but my present belief is that she will finally yield to the legal and other legitimate forces operative against her present course, and place herself in the hands of the conservative and respectable men of the country as the only way to retain her throne.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

[Inclosure in No. 20]

FOREIGN OFFICE NOTICE.

FOREIGN OFFICE, Honolulu, February 15, 1891.

This day had audience of the Queen: His excellency John L. Stevens, United States envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

His excellency Hon. John A. Cummins, Her Majesty's minister of foreign affairs, presented to Her Majesty his excellency John L. Stevens, who addressed Her Majesty in the following words:

"MADAM: It is my official duty to offer to Your Majesty congratulations on your accession to the throne in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of your Kingdom. Turning from the funeral scenes through which we have just passed, I address Your Majesty words of hope as to the future of your reign. Standing on the border land of death and the future world, of which we have been so solemnly reminded by what has just transpired within our midst, and reverent toward the Supreme God, to whom all are accountable, the minister of the United States expresses his earnest gratification that Your Majesty has taken the firm resolution to aid in making your reign a strictly constitutional reign; to maintain the constitutional right of your ministers to administer the laws, and always to acknowledge their responsibility to the Legislature in the performance of their sworn obligations. In the wish thus to respect the supreme authority of the constitution and the laws Your Majesty places yourself in the exalted rank of the best sovereigns of the world, and thus will avoid those embarrassments and perplexities which have so often disturbed the peace and crippled the prosperity of countries not blessed with free and enlightened constitutions. It is my earnest prayer that Your Majesty may be able to carry out your noble resolution, and thus have full time and opportunity to discharge the duties which Your Majesty justly regards necessary to the success of your reign and beneficial to your whole people. In endeavoring to make good these auspicious promises, Your Majesty will have the full sympathy and the good wishes of the Government which I have the honor to represent at this capital."

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 15.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, February 28, 1891.

SIR: I have received your No. 16, of the 5th instant, relating to the death of King Kalakaua and the accession of Queen Liliuokalani; and your No. 18, of the 9th instant, transmitting a resolution of Hawaiian citizens expressive of the gratitude to the Government of the United States, the governor of California, and the mayor of San Francisco, and through them to the people they represent, for courtesies extended to the late King during his recent visit to California, and of their thanks to Rear-Admiral Brown and the officers and men under his command,
on the United States flagship Charleston, for the attentive entertainment of His late Majesty on his way to this country, and the solicitude and care with which his remains were returned to Honolulu on board that ship.

This Government is gratified to be apprised of the accession of Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani, surrounded and sustained as she is by the good will and sympathy of her people; and I hasten to express on its behalf, not congratulations and good wishes alone, but the confident expectation that the high duties devolved upon her by the act of Providence will be wisely and beneficently discharged.

By his visits to this country, where he was always assured of a sincere and cordial welcome, the person of the late King had become familiar to many of the people, and his approachableness, the simplicity and amiability of his manner and the kindliness of his disposition had rendered him the object of their friendly regard and aroused the desire on their part to testify their sentiments by such hospitalities as they might offer with propriety. It is therefore not necessary to emphasize the fact that his death among them became the cause of something more than a merely formal expression of sorrow, or that he will be long and pleasantly borne in remembrance.

The many years of friendship between his late Majesty and the Government of the United States, and the neighborhood and common interests of the Hawaiian and American peoples made it peculiarly fitting that the last honors should be paid to him, and his body be returned to his people, by officers and men of the American Navy, and on board an American ship of war.

Your address to the committee of Hawaiian citizens, at whose hands you received the copy of resolutions transmitted by you, is approved.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 16.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 2, 1891.

SIR: I have received your Nos. 21–30, and 21 bis of the old series, and Nos. 1–16 and No. 18 of the new series.

I am, sir, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 19.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 10, 1891.

SIR: I have received with great appreciation the copy of the resolutions of February 4, 1891, of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce which accompany your No. 19 of 16th ultimo, relating to the late visit of His Majesty King Kalakaua to this country, and to his lamented death; as also to the attention paid him while here and the solemn conveyance of his remains by one of our war-ships, from California to Honolulu.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.
Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 20.[]  

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, March 14, 1891.  

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 20, of the 22d ultimo, on the political situation in Hawaii. It has been read with interest.  

I am, sir, etc.,  

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 21.[]  

UNITED STATES LEGATION,  
Honolulu, March 26, 1891.  

SIR: Your dispatch 15, of February 28, was received at this legation March 15. The chief portion thereof, all that relates to the late King Kalakaua and to Her Majesty the Queen, was duly communicated to the minister of foreign affairs, with the request that it should be read or otherwise made known to her, in a note dated March 17, to which I have received a response, a full copy of which is herewith inclosed.  

I am, etc.,  

JOHN L. STEVENS.

[Inclosure in No. 21.]  

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
Honolulu, March 24, 1891.  

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's dispatch of the 17th instant, announcing that you had received from your Government a communication through the Secretary of State, Hon. James G. Blaine, relative to the death of King Kalakaua and the accession of Queen Lilinokalani, and the resolutions of various bodies of Hawaiian citizens expressive of gratitude for the kindness shown by the Government and people of the United States to his late Majesty, and favoring me with a copy of the chief portion of said communication for Her Majesty's consideration.  

In reply I beg to state that I have had the honor of conveying to Her Majesty the Queen a copy of the honorable Secretary's communication and have received her commands to acknowledge its receipt. Her Majesty is inexpressibly touched with the sincere sentiments of friendship for her departed brother and late Sovereign, for the Hawaiian nation, and for herself, so feelingly expressed by the Secretary of State for the Government of the United States. The duties of the high position Her Majesty has been called upon to assume will, under the guidance of the Supreme Ruler, be discharged with the sole aim of benefiting her people and in thus obtaining and endeavoring to maintain the esteem and friendship of all nations, but more especially of the Government represented by your excellency, whose friendship has been tried and tested in innumerable instances and to whose assistance and encouragement the nation is deeply indebted.  

With the highest esteem, I remain, etc.,  

SAMUEL PARKER,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 23.] United States Legation, Honolulu, April 4, 1891.

SIR: Since the date of my dispatch, 20, of February 23, the situation here has improved in some degree. Contrary to what seems to be the plain terms of the Hawaiian constitution and to the opinions of framers of that document, as well as of the principal lawyers here, a majority of the supreme judges decided that the cabinet of Kalakaua ceased to have legal existence at his death. Two of the four judges were appointed under the old monarchical régime prior to the adoption of the reform constitution, and have been regarded as not specially sympathetic with that document. But from whatever cause or motive, the decision of the supreme court was in accord with the earnest wish of the Queen, who was especially averse to having Hon. John A. Cummins, the half-white planter, in the ministry. Wilson, the half-white of Tahitian birth, named in my No. 20, whom, it is believed, the Queen desired for the premier, was unable to form a cabinet that the public would be likely to tolerate, of those who would consent to serve with him, and is obliged to be content with the marshalship of the Kingdom.

As now composed the ministry consists of Messrs. Widemann, Parker, Spencer, and Whiting—equally divided between the two political parties in the islands. Widemann is a German by birth, long a resident here, a man of wealth, well advanced in years, formerly in the cabinet, somewhat erratic, quite irascible, and hardly calculated to get along well with his associates. He is married to a native Hawaiian. Samuel Parker, minister of foreign affairs, is of three fourths Hawaiian and one-fourth American blood, a general favorite among the Hawaiians, and very friendly to the United States. He has appointed for his chief clerk Mr. F. Hastings, formerly for years a clerk in the United States consulate here, and a native of Calais, Me. Whiting is an American lawyer, from Boston, a resident here eight years or more. Spencer is a native of the State of New York, having come to the islands when a small boy, with his father, who was United States consul at Lahaina.

The present indications as to the course of the new Sovereign are more favorable than they were the first two or three weeks after her accession. Her present bearing, and that of her husband, toward myself seem all that could be desired. It may be proper for me to say that I have it from the best sources, that my remarks on her accession, of which I sent a copy with my dispatch of February 23, have done good.

Were it not for the peculiar characteristics of Widemann, the minister of finance, I would indorse the prevailing impression here, that “the present cabinet probably will continue until the next meeting of the Legislature,” in June, 1892.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Wharton.

No. 28.] United States Legation, Honolulu, July 25, 1891.

Sir: In reply to dispatch circular of the Department of State of June 25 relative to the inquiry of the Acting Secretary of the Treasury relative to sugar bounties, I have to reply that the Hawaiian Government pays no bounty whatever “directly or indirectly” on the production or the exportation of Hawaiian sugar.

I am, sir,

John L. Stevens.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

[Confidential.]

No. 30.] Legation of the United States, Honolulu, August 20, 1891.

Sir: Touching the import of the inclosed clipping from the San Francisco Chronicle, which has the appearance of being authentic, it is proper for me to say that the present political aspect here is peaceful. All the parties, since the death of Kalakaua, have been trying to gain the support of the new Sovereign and the influence of the palace, and this is tending to help keep things quiet in the immediate present. The selection of a new Legislature will occur in January, and the business men, as well as the leading political factions, are each hoping to secure a majority at the polls, and this tends to maintain present quiet. The probabilities strongly favor the presumption that a United States war ship will not be pressingly necessary in the two or three immediate months.

But as early as the first of December, without fail, the month preceding the election, and for sometime thereafter, there should be a United States vessel here to render things secure. I have strong reluctance to being regarded an alarmist, but with due regard to my responsibility I am impelled to express the opinion that a proper regard for American interests will require one ship here most of the time in 1892. In case of disturbance the only legal force here is the city police and the palace guard of 60 men, both composed of natives and half castes, a very frail and uncertain reliance in the time of special need. The rifle companies, composed of whites, were dissolved a year since by vote of the Legislature, which was done mainly to propitiate native prejudices and to secure native votes. The best security in the future, and the only permanent security, will be the moral pressure of the business men and of what are termed “the missionary people,” and the presence in the harbor of Honolulu of an American man-of-war. The presence of a United States vessel not only operates strongly to secure good order among the many nationalities here, but it is a standing notice to foreign nations that the United States has a special care for these islands.

I am, etc.,

John L. Stevens.
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

[Inclosure in No. 30.—From the San Francisco Chronicle.]

Ordered to China.—The Charleston to sail for Shanghai at once.—The steamers Marion, Alert, and Mohican, are to go direct from Bering Sea.

[SPECIAL DISPATCH TO THE CHRONICLE.]

WASHINGTON, August 10.

Orders were issued today for the Charleston to prepare at once to sail for Shanghai. This means she will leave San Francisco to-morrow or Wednesday. She will go via Honolulu, and if her immediate presence is not required there she will continue on her journey, which, it is estimated, can be completed in fifteen or eighteen days. This will bring her into Shanghai during the first week in September, when, if the expected outbreak of Chinese students should occur, her services will be most needed.

I learn, also, that a further draft is to be made on the vessels in Bering Sea. Orders are now on the way for the Marion to leave Bering Sea at once for Nanking, and for the Alert to follow as soon as she can be spared from her present police duty. Instructions will go from San Francisco, by another Alaskan steamer leaving this week, for the Mohican to follow the Marion and Alert through the Aleutian Islands to the China coast.

The Department's orders to the Alert and Mohican are in a measure discretionary with their respective commanding officers. From the instructions now on the way they will understand that the situation in China is serious, and that they are expected to proceed posthaste to that country the moment the ships can safely leave the sealing grounds.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 31.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, September 3, 1891.

SIR: Proper respect to the Government to which I am accredited, renders it proper for me to inform the Department of State that the Prince Consort, husband of the present Queen, John Owen Dominis, died in Honolulu August 27. For several years his health has been imperfect, and for a considerable time before his death he had been confined to his room. He was born in Schenectady, N. Y., in 1832. His father was of Italian birth, and his mother a native of Boston, Massachusetts. He came to these islands a child with his parents, his father being a master marine. He was educated at a Honolulu school, and for a while served as a mercantile clerk in San Francisco, and afterwards in one of the principal American commercial houses of Honolulu, until he was appointed private secretary to Kamehameha IVth, the reigning sovereign. Subsequently he was appointed governor of Oahu, which position he held for twenty years. In 1862 he was married to the lady who is now Queen, by whom, on her accession to the throne, a few months since, he was proclaimed His Royal Highness, Prince Consort. In 1874 he visited Washington and other American cities with King Kalakaua. By his associates he has been regarded amiable in character and of strong American sympathies. His remains are now lying in state at the Royal Palace, and Sunday, September 6, will be buried with royal honors.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.
No. 32.]  

SIR: The Hawaiian cabinet, with the approval of the responsible citizens and the Queen, is about to renew the effort for a revision of the treaty with the United States, and the aim will be to secure entire free trade, with the exception of opium and distilled liquors. Believing that such an extension of the trade relations would be beneficial to both countries, I will endeavor to condense what seem to me the chief reasons why such a treaty as proposed should be made and carried into effect with reasonable promptness. The present reciprocity treaty has been highly advantageous to this country, has largely developed its resources, added to its wealth, and much increased American interests and influence here. It is just to say that it has had a tendency to carry investments and business enterprise too exclusively in a single channel. The repeal of the sugar duty by the United States has struck the principal material product of Hawaii a very severe blow, and with the most favorable estimate it now looks as though bankruptcy must be the inevitable fate of more or less of the sugar-planting firms and corporations.

It is fair to state that a large proportion of the liberal profits of sugar-raising made under the present treaty while the United States maintained the sugar tariff recently repealed has been expended in starting new plantations, in the building of expensive mills, purchasing improved machinery, and securing expensive methods and means of irrigation. It is obvious enough that no probable legislation or treaties can give the production of sugar here the prosperity it has had in recent years. It is equally obvious that a more diversified industry, a more varied business and development, would be for the ultimate welfare and civilization of these islands whose resources are much greater than the present population and the general American estimate of them seem to indicate. But reconstruction of business, like reconstruction in architecture and in government, is expensive to those who make it, whether by choice or compulsion.

A new, enlarged, and liberal treaty with the United States would aid the present business men and holders of property here to parry the blow which the free sugar policy of the United States has dealt their chief industry and means of commerce, and would tend to foster other agricultural products and commercial interests. A liberal and comprehensive policy, in the direction indicated, is absolutely necessary to save these islands from grave disaster and secure the American interests and influence here which our Government has so long held of vital importance. In default of such a treaty and policy, Americans and the sons of Americans, who reside and have their investments here, will be driven to California, to Oregon, and Washington, in the desire of benefitting their fortunes and of enjoying the full citizenship of the United States. Much as Americans may desire the rapid growth and great prosperity of these splendid Pacific States, whose great future is so well assured, it is manifestly not for the best interests of the United States to have their population of business men increased by depleting these islands of those who are now the very best sentinels and supporters of American interests here. Bear in mind that the prospects and prosperity of the American Pacific States are becoming more and more attractive to Americans here, and it is no imaginary danger of which I speak.
It is also becoming more and more obvious that these islands are to be of commanding importance in the near future to American trade in the North Pacific. Great Britain, France, Germany, and Spain have taken possession of nearly all of the principal groups in the South Pacific and of the small isolated islands in the Central Pacific. If the Hawaiian group should slip from our control our national rivals would gain great naval and commercial advantage in the North Pacific, whose dominance fairly belongs to the United States. Nothing can be plainer than that it is our imperative duty to hold these islands with the firm resolution and the invincible strength of the American nation. To ignore their prospective value and to treat them other than with a liberal and fostering policy would be one of those blunders which justly have their place among the crimes of statesmen. Nothing should be done or neglected to be done, which would drive them into the control of England or Germany. At the present time the German plantation owners and the German commercial houses tend strongly towards the United States and want Hawaii to become an American dependency, and would even favor annexation. A majority of the English would yield readily to the same tendency if our Government should not hesitate.

The thrifty and prosperous Chinese merchants and property-holders are ready to follow the lines of their interests in the same direction. But coldness and neglect on our part could not fail to strengthen foreign political interests here to the future embarrassment and injury of the United States. The rapid decay of the native race of these islands now reduced to two-fifths of the inhabitants, and the increase of the foreign population, are tending to create new political and commercial contingencies and duties which can not be ignored, nor safely disregarded. A prompt and vigorous American policy would prove the safest and most economical in the end. A liberal and wise consideration of present exigencies and opportunities, the laying of a cable from San Francisco to Honolulu, and the opening of the Nicaragua Canal would make these islands a garden, with a population thrice its present numbers, with taxable resources enough to pay the expenses of their government and institutions, and help make Honolulu and Pearl Harbor impregnable with fortifications securely backed as they are by walls of highlands and mountains. Commercially and politically they can be rendered of more value to the United States than Malta and Cyprus are to Great Britain.

Napoleon’s axiomatical remark that “an army marches on its belly” has an equally forcible application to commerce as to war. Whether the agencies of transport are caravans, railroads, steamers or electrical forces, there must be feeding places, coaling stations, and storehouses. No thoughtful legislator or commercial agent with a good marine map before him, can fail to see that in the grand future now dawning on the Pacific, these islands will be of immense importance to the United States, and that necessarily and inevitably they must continue under the increased fostering care of the United States, or fall under foreign control. A niggardly, hesitating, and drifting policy towards them would be as unwise and unsafe as unstatesmanlike. There is certainly no possible objection to negotiating and carrying into effect a full free trade treaty with them, for the aggregate of their products would be relatively so small compared with the vast productive resources and requirements of the United States as to make little perceptible difference in American markets and prices.
Believing that the views I have herein expressed are in accord with much in the past course of the American Government and in harmony with the opinions of the President and of the Department of State, I submit them for what they are worth. As an American citizen, loving my country and caring for its welfare and its future greatness, I can say no less. As the official representative of the Government of the United States in these special circumstances I can properly say no more.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

No. 28.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, September 9, 1891.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 30 of the 20th ultimo, in relation to the need of an American ship of war at Honolulu. A copy of your dispatch has been transmitted to the Secretary of the Navy.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

No. 30.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, September 22, 1891.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 31, of the 3d instant, in relation to the death of the Prince Consort.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 34.] UNITED STATES LEGATION, Honolulu, October 15, 1891.

SIR: It is proper for me to inform the Department of State that, in consequence of the serious and probably prolonged illness of Minister Carter, the Hawaiian Government has appointed Hon. J. Mott Smith, special envoy extraordinary to negotiate with the United States a treaty of the character of which I gave an account in my dispatch 32, of September 5. Mr. Smith is an American, is the present minister of finance, and has the marked confidence of the business men of these islands. Formerly he had resided here twenty or thirty years, but of late has been a resident of Boston, Mass. He has still considerable property interests on the islands. Arriving in Honolulu a few months since, he was strongly urged by leading citizens and the Queen to become minister of finance, and some years ago he was in the cabinet of Kalakaua, and visited Washington in behalf of reci-
The semiannual election of members of the Hawaiian Legislature took place February 3, after several weeks of exciting canvass. The principal issue on the part of the business men and more conservative and responsible citizens was in respect of treaty relations with the United States. These supporters of the proposed new treaty, which they believe has been negotiated at Washington, had the approval of the principal Government officials, though the cabinet is far from being vigorous and influential. The opposition, or “liberals,” as they term themselves, composed mostly of the irresponsible white voters, half-castes, and of a large majority of the native Hawaiians, push their canvass on three lines—a new constitution, opposition to the present cabinet, and hostility to the proposed treaty, though it finally hedged and disclaimed more or less in regard to the last.

These so-called liberals were led by Wilcox, the half-cast, who was at the head of the revolutionary outbreak in July, 1889, and by C. W. Ashford the Canadian member of the cabinet, who betrayed and deserted his associates when Minister Carter was trying to negotiate a new treaty in 1889. This Ashford has some ability, any amount of audacity, and is utterly without scruples, and has done his utmost to influence the prejudices and passions of the native Hawaiians. Both he and Wilcox secured their election as representatives from this island. The Legislature is composed of 48 members, one-half being nobles, elected by property holding or income voters. The conservatives and friends of the treaty have secured most all of the nobles and enough of the representatives to give them a decisive majority, sufficient, it is thought, to secure the approval of the treaty, even with the Pearl Harbor grant in perpetuity. Not improbably there may be a change of cabinet when the Legislature assembles in May.

There are increasing indications that the annexation sentiment is growing among the business men as well as with the less responsible of the foreign and native population of the islands. The present political situation is feverish and I see no prospect of its being permanently otherwise until these islands become a part of the American Union or a possession of Great Britain.

The intelligent and responsible men here, unaided by outside support, are too few in numbers to control in political affairs and to secure good government. There are indications that even the liberals, just beaten at the election, though composed of a majority of the popular vote, are about to declare for annexation, at least their leaders, their chief newspaper having already published editorials to this effect. At a future time, after the proposed treaty shall have been ratified, I shall deem it

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

John L. Stevens.
my official duty to give a more elaborate statement of facts and reasons why a "new departure" by the United States as to Hawaii is rapidly becoming a necessity, that a "protectorate" is impracticable, and that annexation must be the future remedy, or else Great Britain will be furnished with circumstances and opportunity to get a hold on these islands, which will cause future serious embarrassment to the United States.

At this time there seems to be no immediate prospect of its being safe to have the harbor of Honolulu left without an American vessel of war. Last week a British gunboat arrived here, and it is said will remain here for an indefinite period.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

No. 39.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Washington, March 3, 1892.

SIR: I have received your No. 46, of 8th ultimo, in which you give a careful review of the political situation in Hawaii.

I am, sir, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON.

Acting Secretary.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 48.] HONOLULU, March 8, 1892.

SIR: In view of possible contingencies in these islands I ask for the instructions of the Department of State on the following, viz:

If the Government here should be surprised and overturned by an orderly and peaceful revolutionary movement, largely of native Hawaiians, and a Provisional or Republican Government organized and proclaimed, would the United States minister and naval commander here be justified in responding affirmatively to the call of the members of the removed Government to restore them to power or replace them in possession of the Government buildings? Or should the United States minister and naval commander confine themselves exclusively to the preservation of American property, the protection of American citizens, and the prevention of anarchy? Should a revolutionary attempt of the character indicated be made, there are strong reasons to presume that it would begin by the seizure of the police station, with its arms and ammunition, and this accomplished, the royal palace and the Government buildings containing the cabinet officers and archives would very soon be captured, the latter buildings being situated about one third of a mile from the police station.

In such contingencies would it be justifiable to use the United States forces here to restore the Government buildings to the possession of the displaced officials? Ordinarily in like circumstances the rule seems to be to limit the landing and movement of the United States force in foreign waters and dominion exclusively to the protection of the United States legation and of the lives and property of American citizens. But as the relations of the United States to
Hawaii are exceptional, and in former years the United States officials here took somewhat exceptional action in circumstances of disorder, I desire to know how far the present minister and naval commander here may deviate from established international rules and precedents in the contingencies indicated on the first part of this dispatch.

I have information, which I deem reliable, that there is an organized revolutionary party in the islands, composed largely of native Hawaiians and a considerable number of whites and half whites, led chiefly by individuals of the latter two classes.

This party is hostile to the Queen and to her chief confidants, especially opposed to the coming to the throne of the half-English heir-apparent now being educated in England, and means to gain its object either by forcing the Queen to select her cabinet from its own members or else to overthrow the monarchy and establish a Republic, with the ultimate view of annexation to the United States of the whole islands.

A portion of this party mean only the former, and the other portion intend the latter. Failing to accomplish the former, the most of the party would seek the latter alternative. I have little doubt the revolutionary attempt would have been made ere this but for the presence here of the United States ship of war. I still incline to the opinion that the revolutionary attempt will not be made so long as there is a United States force in the harbor of Honolulu. But it would be rash to assume or assert this positively. Therefore I deem it my official duty to ask for instructions in view of possible contingencies.

I may add that the "annexation" sentiment is increasing quite as much among the white residents and native Hawaiian and other working men who own no sugar stock as with the sugar planters.

I am sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

No. 41.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 19, 1892.

SIR: The Department has received your Nos. 19, 46, and 42 bis.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 50.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, March 19, 1892.

SIR: The Department of State will not deem it outside of the duties of this legation to report that a highly interesting manifestation of official courtesy has taken place to-day in the harbor of Honolulu. By due arrangement Queen Liliuokalani and the entire Hawaiian cabinet, as well as the royal chamberlain and court attendants, paid a visit to the United States ship San Francisco, Rear Admiral George Brown in command, who had sent the ship's boats to take the party on board. By the request of the Admiral, I was on board of the San Francisco to
receive Her Majesty at the rail gate of the ship. She was received with the salute of twenty-one guns and the excellent music of the San Francisco band. The Queen and party were conducted about the ship by Admiral Brown and officers, and other civilities were shown to the royal party. At the close of the visit another salute of twenty-one guns was given and appropriate music played by the band as the boats containing the visitors passed to the shore. The weather during the day has been exceedingly fine, and the occasion passed off in the best manner. The San Francisco is the finest ship ever seen in the harbor of Honolulu. Admiral Brown and his officers exhibited admirable taste and courtesy to the official visitors, and there is no doubt of the good influence of the honors and politeness shown the Hawaiian representatives.

I am, etc.,

John L. Stevens.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

[Confidential.]

United States Legation, Honolulu, April 2, 1892.

Sir: That the Department of State may be well informed as to what is transpiring here in matters of politics and government it is necessary for me to report that the palace authorities have been seriously alarmed recently by what they believed to be strong indications of an armed insurrection. During the night of Sunday, March 27, by the direction of the marshal of the Kingdom the royal guard of sixty men were hastily put to the task of fortifying the approaches to the palace with bags of sand, fearing an attack. But no hostile force appeared, and public opinion decides that there was needless alarm. The Queen has lost much in public regard of late, and has incurred the special ill will of many of the native Hawaiians. This is largely owing to her having taken to her close intimacy and confidence a half-caste Tahitian, by the name of Wilson, who became marshal soon after her accession to the throne, and whom she wished to have appointed to the most important place in the cabinet, the ministry of interior. Responsible men would not serve in the cabinet with him and therefore he was made marshal of the Kingdom, an office of great importance, as under his immediate control is the chief police force of the country. He now lives in or near the palace, and the Queen appears to be largely in his hands. The administration of his office results in very gross abuses, and it is a striking evidence of the forbearance and restraint of the white and native population that they endure it.

The great lack here now is an intelligent and efficient executive, which it is impossible to have with the existing monarchy. For twenty years the palace has been the center of corruption and scandal, and is likely to remain so as long as the Hawaiian native monarchy exists. There is little doubt that the less responsible and more resolute opponents of the Queen and the marshal are strong enough to capture the palace and Government buildings, but the more responsible and conservative citizens favor only pacific measures and urge forbearance. The existing state of things fully justify what I have said in former dispatches as to the need of a United States vessel here, whose pres-
ence has undoubtedly prevented an outbreak so far. I have strong hopes that quiet will be maintained until the meeting of the Legislature, five or six weeks hence, which will then largely control affairs. In the meantime "the annexation" sentiment has grown rapidly. Quoting those who would seek annexation by first creating a republic, to the larger number and more responsible citizens, the chief property holders, who wish to use only pacific measures, they would carry all before them, provided the latter could get any encouragement that the United States would take these islands as a territory.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Stevens.

No. 46.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 12, 1892.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 50 of 19th ultimo, relative to a visit made that day by Her Majesty, the Queen of the Hawaiian Islands, and by her Cabinet to the U. S. ship San Francisco, in the harbor of Honolulu. The Department has found pleasure in making its contents known to the Secretary of the Navy.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Stevens to Mr Blaine.

[Confidential.]

No. 56.] UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, May 21, 1892.

SIR: That the Department of State may have a clear understanding of affairs here at the present time, I must state what is transpiring of some significance.

May 19, at 5 p. m., the minister of foreign affairs and the attorney-general called at this legation and informed me that the Government had decided to arrest that night or the next day a considerable number of persons charged with treasonable designs, and that the papers had already been issued by the judge. My opinion had not been asked, and it was then too late for me to oppose effectively and too short a time for me to investigate the proofs they claimed to have against the accused parties. In this confidential interview I was careful to have it understood that I would assume no responsibility in regard to the proposed proceedings; yet the line of my inquiries and the reasonable implications of my language indicated that I strongly doubted the expediency of these proposed arrests, especially as the Legislature would assemble within eight days. Subsequently I learned that the minister of foreign affairs, a native Hawaiian, had held back for some time against the proposed arrests, but finally yielded to the palace influences.

On the following day, the 20th, seventeen arrests were made, and warrants were issued to arrest forty to fifty other persons. The arrested men include V. V. Ashford; R. W. Wilcox, and other leaders of,
the party, composed mainly of native Hawaiians and half-whites one of them being member-elect of the Legislature about to assemble Wilcox was the leader of the revolutionary outbreak of 1889. Ashford, the ablest man of those arrested, a lawyer by profession, is a Canadian by birth, who served in the Union army during the American war of the rebellion, but is still a British subject. The present belief among intelligent men is that there can be no conviction of the accused persons by jury trial, with the possible exception of Ashford, who will be tried before a foreign jury; and so strong is the prejudice against him that he may be convicted by a foreign jury, though the evidence against him were inadequate. Wilcox and the other half-whites and native Hawaiians must be tried by a native jury, and nobody believes they will be convicted. If these presumptions should be verified, Wilcox and other arrested natives will come out of prison only more influential than they were before. Why did the Government postpone these arrests so long and show this vigor just as the Legislature is about to assemble, there having been committed no act of violence, no hostile gathering in the streets?

Obviously for the following reasons: The Attorney-General unwittingly allowed me to understand what facts and circumstances otherwise informed me. The cabinet is very weak in its makeup. It had entirely lost prestige with the public. It knew that it was likely to be voted out by the Legislature because of its inefficiency. It hopes to gain strength by these arrests of persons against whom there is a strong prejudice with the legislative members elect. Who was and is the controlling factor back of the cabinet that forces this issue at so late an hour? The Tahitian half-caste marshal, the former reputed, if not the present paramour of the Queen, who terrifies her with the fear of an insurrection. This cabinet was mainly the choice of the marshal and the Queen, has never been passed upon by the legislature, that body never having been in session since its appointment, and does not dare resist what the Tahitian and the Queen see fit to do. This largely gives the marshal the key of the situation. In a mistaken hour, immediately after the death of the late King, a majority of the judges in an era of good feeling, knowing that the Queen was importunate to select a cabinet of her own, gave a decision of policy, that she had the right to remove the cabinet then existing and select her own, in the exceptional case of the death of the sovereign, though the most level headed judge—an American, McCulley, recently deceased—gave a counter opinion in accordance with the plain terms of the constitution, for the exclusive right of the Legislature to remove the ministers is the vital and essential provision of the constitution, made in 1887, so intended by the men now living here, who placed it in the constitution, and so regarded by the principal lawyers here. That decision of good-natured policy to conciliate the Queen had the immediate result of making her Tahitian favorite the most potent man at the palace. She wanted to make him minister of interior, the most responsible member of the cabinet, but he found it impossible to find associates. But a cabinet was formed, who immediately made him marshal of the Kingdom, with the entire police force, such as it is, in his hands, with an attorney general largely under his influence.

These are the circumstances which have given Wilcox, Ashford, and their associates their opportunity to increase their political influence. While the best and most responsible men of the islands are disgusted with the relations of the Queen and the Tahitian favorite, they will not follow such agitators as have just been arrested. They wish to secure
a change by peaceful measures, and look to the Legislature, which was fairly and quietly elected, and is believed to have a safe majority of prudent men, several of them being of the chief men of the islands, of good American blood.

Of course an American ship of war is still needed here; one is ample. And when the San Francisco leaves I presume another ship will have arrived. One whose captain or other commander is cautious, reticent, and firm is specially needed where circumstances are so exceptional as they are here.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

No. 50.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 7, 1892.

SIR: I have received your No. 56, of 21st ultimo, relative to the arrest of several prominent persons at Honolulu, on a charge of treason, and have advised the Secretary of the Navy of your suggestions as to the presence of a war vessel of this Government at that port.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

No. 57.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, June 11, 1892.

SIR: I forward herewith two copies of Her Majesty’s speech at the opening of the Legislature, May 28. Of what is transpiring in that body and all of importance that may be done the first month of its session I will give an account in a future dispatch.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

[Ncclusion in No. 57.]

The Queen’s speech at the opening of the Legislature of 1892.

NOBLES AND REPRESENTATIVES: Since the Legislature of this Kingdom last assembled death has taken from us your lamented King and my beloved brother. His reign of nearly seventeen years marked an extraordinary epoch in our country’s history, an era of unparalleled commercial advancement, of educational enlightenment, and political progress. His late Majesty’s memory will be held sacred by his friends, and his successful labors in the interests of his people properly estimated and respected by all.

The decree of Providence and the constitution of the Kingdom having called me to occupy the throne of Hawaii, it is my earnest prayer that divine assistance may be vouchsafed to enable me to discharge the duties of the exalted position to the advantage of my people and the permanent benefit of Hawaii.

With the consent of the nobles of the Kingdom, I have appointed Her Royal Highness the Princess Victoria Kawekiu Rainalani Lunalilo Kalanimuihalapalapa as my successor.

Fully recognizing that by the constitution and laws of the Kingdom my station is that of a constitutional monarch, accepting the will of my people, as pronounced
by them through their representatives in the Legislature and my constitutional advisors, the ministers of the Crown. I shall firmly endeavor to preserve the autonomy and absolute independence of this Kingdom, and to assist in perpetuating the rights and privileges of all who are subject to our laws and in promoting their welfare and happiness.

I am gratified to state that my relations with foreign powers are of the most cordial and friendly nature.

The treaty of commercial reciprocity between this Kingdom and the United States, which has hitherto proved so beneficial to both countries in building up and maintaining a larger commerce and exchange of productions, has been seriously affected by tariff legislation made by the Congress of the United States, the effect of which on our principal industry is being severely felt. I trust that such legislation as may tend to relieve the consequent depression will receive your early and careful attention.

I recommend the appointment of a special commission to ascertain the most practical manner of developing and expanding the several industrial and agricultural resources of the Kingdom; and more especially with a view to enable small landholders to add to the wealth and progress of the Kingdom by raising such products as the soil and climate of the country foster.

The probability of a decrease in the revenues of the Kingdom requires economy and retrenchment in the expenditures of the public funds, but I earnestly hope that every effort will be made to carry out all necessary internal improvements throughout the Kingdom.

I note with pleasure that surveys are being made between the western coast of the United States of America and these islands, for the purpose of laying a submarine cable. I sincerely hope that every effort to connect Hawaii by an electric cable with the outside world will continue to receive your assistance.

I commend to your earnest attention the reports of their several departments and the laws necessary for the welfare of the Kingdom and the promotion of the objects I have referred to.

Nobles and representatives, invoking the blessing of Divine Providence upon your deliberations, I now declare the Legislature of the Kingdom open.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 64.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, September 9, 1892.

SIR: I presume the Department of State already has information of the seizure of Gilbert Islands by the English Government. But I deem it well to send you the inclosed slips from the New Zealand Herald.

I also inclose copy of the recent change in the Hawaiian customs rates. When the official pamphlets of laws is published after the adjournment of the Legislature, I will forward copies.

At the present time there is considerable excitement here in regard to a new cabinet.

The old cabinet has been voted out by a large majority, mainly because it was very weak and was very much dominated by the Tahitian favorite of the Queen and persons in whom the best portion of the citizens had no confidence.

In trying to get a new cabinet the Tahitian and his associates push the Queen to resist the responsible men of the islands and the majority of the legislature.

In my next dispatch I hope to announce the new cabinet.

I have, etc.

JOHN L. STEVENS.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

[Confidential.]

No. 65.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, September 14, 1892.

SIR: In my dispatch, No. 64, of September 9, I expressed the hope that I would be able to send the information by this mail that a new Hawaiian cabinet had been formed to take the place of the one so emphatically voted out by the Legislature, but the deadlock between the Queen and the Legislature continues. She has announced a new cabinet, but it is so unsatisfactory to the legislative majority and the business men of the islands that it will undoubtedly be rejected to-day; but the vote will not be taken in time to send the information of the fact by this mail, which closes at 11 a. m. The Tahitian half-caste favorite of the Queen, the marshal of the little Kingdom, and his band of adventurers, still dominate the palace and defy the responsible men of the Legislature and the islands. An associate of the half-caste favorite is an American renegade by the name of Whaley, a disgraced and expelled San Francisco custom-house officer, now at the head of the "opium ring," and one of the supposed owners of the Halcyon, the notorious smuggling schooner which flies between these islands and British Columbia. This man Whaley has more brain than the Tahitian favorite.

The better portion of the English residents are in substantial accord with the principal Americans in support of the Legislature, and the chief German commercial houses and influential German residents are in full agreement with the Americans; but more or less of the English are so jealous of the strong American sentiment in the Legislature that they support the Queen and the Tahitian openly or covertly. The native Hawaiians, composing half of the Legislature, are about equally divided. The unscrupulous adventurers of different nationalities—Americans, English, and Germans, without character, and most of them without property—are with the half-caste Tahitian favorite and the Queen. A majority of the Legislature and the best citizens of the islands are exercising remarkable forbearance and self-control.

It is proper for me to say that just at this time Mr. Mott Smith, the present minister at Washington, is likely to be misinformed as to the real condition of things, for the rejected minister of foreign affairs, a native Hawaiian, of the Queen's supporters, still occupies the foreign office, and the American deputy would hardly dare send any advice to Minister Smith not indorsed by the acting head of the department.

The U. S. ship Boston is in the harbor, and Capt. Wiltse will cooperate with me in exercising careful circumspection. In about twelve days from this I can send another dispatch.

I am, sir, etc.,

John L. Stevens.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

No. 57.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 29, 1892.

SIR: I have received your No. 65 (confidential) of the 14th instant describing the deadlock existing between the Hawaiian Legislature and the Queen over the constitution of a ministry, and have inclosed a copy to the Secretary of the Navy for his confidential information.

I am, etc.,

John W. Foster.
SIR: According to what I expressed in my dispatch 70 of October 12 as likely to transpire here, on the 17th a resolution of want of confidence in the cabinet passed the legislature by a vote of 31 to 15; the 24 members specified in my No. 70 having been increased by 7 natives, thus making 17 native members in opposition to the cabinet and 10 in favor. As indicated in preceding dispatches the most potent factor in the pending issue is, whether the Tahitian favorite and the Queen shall defy the intent of the constitution as to the choice of ministry and the retention in office of the Tahitian marshal with all the abuse and corruption which surround him and the Queen. Though he has a wife, for years he has been regarded as her paramour, and her infatuation for him is now so excessive that he is believed to have almost absolute control of her official action. The two-thirds majority of the Legislature represent the chief men of the islands, and the friends of order and good government generally. The faction of the Tahitian has with it most of the anti-American element, and this is the reason why the ultra Englishmen all are on the same side, with more or less approval of the English legation, the last simply because the legislative majority is strongly in sympathy. As in the previous vote, two English members on the 17th voted with the minority, and the three Americanized Englishmen voted with the majority.

The newspaper report of the debate I send gives indication of the drift of things in the Legislature. The minister of finance, who, in the debate, claims to be an American, was born here of Scotch-English parentage, and by plans and interest is hostile to the United States. Some years since he resided awhile in San Francisco, and it is said took out the preliminary papers for naturalization. But he and his brother are the chief members of an importing firm, mainly of liquors, and are the agents of English manufacturers. As stated in my No. 70, they were engaged in making the English loan in 1886, the negotiations of which cost this Government from $50,000 to $100,000. It is known that his plan was, if he had been retained in the cabinet, to push another heavy loan in England, thus aiding to mortgage these islands to English bondholders. To this scheme all the best men here are opposed.

The insult to the American minister, spoken of in the resolutions and debate, was in certain anonymous communications published in the Bulletin, the official organ here, reflecting unjustly on the American minister, consul-general, and naval commander here for not ordering the U. S. ship Boston to hunt for the crew of the ship Wm. A. Campbell, wrecked in a gale 2,300 miles from Honolulu, of which the consul general has forwarded an account to the Department. I deemed it my duty to call the attention of the Queen and minister of foreign affairs to the falsehoods and insults in the Bulletin communications. Her Majesty's Government expressed in writing strong regrets for the offensive publications and the attorney-general pronounced them libellous, and offered to prosecute. I did not deem it wise to demand prosecution, but required only full apology. The apology made is not wholly satisfactory to me nor to this Government. I leave the matter with Her Majesty's Government, which makes strong promises for the future. The Bulletin newspaper in reality is the organ of the Tahitian favorite, of the ultra English, and of the more disreputable persons who sustain
the palace against the legislative majority. The editor is a Nova-Scotian, aided by an Australian and an Englishman.

At this writing it is thought that there will be a "deadlock" of a week or two between the palace and the Legislature as to the appointment of a new cabinet. There is a prevailing anxiety in the public mind as to the actual state of things. The Tahitian favorite of half-English blood does not mean to yield, and were there not an American ship-of-war here, he would perhaps try to use his police and a mob of "hoodlums" to break up the Legislature, restore the old constitution, and thus render the palace master of the situation. My present impression is that the Queen and her faction will have to yield, otherwise the entire overthrow of the monarchy could not be long delayed.

I may say here that the personal relations of the English minister and myself are still pleasant. I can not yet believe that he advises the Queen to hold out against the Legislature, as some private rumors indicate, though he is undoubtedly apprehensive that the success of the legislative majority means more or less an American cabinet.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

[Inclusion in No. 71.]

Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser, October 18, 1882.

The Legislature.—One hundred and eighth day, Monday, October 17

The house met at 10 a.m.

The minutes of the preceding day were read and approved.

Rep. Waipu favorite moved the following resolution of want of confidence:

"Whereas the present cabinet has not announced or given any intimation or evidence of any financial policy which will extricate the country from its present dangerous financial situation; and

"Whereas it is essential to the commercial progress of the country that more favorable treaty relations with the United States be obtained whereby our products can obtain a free market in that country; and

"Whereas the present cabinet has shown no disposition to favor any such policy, and the present head of the cabinet has displayed conspicuous hostility toward the representative of that country in this kingdom, and the general tone of the administration has been and is one of opposition and hostility to the United States of America and American interests, thereby rendering it improbable that any changes in our treaty relations favorable to Hawaii can be negotiated by this cabinet; and

"Whereas the cabinet has given no evidence of any intention to attempt to remedy existing scandals in the police department, and have otherwise failed to evince any ability to successfully guide the nation through the difficulties and dangers surrounding it: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Legislature hereby expresses its want of confidence in the present cabinet."

Rep. Waipu favorite said it was proper that he should explain in a few words his reason for bringing this resolution. Such a resolution had been brought once before, and he had voted against it because the cabinet was then new and he thought it should have an opportunity to express itself by deeds. The cabinet had now been in office a number of weeks. Week after week was slipping by and nothing was done by them, although a policy had been promised. But none had been announced and nothing done, and the house was tired of waiting. It would be a waste of time for him to go on and discuss the matter in detail. Business was dull, closer relations with the United States were necessary and the conduct of the present cabinet was not likely to produce that. Everyone knew what the head of the cabinet had done. He had brought in a resolution against the American minister, which had been expunged from the minutes of the house. All knew that the Bulletin, which was supposed to be under the control of the cabinet, had adopted a course antagonistic to the minister and to the whole of the United States, and the cabinet, which might have stopped it, had allowed it to go on.
If the cabinet allowed that paper to go on insulting the minister and remain silent themselves, they make themselves responsible, and antagonize the whole American people against us, and under such circumstances how could we expect to get a more favorable treaty. He favored free trade with the United States, which would be of great benefit to the whole country, and especially to the district which he represented, where pineapples could be canned and exported if it were not for the American duty of 35 per cent. Everyone knew that the reciprocity treaty was of the greatest benefit to this country, increasing values 10 to 100fold. How could any more favorable treaty be hoped for if the cabinet adopted a policy of incessant irritation toward the United States?

Perhaps not the least reason for this motion was the fact that the cabinet had looked quietly on at the great scandal in the police department, and had done nothing. Moreover, the attorney-general had the other day actually proposed to refer the whole matter to another committee after it had already been investigated by several. Either that was an insult to the committees which had already spent so much time on the subject, or, if not so intended, the idea was to prevent a report and stave off all further investigation. No one had been removed at the police station. Let any member of this house go down on Mammakea street and he will see the law played openly, with no attempt at concealment, the police mixing with the crowd. Opium was smuggled unchecked. The fame of the opium scandals had gone abroad and affected the good name of this Government. The attorney-general might institute proceedings to stop some of this, but the cabinet could not take to itself a stiff backbone and cleanse the evils opposing the Government.

Rep. Kapahu moved the resolution be made the special order for Thursday. The introducer of the resolution was prepared; the speaker was not, not having known the resolution was to be brought in. Moreover, the minister of the interior was not present, and no one liked to attack an empty seat. The adoption of this resolution was no small matter, and justice required some delay.

Rep. Kauhi favored considering the resolution to-day. The majority must decide. This was the second resolution of the kind brought against the cabinet, and they must be prepared already.

Rep. Kapahu wished to know whether this resolution was the same as the other.

Rep. Kauhi said there was a strong family resemblance between them. The other resolution was really carried, but was thrown out on a question of law. Before sunset we should know what the fate of the resolution is to be.

(Minister Gulick entered and took his seat during the remarks of Rep. Kauhi.)

Rep. Nawahi said it made no difference to him personally whether the resolution was considered to-day or Thursday. But the house was sitting as judges, and if the defendants—the cabinet—wished a delay to prepare themselves, let them have it. If they were ready let the house proceed at once. When the late cabinet was on trial, the twenty-seven hour attorney-general said they were ready to go on.

Rep. Kamanoa said a resolution had been brought before, which he had opposed for reasons very similar to those given by the member from Kona. He was disappointed in the present cabinet. He had thought they would do something about cleansing the police department. These complaints against the marshal had been made for a long time, and so it was with a feeling of disappointment that he had heard the attorney-general recommend reference of the matter to another committee. The minister of finance had, with the other members of the finance committee, presented a very strong report severely criticising the police department. How is it that he does not join in now that he is a minister and insist on carrying these recommendations out? He had had confidence that this would be done, but that confidence was now severely shaken.

Another thing which inclined him to vote for this resolution was the fact that the attorney-general was the introducer of a bill—the registration act—which was very objectionable to the Hawaiian people. Another thing which shook his confidence in the attorney-general was the bill authorizing the O. R. and L. Co. to mortgage their franchise to foreigners. The attorney-general might say that was not a cabinet measure. It had, however, the support of the cabinet, which made it to all intents and purposes a Government measure. Owing to the McKinley bill, the great industry of the country had come to a standstill. Yet the present cabinet had nothing to offer. The country could not afford to have a cabinet in office which was in open hostility to the United States or its representative, or which showed that disposition. We ought to conciliate in every way the United States, and show a friendly disposition toward that nation. Representing, as he did, the district of Kohala, one of the largest sugar districts of the Kingdom, he felt it his duty to support this resolution.

Rep. Kaneali'i said he agreed with the first and last grounds set forth in the resolution, but favored the striking out that part which related to the personal relations of the cabinet with the ministry, because to drag in personal matters would only intensify feeling. All knew that the present head of the cabinet brought in a reso-
ition against the American minister. The house had cleansed itself of that matter by striking the resolution from the records of the house. The speaker thought that bringing that up again was inexpedient. He favored the resolution with that amendment, and he favored considering the resolution to-day. The claim that the cabinet was unprepared had nothing in it. This resolution had been the talk for a long time, and the cabinet were doubtless as ready to meet it now as they ever would be. We all wanted the flesh of this cabinet.

Noble Hoapili called on the cabinet to say whether they wanted the delay or not. Attorney-General Neumann said he had not been aware that the resolution was to be brought this morning. He was ready to take some of the matters up to-day. There were allegations based upon street rumors, to which he was ready to make answer immediately; on other matters he would like a delay until to-morrow. He would like to have a few words to say on the registration act, etc. He had no desire to sit as a minister, and was ready to resign at any moment. He proposed to defend his act on the registration bill and O. R. & L. Co. bill as long as he had a voice and vote in the house. There were none so blind as those who would not see, nor so deaf as those who would not hear. If the house chose to grant time until to-morrow, the cabinet would be thankful. If not, it was ready to proceed to-day.

Noble Hoapili, continuing, said the remarks of the attorney-general raised doubts in his mind. (Attorney-General: "Well, I’ll remove them if I can.") This was the fourth resolution of want of confidence brought in this session. One was withdrawn, the second was carried; on the last he had voted with the minority in favor of the ministry. Since that time the ministry had stayed here, and the house had certainly waited a long, long time for them to announce a policy. For a long time there had been a general feeling throughout the country that there was a great deal of corruption in the police department and that the marshal should be removed. The cabinet had known that that was the almost unanimous feeling of the house. Yet they did not even ask him in saying that he supported the resolution on that account. A few days ago there had been a big disturbance on the street corner and the police had been called on to stop it, but they would do nothing.

Minister Macfarlane (sotto voce). It was a loun.

Noble Hoapili. He asked the police officer why he made no arrest, and the officer said the marshal gave the orders not to arrest anybody except when caught in some act of violence. A hack was there without lights, and vile and obscene language was being used. The police would do nothing, and finally Peter High took the matter up and with speaker’s assistance a man was arrested and punished. These things were a scandal, and if the attorney-general could not stop it someone else must be got. On the other hand, people came to him and told him that the idea was to remove the cabinet, so as to get an annexation cabinet in, and annex the country to the United States. If he believed that, he would support the cabinet. He would rather have the nation and scandal than annexation. He was distinctly opposed to annexation, and was so instructed by his constituents, but he favored close relations with the great “makana” over there.

Rep. R. W. Wilcox had but a few words to say. The attorney-general had suggested waiting until to-morrow, but the attorney-general was noted for his readiness, and could defend himself to-day as well as to-morrow. So far as the announcement of a policy was concerned, every man, boy, and child in the country knew the cabinet had done nothing; so, what could be said in their defense? The same could be said in regard to the police department; nothing had been done. The matter of relations with the United States had not been much discussed in the Hawaiian papers, and as to that something might be said; but without it there was enough and the question should be settled this afternoon.

Attorney-General Neumann. How does the member know that nothing has been done about the police department?

Rep. R. W. Wilcox. Have not the committee made their report and recommendations?

Attorney-General Neumann said he had also made his report and had wished a committee appointed in order that he might explain to them why their recommendations could not be carried out.

Rep. R. W. Wilcox said the proposition to appoint a new committee was an insult to the house and showed that the attorney-general was not fit to occupy his position. He admitted his weakness. He came here and admitted that he could not tell the house why he could not carry out the recommendations of the committee. He would therefore favor the resolution. The part about the relations with the United States might be stricken out as there was enough without that.

Rep. Kawahi said if there had been any publications in the newspapers regarding the American minister, they would have his time and the courts. He, therefore, favored striking out that part of the resolution. As to the rest, he did not need to state his views. The cabinet has had fair warning. He had voted against the last resolution simply to give the cabinet a trial. When it had been here a
month it was in order to say to them, you have been tried and found wanting. A man could not talk on an empty stomach, so he favored a recess till 1:30 p.m. Carried at 12:01.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The house met at 1:35 p.m. Noble Thurston proposed to say but a very few words. He had stated his opinion, a month ago, and had seen nothing to change his mind since. The present resolution was introduced by one who voted against the former resolution. It had been tacitly agreed that the opposition should not filibuster, but should quietly go about its business. That policy has been pursued up to the present time. There were a number of members who voted against the resolution then because they wished to see what the cabinet proposed to do. In the meantime they had been deciding what they themselves would do; this resolution was the result. Two members had stated that they favored the resolution on two of the grounds set forth, but not on the other. Here were five of the original supporters of the cabinet who had now declared against them, except that two of them were not agreed with one of the reasons set forth.

The question now to be settled was whether the house had confidence in the cabinet or not. Those who had confidence in the cabinet would vote against the resolution. Those having no confidence in the cabinet should vote for the resolution, no matter what their reasons might be. All would not necessarily have the same reason. For himself he did not care whether there was any preamble or not. He was prepared to vote for a resolution of a single line. Others might have a preamble if they liked. He was ready to state his reasons for his vote, and others might state or conceal their reasons as they saw fit. The member from Hilo and the member from Hilo had both stated that the third ground, the scandals in the police department, was their main reason for supporting the resolution. That was their reason. The speaker on the other hand considered the attitude of the cabinet toward America the leading reason, and upon this second point he proposed to speak. In regard to the marshal, it might be that everything which the members from Hilo and Hilo alleged was true, but that was a matter which would eventually be remedied. Whether it was remedied to day or to-morrow, would not vitally affect the stability of the country. There had been bad administration there before. The present cabinet had the right and duty to remedy that, and it was entirely within their power. The responsibility was upon them to do it or not. They have ample power. That is the point.

The other charge is that they have developed no financial policy. That also was not so absolutely vital a point as the one upon which the speaker would lay stress. The second reason therefore contained something which might or might not be within their power, viz, to cope with the financial situation; but the third reason was something which struck right down into the vitals and pockets of the country, and it was something with which this cabinet could not cope. Pineapples were being planted on Hawaii, in Manoa, and at Ewa. Pineapple-planting could be carried on with large returns. In Cona all you had to do was to stick the top into the ground. Whether it was remedied to day or to-morrow, would not vitally affect the stability of the country. There had been bad administration there before. The present cabinet had the right and duty to remedy that, and it was entirely within their power. The responsibility was upon them to do it or not. They have ample power. That is the point.

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went out of his way to insult the United States on the floor of this House, and their organ carried on the same thing to-day. It was useless to deny government ownership in this organ. Government ownership did not alone make an organ. The New York Tribune was the organ of the Republican administration, but it was not owned by the government. It was immaterial whether the paper was controlled by the cabinet, or as he was informed, partially owned by them. He had reason to believe that the cabinet did have something to do with the Bulletin, and that its late apology, which apologized and then rubbed it in alternately, was written with their cognizance, and that the anti-American tone of the paper was an expression of the attitude of the cabinet. He did not propose to inquire whether the minister of finance had good reason for his action, etc. It was sufficient to point out the fact that there was the antagonism of the cabinet toward the representative of the American interests here.

With the fact staring us in the face, was it not perfect folly to go home and let the cabinet stay there expecting them to do anything for Hawaiian agricultural interests? He was not talking on an annexation basis, but was speaking on the same basis as the attorney general on the late want of confidence debate, who had expressed his views to a dot. The United States would never take possession of this country against the will of its people. It was not a live issue now, and when it was introduced it was done solely with a view to mislead. Annexation was brought up and trotted out regularly, and was simply a substitute for the old missionary cry. When an election, etc., was over it would not be heard of again until a similar occasion arose. Before being frightened by the annexation scarecrow it was well to stop and think. All history belied the idea that the United States would ever take this country against the will of the people. It had been the first to recognize its independence. Follow the history down. When Lord George Paulet hauled down the Hawaiian flag, what was the position of the United States? A United States frigate appeared here, refused to acknowledge the foreign usurper and, in short, ordered a royal salute.

Passing over this episode, which the British Government right royally retrieved, what was the position taken by the United States at the time of the French usurpation? A treaty of cession was signed and sent to Washington, where it lay for four solid months untouched, and when the danger was over it was returned without pretense of any right to retain what had been freely given without solicitation. The French have gone on until they now own a hundred islands. Daniel Webster said that if the French took the islands they would take them back and restore their independence if it took the whole power of the United States to do it. That was their position, and it had been consistently maintained ever since.

Again, it had not been foreigners who proposed all this. Kamemehena III himself proposed to cede the islands, and just before he was going to do so he was taken sick and died. The treaty remains for his signature, and may be seen by anybody. It was unnecessary to come down to the events of the last twenty years. They were within the knowledge of everybody. The United States had, out of its bounty, given us a treaty for which it received almost no monetary return, which had put millions into the pockets of this country. The advantages of this treaty were now gone, and additional ones must be sought. Not only was it a fact that the United States had stood between Hawaii and France, between Hawaii and England, and had held our independence in their hands, had given us a treaty, but during the reign of the present sovereign there had been asked by Her Majesty's Government if it would assist in preserving order against internal enemies. Apart from these financial and material interests, common decency and common gratitude should prevent these slurs and insinuations on the United States. It was an insult to the opposition which was not less loyal than the cabinet, and the idea was advanced simply to keep the cabinet in power. In conclusion, the speaker said it made no difference on what ground members united against the cabinet if they agreed in having no confidence in it.

Rep. Bipikana said it had always been his practice to scrutinize every cabinet. He had watched this one. He saw no advantage to be gained by delay. If there was a majority in favor of the cabinet, the resolution would not pass; if there were not, it would, and that was the sum of the matter. The resolution brought in before was carried, so far as numbers go. He voted for the cabinet then to give them a chance to do something. They had done nothing at all. If the cabinet had not power enough to remove the marshal, they had better remove themselves. There was no use in delay. The question did not need any discussing. He had been watching cabinets for thirty years, and never seen anything like this before. Why did not the attorney-general put out the men whom the people wanted put out? The fourth resolution was the confidence which had existed. That ought not to be so. A few small branches had been lopped off, but the stump—the marshal—was still there. They voted a want of confidence, and the marshal was there still. If they voted another, he would still be there; and if that was the way
things were going to go, the house might as well pack up and go home, and let the cabinet own the country and make the laws.

Let the cabinet stick to their marshal and run the Government without any aid or vote of money from the Legislature. All he wanted was to have the right done. It was the general wish of the country to have the marshal removed. The cabinet should have whispered in the ear of marshal: "If you have any regard for us please resign, or we will not be able to keep our seats." He would like to know whether, if we would promise to support them, they would make an oath that no more opium should be smuggled? Who was benefited when opium was smuggled in? All of them—they were all benefited. He did not make these remarks to assist the passage of the resolution—that was a foregone conclusion—but on the scriptural principle: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." The cabinet had ears, and they had heard his opinion of them, but they had not done anything. He moved the previous question. Withdrawn.

Noble Pua said this was the second resolution against this cabinet. Such resolutions had been common since 1887. The first reason announced was that the cabinet had no financial policy. Yet they had the confidence of the moneymen. If the introducer of the resolution and the member for the Third ward had been ministers they would not have been able to borrow one cent. He was sorry to see the disposition among native members to favor this resolution. It was very foolish to go on removing cabinet after cabinet. When Mr. Gibson was minister everything was prosperous; yet there was a clique which was not satisfied, and their dissatisfaction culminated in a revolution. Everything was prosperous in 1887, and then the reform party took the Government and ran it into the ground.

Now, after they had ruined the country and themselves, they came begging for help, and yet when measures were proposed like the lottery bill to make the country prosperous they opposed them. The Government has been run on a moral and holy plan long enough. Let us try some of the schemes got up by the devil and see how they work. Morality has failed; let us try the devil and his plan for a while. Let us have shall the Yankee plan played out. The lottery bill will give us $12,000,000, and the missionaries will put them in their pockets fast enough and ask no questions. The lottery bill will give us our gold, and Horner's bill our paper. All this talk about the works of the devil will then wear out, and people will consider it very good money after all. The resolution said that the cabinet were opposed to American interests, and not on good terms with the American minister. He would like to ask the ministers about that.

Minister Parker said he would say something on that score after the member was through. He had all the documents there.

Noble Pua, proceeding, said the idea was to get rid of the cabinet and have a better one. Did the member from Kona expect to get four angels from heaven?

Rep. Warupulani said his business was to record his vote in this case against the cabinet. If Her Majesty wished to import four angels for his affair.

Noble Pua said he had not intended to say anything in defense of the cabinet, but he would make a few remarks on the allegations regarding the relation of the cabinet to the American minister. There might be some truth in the statement in regard to the relation of the premier to the minister, but the resolution on the whole gave a wrong impression. The documents in his hand would show what the situation was. The policy of the Government was the same as that of the honorable noble from Maui would be if he were a minister. The documents it would hardly be proper to make public, but, if necessary, the clerk of the house might read them. The honorable noble had made statements of facts which he might have turned to advantage, perhaps, through himself or through spies. It was true that insulting articles had been published in the Bulletin, but the cabinet was not in any way responsible for them. (Rep. Ashford: "Will you allow a question?") After I get through, I know the question. It is true I own a little of the stock. That does not make the Cabinet responsible because I own a little of the stock.

Rep. Kamanohia asked if there had been any feeling of irritation between the American minister and the cabinet, and, if so, whether that feeling had been done away with?

Minister Parker could not speak for the relations of the minister of finance with the American minister, but his own relations were cordial. As to the consideration of the resolution, he, personally, was ready to have it proceeded with at once.

Rep. Kamamano said it is alleged that the present head of the cabinet was insti. lated to the minister of the United States. He had brought in a resolution against the minister of the United States, but that resolution was laid on the table and no action was taken on it. If that is all that is alleged in the present resolution, it is
not right to bring that up now. It is all over. But if it is anything which has transpired since, that is different. Therefore, if all the foundation of this resolution is the one that Minister Macfarlane brought in then, then the house should not entertain this resolution, but should lay it on the table. I have heard it said that the American minister took umbrage that the Hawaiian people should wish a ship of war sent out for the relief of a wrecked vessel. If that is the only reason that this resolution is brought in, then it should not be entertained for a minute. Therefore I say that if this resolution is passed on the resolution brought in by Minister Macfarlane when he was noble, then it should be dismissed. But it is put into the resolution because the opposition was to create ill-feeling here, that they wish to force the United States to take this country.

We know that every difficulty of this country for the last fifty years has not been caused by Hawaiians. Fifty years ago it was a few Englishmen who caused the trouble, then the French people, now it is the white people, not the natives. So this clause is put in this resolution to keep prodding the United States till they come down here and take this country. This resolution says the cabinet has not given any notice of a policy. The minister of finance has announced that the policy of the Government was to reduce the expenses of the Government. This was hailed with delight by the house. They may not have announced a policy in regard to the banking bill, but they have in regard to economy, and that is very important. The cabinet enjoys the confidence of the business men of this community. They can go out and get money to pay salaries at the end of the month. The house should take this into consideration. I move that the house take a recess until 7 o'clock.

Lost.

Rep. White moved to take a recess till 7:30.

Rep. Ashford did not believe in a recess. Every member had made up his mind how to vote, and it was unnecessary to take a recess.

Rep. White said he wished to have an opportunity to convince the members from the third that he is wrong in supporting this resolution. I move the house take a recess till 7:30.


Minister Macfarlane. I claim it is an unfair advantage to take of the ministry to spring a motion of the previous question on us.

Rep. Smith. I would request the motion be withdrawn.

Noble Baldwin. We should give the ministers a chance to speak on this question.

Rep. R. W. Wilcox. I am willing that the ministers should have a chance to speak.

Minister Neumann. I express my thanks to the member from Waialua, and I believe the member from the third wishes to close this discussion, because he thinks I wish to speak about him.

Rep. White said this resolution alleges three grounds for being introduced. Any man who is going to announce a policy waits for a favorable occasion to announce a policy. I have been informed that this cabinet has the intention of giving this house a policy in a very few days. It is not right in us to try to put them out before they have a chance to do anything. As to the second clause of this resolution, that the head of the cabinet was hostile to the American Government, who is the head of the cabinet? There is no head of the cabinet. The constitution provides no head to any cabinet, and therefore this clause falls to the ground. As for the removal of the marshal, this house has given no reason for removing him. If this house is to remove men as they want to, we had better dispense with the judiciary department and all other departments of the Government. The marshal is doing his duty. He is doing all he can to enforce the law. There are opium cases in the courts all the time. Two or three days ago the marshal made a capture of over eight hundred tins of opium. What more can he do? He stopped the last uprising in this country by his forethought and sagacity. The marshal is not perfect; very few men are. But he has done excellently in his position. If every man was perfect there would be no world. This would be heaven, not earth. Those who are advocating a change in the cabinet are only those who wish to further their own ends.

Rep. Bush rose to a point of order. He said Rep. White had the floor more than the time allowed.

President Walker. This is a part of the free fight, and there has been no restriction on time. I shall have to rule that the gentleman will have to take his seat.

Rep. Bush said there was only one speech that day that was over the half-hour limit. We have given the ministry all the chance to speak that they could possibly want, and they have not taken advantage of it.

Rep. Kammanoha moved that the member from Lahania be allowed to speak. Lost.

Noble Marsden said that the member had a little habit of speaking all day. He was perfectly willing to give him another half hour, but to give him unlimited time, never. He therefore moved that he have another half hour. Carried.

Rep. White. I move that we take a recess till 7:30. Amended to 7 o'clock; amended to 10 o'clock on Tuesday.
Minister Macfarlane. The cabinet is prepared to go on to-night, and moved to take a recess till 7 o'clock.

Rep. Ashford wanted to go ahead now.

Carried till 7 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The house reassembled at 7:03 p. m.

Rep. White. The second clause relating to the American minister should be stricken out. As for the marshal, he had proved himself in many respects a very efficient officer. As for opium, some was brought in only a few days ago, in the vessel S. N. Castle in containers marked C. & C. Just as much was smuggled during the Thurston administration. The resolution might pass, but the reasons assigned for it had very little weight. Some of the members had very little patience. The work of the session was by no means complete. This resolution should be postponed until after the passage of the appropriation bill. A popular vote would keep the cabinet in their seats by a large majority. One of the things which won the hearts of the natives for the cabinet was their saying they did not favor annexation.

Rep. R. W. Wilcox said he did not want to shut off the member from Lahaina, but he had already used up his extension. The house wanted to hear the ministers. He had withdrawn his motion of the previous question in order to allow the minister of finance to speak, but the latter did not seem disposed to speak.

Minister Macfarlane said he had been waiting patiently to hear why the cabinet should be voted out, but no foreign member had spoken except Noble Thurston. That was his reason for his delay. He wished to hear from the foreign members why this cabinet did not enjoy their confidence. Two weeks ago the ministry had been sustained. Since then a general election had been held and the ministry overwhelmingly endorsed, no other issue being raised. He had little to say, but would refer to some of the statements made by members. The ministry was not being voted out because the allegations of the resolution were true. They were known by the introducer to be unqualifiedly false. The cabinet was voted out for the same reason as two weeks ago, because they would not have them under any consideration.

One of the charges in the resolution complained of a lack of financial policy. It was well known that for the past two weeks the ministry had been incessantly busy working on the appropriation bill in order to be able to formulate and lay before the house a policy, hoping to keep the expenses within the revenue, but at every step they had been thwarted by the men whose sole idea was to rule the country or to ruin it. Only three days since he had informed the house that he would ask the house to refer section 1 of the appropriation bill to the printing committee, so that he could present it to the house with retraction from one end of it to the other, and he would have been able to present it in such a shape that it would have been perfectly acceptable to the house and country. It was also well known that Her Majesty had instructed him to commence with her privy purse. To-day was the day set for him to begin. But instead he meets a cut and dried resolution calling on the cabinet to go out of office. They wanted no policy, no retraction—nothing but the dismissal of the cabinet. Such a policy was unanswerable. He had never placed himself before the community in such a light that such a charge could be made. It was not true. The noble for Mani had referred to his alleged animosity and had mentioned the resolution introduced three months ago. It had seemed to him at that time that the words of his excellency the American minister contained an improper reference to the affairs of this country. The American minister had disclaimed, and he believed the disclaimer to be true. That had not changed his feeling. He was an American citizen not from the accident of birth, but because he preferred to be a citizen of America rather than of any other country in God's world. If those objections were urged against the cabinet because he was a member of it, why had the noble from Mani urged him to accept a position in the cabinet two months ago? These charges were specious, groundless, untrue, and dastardly; and those who made them knew
that he was proud to be an American citizen, and three members of this cabinet were American citizens to-day.

Rep. Smith asked if the minister was not a Hawaiian subject.

Minister Macfarlane said he was one of the last to take the oath of allegiance, and then only on the advice of Minister Merrill that he would not lose his American citizenship. He was a better American than the member from Lihue was a Hawaiian, or he would not be advocating annexation. He believed in annexation and the Advertiser was in favor of annexation, and nothing but annexation would satisfy them. Two weeks ago these gentlemen were fighting for the constitutional principle involved. That is lost sight of now and new charges are trumped up to defeat what we have been trying to do in the interests of the country. The gentlemen had charged that they were opposed to American interests, and that these struggling industries were throttled in their infancy because the cabinet was hostile to the United States. That was the veriest bosh and nonsense, and this cabinet would be as able to negotiate a treaty as anyone, and the correspondence would prove that, and he wished the house might see it. Such statements were simply dust-throwing to make it appear that only these gentlemen of the opposition could bring about a treaty with the United States. It had also been stated by the noble from Maui that the utterances of the Bulletin were chargeable to the cabinet. Those statements were utterly untrue, and the cabinet had no control over that paper whatever. He would read, with the permission of the house, the correspondence with the minister, which would show that the course of the cabinet had been fully straightforward and manly, and not as had been represented by the noble from Maui. The correspondence was somewhat extended, but it would show the facts. It would be proper to have the correspondence read if the house so requested, and he would ask the house to request that the correspondence be read.

Noble Williams moved it be read.

Noble Thurston said if the minister wished to have the correspondence read he must do so on his own responsibility, and not endeavor to shift the responsibility to the house.

Rep. Ashford endorsed the remarks of the last speaker. The minister might read it on his own responsibility if he wanted to, but he hoped he would not want to. Not that he feared to have anything read, but to judge from the remarks of the premier it must be twaddle.

Rep. Waipu'ulani thought the minister had no right to read the correspondence. In any case the house should be cleared.


Minister Macfarlane said it was somewhat irregular, but he would read it with the concurrence of the house and not without. It would show the statements of the members of the other side to be false. It would show that the cabinet were in no way responsible for the bulletin.

The president stated that the minister was asking too much of the house. He might read it if he chose.

Minister Macfarlane contended that he might read it if the house asked for it.

Rep. Ashford. We shan't ask for it.

Minister Macfarlane. Then you won't hear it, and you don't want to, either.

Minister Parker asked the minister of finance to give way for a moment. The allegation was made here that the cabinet were on unfriendly terms with the American minister. This correspondence was brought here to disprove that. If the house were not willing to hear the correspondence, then they should strike out the corresponding part of the resolution.

Rep. Kapahulu said no amount of talking would change anybody's mind. Noble Thurston had expatiated on a quarrel supposed to exist between the cabinet and the American minister, but when the correspondence was brought in they were scared and didn't want it read. This correspondence should be examined. A committee should be appointed to examine into the truth about it. There was nothing in any of the charges against the ministry. The opposition were like a man who pulls a banana plant up every twenty-four hours to see whether it is growing. It was only the other day that when the minister wanted to fix the appropriation bill, this house told him to take it and fix it. Now they want to put him out, before he has had a chance to do anything about it. This house has no right to tell the attorney-general to remove the marshal. This rests with the attorney-general alone. We have no right to try public officials for their actions. Much fault has been found with the cabinet because they do not put down gambling. Gambling has gone on under all administrations here. Was it stopped during the term of office of the noble from Maui? No. Therefore the house should not censure the marshal or the cabinet for these things now.

Mr. Neumann. The cabinet is not on the defensive, but I will ask if any member of this house wishes to speak, for I want to close. It is our right to close this debate, and I will give way to anyone who wishes to speak. On behalf of the cabinet, he
could say they would be glad to go out, and wish joy to their successors. [Rep. Bush: What, in going out?] No; in coming in. The house was like a theater, in which various motions were brought out; but he had never felt the emotion of pity as he had for the once great, wise, and truthful noble for Maui. He had detailed truthfully and eloquently how much the United States had done for us; but his love for the United States was like Horace Walpole's gratitude—a lively anticipation of future favors. The bounty, however, would not come. He had gloriéd in the strength of the member for Maui, and had looked on him as one of the best and most patriotic young men in the country until to-day. We will now look at this resolution, and see what sort of language it is written in. (The minister then read the second clause of the resolution.) I congratulate his excellency the minister of finance that he was important enough to have made so much trouble. If you had read as much fiction as I have, you would say that Dumas, who wrote the Count of Monte Christo, should hide his head in shame. He is "not in it" with Mr. Thurston. Who the brilliant author is I do not know. I suspected at first that it came from the facile pen of the member of the Third ward. But it is miles above his imagination. If the Legislature should vote this cabinet out on this ground, it would be laughed at in Washington. I hope you will not be laughed at. I am a Hawaiian by residence, denizenship, and citizenship, and I do not wish harm or ridicule to come to the Hawaiian people; and this second clause is dragged in as a reason to put this cabinet out. I am not here in defense of the cabinet. It has been said that the cabinet has no policy. Anyone who is not wilfully blind can see that it has a policy. It has the policy of economy, of renewing the credit of this country abroad. Now, he did not desire to retaliate upon the member from Maui, who had robbed him of one of his dearest illusions—his admiration of him, but if Hawaiian bonds were ever worth 113 it was none of his doing. The $900,000 in the Postal Savings Bank was gone, unaccounted for.

During his incumbency the treaty which Mr. Carter had brought to perfection was rejected. So much for American enmity. By the grace of his late Majesty the speaker was made a denizen. He was practically a Hawaiian, but first an American, and would remain one. Now, however, he proposed to make the interests of this country his first care. The want-of-confidence motion was cut and dried or it would not have brought. He did not question the motives of the members who voted for the cabinet two weeks ago. Some of them had a slight lapse of honesty four years ago, when a reform house voted them out of it. He wished them now a good digestion of the acquisition. Perhaps the conduct of these members now had motives similar to those which actuated them in 1888. He understood that a good deal of the persuasion had come from a member who gives loans, and who has offered a member of this house a valuable piece of land. He held himself responsible for what he said and he would not be afraid to meet him when he came to him if he was in hearing. One of these men was a member of a benevolent society and had not turned in the funds which he had collected. He did not propose to leave the subject without tearing off the mask, and if the reform party got its support from such foul and impure sources, he could only congratulate them.

It had been strikingly said by his friend the noble from Maui that he would form a coalition with the devil, and he had come as near to it as he could when he found these two coadjutors. These men when they went back to their constituents would wear a blush which would shame the woods on fire. This cabinet was not necessary to the prosperity of the country. He could pick out quite as good a one from this house, but let the house be honest, strike out the preamble and do not pretend that you have any honest reason for the vote. The member from Maui had charged the cabinet with raising the shame cry of annexation. Not a word had been said by the cabinet on annexation except in reply to what the opposition had advanced, and when a fellow ran at the head of a crowd and shouted stop thief, he was usually the man who should be locked up. It had been well said that no remarks from anyone would change the views of anyone. No amount of talk could move those men who had such cogent reasons for changing their minds.

In regard to the marshal, he wished to thank the members for all their courtesies, but he would say that not ten houses could make him do any unjust act—he would not condemn a man unheard. Mr. Bush's report contained a number of citations from encyclopedias, etc., which even he had not read. He had learned more about opium from that pamphlet than he had ever known before, but nothing about the marshal except a few vague rumors. As to the other opium report, he had been astonished that there had not been at least a little paltry flame after so much smoke and noise. But there was nothing but glimmering ashes. There was nothing in the reports on which a rational man could take action. He would say to the gentlemen who were going to vote for the resolution, that he could not admire their sense of justice. They could not hurt him, for he wanted no position which brought nothing but abuse from every quarter. He thanked them for their attention.
Noble Thurston did not propose to go into details. The attorney-general in a late campaign speech had taken occasion to charge him with losing $800,000. The attorney-general knew that he was speaking an untruth, and he knows it to-night. He said the bonds could only be sold for 90. The treasury balance when he took office was about $13,000. Bonds could not be sold at any price. Bonds had to be placed in England at a cost of $100,000. The treasury balance March 31st, 1888, was $109,465; March 31st, 1890, it was $491,152. Hawaiian Government bonds sold at public auction here at 113. The minister wrote to London to buy bonds at par and could not get any for nearly a year. As to the postal savings bank, the minister of finance's report gives every dollar and every cent of expenditure of the funds for that service. During that period $573,000 was received from the bank. (The speaker read a large number of items showing that the money was expended in useful public improvements.) So that when the attorney-general makes such statements he knows, or should know, it was false, and should have the decency to get up and admit it. [Attorney-General: I said it had been wasted.] You said it had disappeared, and left no record and no trace.

Attorney-General Neumann asked indulgence of the house to set himself right. He had not charged any stealing. The honorable member claimed that there were bribes. So there were. Iron pipes resting at Wailuku—an electric plant which was almost worthless. (Noble Thurston: And a balance of $491,000 in the treasury.) Perhaps he had erred in his figures. The member might have wasted but $800,000.

Rep. Kamauoha said he had not intended to say anything more, but the attorney-general had reflected on the motives of the members. The attorney-general had suddenly developed the idea that going to luau was wrong. What then did he say to the luau given at Waikiki when this resolution was up before. What about the little dinners that used to be given at the hotel. Did the attorney-general mean to admit that these were given for the purpose of influencing votes? The reason of the change of the members was that they had been disappointed in the conduct of the cabinet. As for the members going back to their constituents with a blush on their cheeks, there would be no need of that, and their chance of being returned was a good deal better than the attorney-general's. He would move the previous question.

Rep. Waipuilani said the insinuations of the attorney-general, that certain members had taken bribes, were an insult to the house. (Some sparring took place between the member and the attorney-general at this point.) The minister of finance had intimated that this resolution had been got up at the luau yesterday. It was proposed last week and given to the interpreter to translate. He hoped every member would vote honestly and moved the ayes and noes be taken.

The motion to indefinitely postpone was lost on the following division:

Ayes—Nobles Hopkins, Pua, Peterson, Williams, Maile, Hind, Cornwell, and Dreir, Reps. Pua, Koshou, Kaumamano, Kapahu, White, Kaneali'i, and Edmonds—15.


Absent—Noble Berger.


The motion to adopt the resolution was carried on the same division.

A motion to reconsider was made and lost.

The house adjourned at 10:18 p. m.

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

No. 59.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, October 26, 1892.

SIR: I have received your dispatch No. 70, of the 8th instant, in relation to the political situation in Hawaii. It has been read with much interest and attention.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

[Confidential.]

No. 72.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, October 31, 1892.

Sr.: In dispatch 71, of October 19, I gave account of the rejection of the new cabinet appointed by the Queen in defiance of a previously expressed majority of the Legislature. The deadlock continues. Though two weeks have elapsed since the decisive action of the Legislature, no ministers have been designated to fill the vacancies. The Tahitian favorite and the Queen still refuse to take the legislative majority and the leading business men of the islands into their confidence. The palace is still thronged and surrounded by the worst elements, and the responsible citizens feel that they are not welcomed as advisors. The Queen and the Tahitian have made several new ministerial slates, with one responsible man and three of the other kind; but no responsible man, so far, can be found who will go into the cabinet with the three whom only a minority of the Legislature will accept.

Thus there is here, on a small scale, the old historic issue between autocracy and parliamentary responsibility. The foreign adventurers and renegades stand by the Tahitian favorite because he is the instrument which they can use, and he adheres to them because he needs their support. In the meantime the Legislature is unable to do business and has been in session only a few hours for several weeks. If that body holds firm, the Queen will have to yield, and a responsible ministry would probably be the result. The ultra-English influence is strongly with the half-English Tahitian favorite and the Queen, for the one reason only, that the success of the legislative majority would be the appointment of a cabinet strongly American in sympathy and purpose. There are strong reasons for the belief that were it not for the presence of the American naval force in the harbor the Tahitian marshal and his gang would induce the Queen to attempt a coup d'etat by proclaiming a new constitution, taking from the legislature the power to reject ministerial appointments.

The recent arrival here from England of T. H. Davies, the head of a strong English house in Honolulu, formerly a resident here for many years, has served to intensify the ultra-English feeling and to strengthen the American sentiment. This T. H. Davies having made himself rich under the sugar provisions of the reciprocity treaty, now resides in England and has a kind of supervisory care of the half-white Hawaiian crown princess, for several years and still at school in England. When a resident here at the time the Pearl Harbor provision was pending, Davies strongly opposed that provision. He comes now with revived zeal against the Pearl Harbor concession. It is not thought that he has any encouragement to this course from the home Government of England, but that his course is his own, and that his zeal is increased by the Canadian Pacific Railroad managers, of whom Davies is the agent. The desperate efforts of that road to save itself embrace the scheme of a cable, and Pacific steamer lines to Australia and China, including the design of antagonizing the interests of the United States in these islands. This involves the plan of controlling the Hawaiian monarchy through the present Queen and her favorite, and especially by having in hand the crown princess, the general belief being that the present Queen will not live many years. Davies, who has this supervising care

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.
of the crown princess in England, is a Tory. Of course these facts, so apparent to intelligent observers here, are telling on all friends of the United States.

The other of the two principal English commercial houses here, older and nearly as wealthy as those of Davies & Co., is thoroughly Americanized and stands firmly against the efforts of T. H. Davies, and is for the United States on every issue. This house owns several hundreds of thousands (of dollars worth?) of property in Iowa and California, its head being father-in-law of Gen. Dimond, the head of the United States mint in San Francisco.

Perhaps it is well to state that it is the rumor here that the last rejected cabinet, only holding their places until others are appointed, have sent a dispatch to Washington asking the recall of Consul-General Severance. I do not credit this rumor. But influential parties have called at this legation who say that if any such step has been taken by this rejected cabinet, the American merchants and business men, as well as other leading citizens, will send a strong memorial to the Department of State against any such action of a dead ministry. I have not encouraged any such action in our behalf, believing it to be unnecessary. So far I am supported here by all the responsible Americans and others to a degree more than I had the right to expect. This so much the more impresses on me the necessity of prudence as well as of firmness. To keep the Department of State well informed as to affairs here, I deem it well to give these particulars.

I am, sir, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

[Later.]

NOVEMBER 1, 1892.

Names of the new cabinet sent to the Legislature this morning. Resolutions of "want of confidence" passed in one house, and thirty minutes after the names of the new ministry were read, and only 13 votes out of 48 members of whom the Legislature is composed were in their favor. The strongest objections are to the minister of foreign affairs and to the minister of finance—Joseph Mamohi and William H. Cornwell—both of them unqualified and very unacceptable to the more responsible men of all nationalities. As they will assume to hold their places until their successors shall have been appointed, they may attempt to do some strange things. As Cornwell, for some reason, is hostile to the American minister and to the consul-general, would not be surprised should he induce his associates to ask for our recall. Possibly they may hold their places one week, as the Legislature has adjourned for six days to allow the Queen time to select their successors.

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

No. 61.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 5, 1892.

SIR: I have received and read with attention your dispatch No. 71, of the 19th ultimo, in relation to the Hawaiian political situation.

I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.
Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

[Confidential.]

No. 62.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, November 8, 1892.

SIR: Adverting to your current dispatches in relation to the course of political events in the Hawaiian Islands, many of which are marked by you "Confidential" and for obvious reasons, I desire to suggest that you endeavor to separate your reports into two classes, one of which shall aim to give the narrative of public affairs in their open historical aspect, and the other to be of a strictly reserved and confidential character, reporting and commenting upon matters of personal intrigue and the like so far as you may deem necessary for my full understanding of the situation. Many of your dispatches combine these two modes of treatment to such a degree as to make their publication, in the event of a call from Congress or other occasion therefor inexpedient and, indeed, impracticable, without extended omissions.

I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 73.] UNITED STATES LEGATION, Honolulu, November 8, 1892.

SIR: The prolonged struggle between the Queen and the Legislature has terminated today by the triumph of the latter. A new ministry has just been appointed, of quite different material from that of its several predecessors. Mark P. Robinson, Foreign Affairs; Peter C. Jones, Finance; G. W. Wilcox, Interior; Cecil Brown, Attorney-General. These are of the responsible men of the islands, none of them needing the salaries, all being of comparative wealth, their aggregate property being estimated at nearly one million of dollars. Mr. Jones is a native of Boston, Massachusetts, in active business here for a quarter of a century, though he has lived the past year in his native city, having recently returned to Honolulu.

Wilcox, the wealthiest man of the four, was born on one of the islands, of American missionary parentage. Robinson is the most respected man of the islands, of mixed blood, three quarters white, born here. The first three are strong in American feeling and purpose. Brown, the attorney-general, was born here, of English parentage, and is said to be more American than English as to the future of Hawaii. It is possible the Tahitian favorite may be continued as marshal for the present, but his dictatorship is practically overthrown. The success of the Legislative majority and the appointment of this cabinet are regarded as the triumph of the better citizens of Hawaii over the worse, and especially a proof of American ascendancy over ultra English and other anti-American elements and sentiments. This new cabinet is justly considered the most positively American there has been here since the Reform ministry went out two and a half years ago. I am happy to say that my official and personal relations with this ministry are likely to be most friendly and cordial.

I am, sir, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

[Confidential.]

No. 74.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, November 20, 1892.

SIR: Fidelity to the trust imposed on me by the President, the Department of State, and the Senate, requires that I should make a careful and full statement of the financial, agricultural, social, and political condition of these islands. An intelligent and impartial examination of the facts can hardly fail to lead to the conclusion that the relations and policy of the United States toward Hawaii will soon demand some change, if not the adoption of decisive measures, with the aim to secure American interests and future supremacy by encouraging Hawaiian development and aiding to promote responsible government in these islands. It is unnecessary for me to allude to the deep interest and the settled policy of the United States Government in respect of these islands, from the official days of John Quincy Adams and of Daniel Webster to the present time. In all that period, we have avowed the superiority of our interests to those of all other nations, and have always refused to embarrass our freedom of action by any alliance or arrangement with other powers as to the ultimate possession and government of the islands. Before stating the present political condition of the little kingdom, it is well to review the substantial data as to its area, its resources, its financial and business condition, its capabilities of material development, its population, the status of its landed property, its government, revenues, and expenditures, etc.

PHYSICAL DIMENSIONS.

The total area of the kingdom is about 6,000 square miles. Not including several small islands of little importance, the chief value of the land area is in the six islands of Oahu, Kauai, Maui, Molokai, Lanai, and Hawaii, the last named being nearly the size of all the rest of the group. The plains, valleys, and lowlands are fertile, while the highlands are adapted to the raising of extensive herds of cattle, horses, and sheep. The arable lands are adapted to the production of sugar, coffee, rice, bananas, oranges, lemons, pineapples, grapes and maize. Of the arable lands only such as are fitted for the production of sugar and rice have been much brought into use. The coffee raised is of superior quality, and finds ready market for home consumption and in San Francisco. There is no doubt that this product can be greatly extended. This opinion is sustained by the examination of experts and has been verified by successful results in coffee-raising, to which there is now being given special attention.

The banana culture can be greatly extended, and the opportunities for the production of oranges are large and promising. Ripening at a time in the year different from those of southern California, the Hawaiian oranges can find a ready market in San Francisco, and especially in the cities of Oregon and Washington, where these islands procure most of their lumber for buildings and fences, and from which they procure coal, the consumption of which will necessarily increase for use in the sugar mills and the supply of steamers. For a quarter of a century the profits of sugar-raising have tended to divert capital and enterprise almost exclusively to the cane culture, to the neglect of the other industries and interests of the islands. Good government
and the building of necessary roads and bridges, the Government assumption of the "crown lands," and the conversion of them into small homesteads for raising the crops already specified, would speedily stimulate general prosperity and increase the American and European families and freeholders, and aid to constitute a large number of responsible voters, thus giving stability to legislation and government.

There are nearly 900,000 acres of "crown lands," and these, in the main, are among the most valuable of the islands. The rent paid for them goes to the sovereign, and the amount of the income received is no doubt much less than it would be if these lands were owned and managed by private individuals. There have long been more or less abuses in the leasing of these lands, and it is well understood that the leases have been prolific sources of political favoritism and corruption. Well handled and sold at fitting opportunities, the proceeds of the crown lands would pay the national debt, provide adequate pensions for the two or three royalties, in case monarchy should be abolished, and yet leave a balance of considerable amount for a permanent school fund.

COMMERCIAL AND NAVAL IMPORTANCE OF THE ISLANDS.

The value of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States for commercial and naval purposes has been well understood by American statesmen for more than half a century. The examination of the Hawaiian harbors and a careful consideration of their capabilities of defense, twenty years since, by Gen. Schofield and naval officers, whose opinions are on record in the Washington departments, plainly indicate how important these islands and harbors are to the future American commerce of the Pacific. Even to a nonexpert the great value and the easy defensibility of the harbors of Pearl City and of Honolulu are unmistakably obvious. Only six miles from each other, with narrow entrances backed by a continuous wall of mountains, each terminus of this natural barrier reaching to the sea, at relatively small expense these harbors can be impregnably fortified against all attack by sea and land. The harbor of Honolulu can now be entered by ships drawing 30 feet of water. But Pearl Harbor is larger and much preferable for naval purposes. It is only necessary to deepen the entrance by removing the bar of coral formation. This coral obstruction can be removed with comparative ease, and the expense would not be large. Opinions of practical men here, who have had to do with these coral formations, as well as my personal observation, as to how easily it can be broken up by pick and crow-bar, go to show how readily it can be removed by modern explosives and the improved mechanical agencies.

With a large island between it and the sea, a capacious, safe, and beautiful harbor is secured for American commercial and military marine just where the future greatness and the necessities of the United States imperatively require. Only those who have carefully examined the vast resources of the American Pacific States, and considered that nearly two-fifths of the immense area of the United States, through the transcontinental railways and by rivers and sounds, outlet on the Pacific, and have studied the data surely pointing to the vast future commerce of this western world, can adequately appreciate the importance of these harbors to the American nation, and the necessity of securing them against foreign rivals. If we neglect them the present occupants must suffer, and their necessities will force them in directions unfriendly to American interests. Circumstances are pressing, and no time should
be lost in looking at the facts as they really exist. The strong inclination of several European powers to gain possession of all the islands in the Pacific, except such as are expressly protected by the United States, is plainly shown by what has taken place in recent years.

The seizure of Gilbert, Johnson, and other islands, in the past few months, and what recently transpired in regard to Samoa, emphatically show that England certainly has not moderated her policy in the indicated regard, to which course the Canadian Government is undoubtedly the inspiring cause. The enormous cost of the Canadian Pacific Railway impels its managers to make the most desperate efforts to secure freight and passengers, and hence its aggressive plans to secure Pacific commerce and to gain political and commercial influence in these islands. The scheme of a British cable from Vancouver via Honolulu to Australia, as well as to Japan and China, and of establishing commercial and mail lines of steamers on the same route, is not an idle dream. Powerful agencies are already working to these ends, and to effectively safeguard American interests on the Pacific and in these islands there is no time for hesitation and delay. If the United States Government does not very promptly provide for laying a cable from San Francisco or San Diego to Honolulu or Hilo, it may be regarded as certain that a cable will be laid by British capital and be controlled by British managers. Pearl Harbor for a coaling station and an American cable between California and Hawaii are of immediate vital importance to American commercial and naval interests and to the maintenance of American influence on these islands.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLANDS.

A question of vital importance to Hawaii and of American interest in and care for its future is that of its government. There has been in the last twenty years a great change in the political status of things here. Formerly the facts and circumstances appertaining to government on these islands were essentially different from what they are today. Then the population was chiefly native Hawaiian. The natives had long lived under a kind of feudal system, with rigid laws and customs, which gave to the numerous chiefs and the King absolute despotic power. The wisdom and the religious zeal of the Christian missionaries enabled them to acquire and exercise a strong influence for good over the chiefs and King as well. Thus a system of government and laws was established which was a great improvement on the former condition of things. The general good character of the men who effectively aided the Hawaiian monarch to carry on the Government for years secured fairly successful administration of law and the maintenance of public order at limited cost, the public revenues being small. But the numerous Hawaiian chiefs are in their graves. Their families are extinct. The original native Hawaiians are now so decreased as to number less than two-fifths of the population of the islands.

The coming to the throne of the late King Kalakaua in 1873 was by legislative election, and but for the presence in the harbor and on shore of American marines and sailors, of the United States vessels of war, he would have failed to secure his Crown against a determined mob in the interest of another aspirant. The great prosperity of the islands under the reciprocity treaty, stimulating the production of sugar, leading to a large American, European, and Asiatic immigration, caused a great increase of the Government revenues. This prosperous state of things also soon resulted in a large increase of the Government expenditures,
in the addition of new offices, a large augmentation of salaries, thus stimulating the desire for official places and patronage, exciting the greed of adventurous and too often unworthy political partisans. Easy going, unused to and incapable of safe and economical administration, the King, Kalakaua, too often, in his seventeen years of reign, fell into the hands of unscrupulous associates and advisers. The Government expenditures soon reached figures much above what the area and population of the little Kingdom justified. But so long as the great profits of sugar raising under the American tariff flowed into the islands, the excessive Government expenses could be paid without the principal taxpayers very sensibly realizing the burden.

The adoption of a new constitution in 1887, taking from the King much of his former power and establishing legislative and ministerial responsibility, effected a beneficial change. But the great reduction of the profits of sugar raising, rendering some of the plantations nearly worthless, and greatly lessening the income and market value of the others, has brought a condition of affairs which compels all the reflecting and responsible citizens to see that the present expenses of the Government are much beyond what the islands can pay and much higher than wise legislation and proper economic administration require. But the difficulty of getting out of the old grooves, of scaling down salaries, and abolishing useless offices is hard to overcome. Nearly one half of the population of the country have no voice in political affairs, unless exerted through corruption and bribery. The voting population is made up of several nationalities—Hawaiian, Portuguese, American, English, German, and others, the more intelligent and responsible of these generally acting together sufficiently to exercise a beneficial influence on legislation and administration. But the palace patronage and influence are still considerable, costing the country more than it is able to pay and returning to the country no positive advantages.

Directly and indirectly, the palace probably costs the little Kingdom $150,000 per year. A governor, at $5,000 a year, acting in harmony with the responsible men of the Legislature, would be far better for the islands than the present monarchical arrangement. In truth, the monarchy here is an absurd anachronism. It has nothing on which it logically or legitimately stands. The feudal basis on which it once stood no longer existing, the monarchy is now only an impediment to good government—an obstruction to the prosperity and progress of the islands. Incapable of comprehending the principles of constitutional government, more likely to take the advice of unworthy counsel than of the more competent, the reigning Sovereign insists in dealing with what properly belongs to the Legislature and to the ministers. Thus the palace is constantly open to superficial and irresponsible courtiers and to unprincipled adventurers of different nationalities. Instead of exercising a salutary influence on public affairs it is the center of maladministration and of the most vicious kind of politics. It is now, and it has been for the last twenty years, and is always likely to be, a fruitful source of public demoralization.

It may be asked, Why do not the people of the islands at once reform this state of things? There is a considerable number of intelligent, energetic, and excellent citizens, of the different nationalities, in possession of the elective franchise. They are largely Americanized in their opinions and manners. They are sympathetic with American institutions. This is so of the Portuguese, the Germans, more or less of the English, and of the native Hawaiians and half-whites, as well as
of the most of those of American parentage. But these unaided and alone can not well make the necessary changes in the existing condition of things. As a crown colony of Great Britain, or a Territory of the United States, the government modifications could be made readily, and good administration of the laws secured. Destiny and the vast future interests of the United States in the Pacific clearly indicate who, at no distant day, must be responsible for the government of these islands. Under a territorial government they could be as easily governed as any of the existing Territories of the United States.

The men qualified are here to carry on good government, provided they have the support of the Government of the United States. Why not postpone American possession? Would it not be just as well for the United States to take the islands twenty five years hence? Facts and obvious probabilities will answer both of these interrogatives. Hawaii has reached the parting of the ways. She must now take the road which leads to Asia, or the other, which outlets her in America, gives her an American civilization and binds her to the care of American destiny. The non action of the American Government here in thirty years will make of Hawaii a Singapore, or a Hongkong, which could be governed as a British colony, but would be unfit to be an American Territory or an American State under our constitutional system. If the American flag floats here at no distant day, the Asiatic tendencies can be arrested and controlled without retarding the material development of the islands, but surely advancing their prosperity by diversifying and expanding the industries, building roads and bridges, opening the public lands to small farmers from Europe and the United States, thus increasing the responsible voting population, and constituting a solid basis for American methods of government.

Two fifths of the people now here are Chinese and Japanese. If the present state of things is allowed to go on the Asiatics will soon largely preponderate, for the native Hawaiians are growing less at the rate of nearly one thousand per year. At the present prices of sugar, and at the prices likely to hold in the future, sugar raising on these islands can be continued only by the cheapest possible labor—that of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Indian coolies. Americanize the islands, assume control of the "Crown lands," dispose of them in small lots for actual settlers and freeholders for the raising of coffee, oranges, lemons, bananas, pineapples, and grapes, and the result soon will be to give permanent preponderance to a population and a civilization which will make the islands like southern California, and at no distant period convert them into gardens and sanitariums, as well as supply stations for American commerce, thus bringing everything here into harmony with American life and prosperity. To postpone American action many years is only to add to present unfavorable tendencies and to make future possession more difficult.

It is proper to consider the following facts: The present Sovereign is not expected to live many years. The princess heir apparent has always been, and is likely always to be, under English influence. Her father is British in blood and prejudices, firmly intrenched here as collector of customs, an important and influential office. She has been for some years and still is in England; her patron there, who has a kind of guardianship of her, T. H. Davies, is a Tory Englishman, who lived here many years, who still owns large property in the islands, and is a resolute and persistent opponent of American predominance, bitterly denouncing even the American acquisition of Pearl Harbor. Mr. Wodehouse, the English minister, has long resided here; his eldest son is
married to a half-caste sister of the Crown Princess, another son is in the Honolulu post-office, and a daughter also is married to a resident of one of the islands. The death of the present Queen, therefore, would virtually place an English princess on the Hawaiian throne, and put in the hands of the ultra English the patronage and influence of the palace.

In the existing state of things, with non-American intervention, these palace influences, skillfully handled, are nearly equal, frequently superior, to the power of the Legislature. Add to this palace power, in British hands, the influence of an adventurous, impecunious, and irresponsible mob of "hoodlums," and there results a state of things which would put it in the power of Canadian and ultra-British schemers, with a subsidy fund of $50,000, to secure control of the Legislature, and by prompt and vigorous action secure Canadian and British franchises, privileges, and rights entirely legal, to get rid of which would cause embarrassment and expense to the United States and her allies here. As is well known to the Department of State, Secretary Marcy, with the approval of President Pierce and Cabinet, authorized the negotiation of a treaty for making these islands a Territory of the United States. Commissioner Gregg was authorized to facilitate the negotiation by the promise to pay $100,000 for pensions to the King, chiefs, and other official persons, on condition that the sovereignty and property of the islands should be transferred to the United States.

Commissioner Gregg exceeded his instructions by stipulating to pay, in all, three times the sum which Secretary Marcy named in his instructions. These terms were deemed onerous and unacceptable by the Washington Department of State, and consequently the treaty was dropped, after all negotiations had been completed, the King finally being induced by his Scotch minister of foreign affairs not to sign it, though the King and cabinet had previously given their support to the spirit and terms of the negotiations and the conclusions reached. The embarrassments and objections that then existed as to the number of the royal princes and chiefs, the small number of the American population, the want of ready communication with the United States, and distance from Washington, now no longer stand in the way of making Hawaii a well-governed and prosperous United States Territory. The reasons for annexation in 1854 were certainly much less adequate and pressing than they are now.

THE EXISTING BUSINESS STATUS.

It is well to consider the existing state of things here resulting from the change in the United States sugar tariff. Only personal observation and a careful investigation of the facts can give one an adequate idea of the severe blow sugar raising here has received. The production of sugar being the main business of the islands, the great reduction of the market price has affected powerfully the entire affairs and condition of the islands. I think it understating the truth to express the opinion that the loss to the owners of the sugar plantations and mills, etc., and the consequent depreciation of other property by the passage of the McKinley bill, wise and beneficial as that measure is proving to be for the vast interests of the United States, has not been less than $12,000,000, a large portion of this loss falling on Americans residing here and in California. Unless some positive measures of relief be granted, the depreciation of sugar property here will continue to go on. Wise, bold action by the United States will rescue the property
holders from great losses, give the islands a government which will put
an end to a worse than useless expenditure of a large proportion of
the revenues of the country, using them for the building of roads and
bridges, thus helping to develop the natural resources of the islands,
aiding to diversify the industries and to increase the number of the
responsible citizens.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

One of two courses seems to me absolutely necessary to be followed,
either bold and vigorous measures for annexation or a "customs union,"
an ocean cable from the Californian coast to Honolulu, Pearl Harbor
perpetually ceded to the United States, with an implied but not nec-
essarily stipulated American protectorate over the islands. I believe
the former to be the better, that which will prove much the more
advantageous to the islands, and the cheapest and least embarrassing
in the end for the United States. If it was wise for the United
States, through Secretary Marcy, thirty-eight years ago, to offer to
expend $100,000 to secure a treaty of annexation, it certainly can not be
chimerical or unwise to expend $100,000 to secure annexation in the near
future. To-day the United States has five times the wealth she pos-
sessed in 1854, and the reasons now existing for annexation are much
stronger than they were then. I can not refrain from expressing the
opinion with emphasis that the golden hour is near at hand. A per-
petual customs union and the acquisition of Pearl Harbor, with an im-
plied protectorate, must be regarded as the only allowable alternative.
This would require the continual presence in the harbor of Honolulu
of a United States vessel of war and the constant watchfulness of the
United States minister while the present bungling, unsettled, and
expensive political rule would go on, retarding the development of the
islands, leaving at the end of twenty-five years more embarrassment to
annexation than exists to-day, the property far less valuable, and the
population less American than they would be if annexation were
soon realized.

It may be said that annexation would involve the obligation of pay-
ing to the Hawaiian sugar-producers the same rate of bounties now
paid to American producers, thus imposing too heavy a demand on the
United States Treasury. It is a sufficient answer to this objection to
say that it could be specifically provided in the terms of annexation
that the United States Government should pay 6 mills per pound—
$12 per ton—to the Hawaiian sugar-raisers, and this only so long as
the present sugar-bounty system of the United States shall be main-
tained. Careful inquiry and investigation bring me to the conclusion
that this small bounty would tide the Hawaiian sugar-planters over
their present alarming condition and save the islands from general
business depression and financial disaster. Could justice to American
interests in the islands and care for their future welfare do less than
this?

To give Hawaii a highly favorable treaty while she remains outside
the American Union would necessarily give the same advantages to
hostile foreigners, those who would continue to antagonize our com-
mercial and political interests here, as well as those of American blood
and sympathies. It is a well authenticated fact that the American
sentiment here in 1890, the last year of the great prosperity under the
sugar provisions of the reciprocity treaty, was much less manifest than
before that treaty had gone into effect, and less pronounced than when
Secretary Marcy authorized the negotiation of the annexation treaty in 1851. It is equally true that the desire here at this time for annexation is much stronger than in 1889. Besides, so long as the islands retain their own independent government there remains the possibility that England or the Canadian Dominion might secure one of the Hawaiian harbors for a coaling station. Annexation excludes all dangers of this kind.

Which of the two lines of policy and action shall be adopted our statesmen and our Government must decide. Certain it is that the interests of the United States and the welfare of these islands will not permit the continuance of the existing state and tendency of things. Having for so many years extended a helping hand to the islands and encouraged the American residents and their friends at home to the extent we have, we can not refrain now from aiding them with vigorous measures, without injury to ourselves and those of our "kith and kin" and without neglecting American opportunities that never seemed so obvious and pressing as they do now. I have no doubt that the more thoroughly the bed rock and controlling facts touching the Hawaiian problem are understood by our Government and by the American public, the more readily they will be inclined to approve the views I have expressed so inadequately in this communication.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

John L. Stevens.

Hon. John W. Foster,
Secretary of State.

NOTE.—On the following pages will be found statistics from the Hawaiian census reports of 1890, touching the population, the different nationalities, the principal property owners, the amount of Government revenues and expenditures, Government property, etc., which will help elucidate the views I have expressed in the preceding pages.

J. L. S.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 75.] United States Legation,
Honolulu, November 28, 1892.

SIR: Your dispatch No. 62 of November 8 received. Hereafter I will comply as nearly as practicable with your suggestion that I separate my reports into two classes, one of an "open historical aspect" and the other of a "strictly reserved and confidential character."

My dispatch 74, marked confidential, was written and copied before your 62 was received. The reason why I have deemed it necessary to consider most of my dispatches confidential is because of the peculiar state of things here. Anything which gets out in Washington in relation to affairs here is sure at once to be taken up by San Francisco papers, some of which are highly sensational. These newspapers are brought here in large numbers by the mail steamer, not followed by another usually before two weeks. Thus a falsehood or misrepresentation stands here unrefuted for two weeks, doing mischief.

So far the new cabinet holds well and gives satisfaction to the responsible men of the islands.

I am, etc.,

John L. Stevens
Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

No. 65.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 1, 1892.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of dispatches numbered 47-73 and 53 B.
I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

No. 67.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 23, 1892.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 74, of the 20th of November, marked “confidential,” relative to the financial and political condition of Hawaii, which has been read with interest.
I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

No. 68.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 23, 1892.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 75, of the 28th ultimo, regarding confidential dispatches.
I am, sir,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

[Telegram.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, H. I., January 18, 1893.

Events in Hawaii in the past few days have moved rapidly. An entire overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the establishment of a provisional government in the interest of the whole people of the islands, without the sacrifice of a single life. The new Government is in full possession of the islands and was promptly recognized by all the diplomatic representatives. The four men of whom it is composed are of high character, one of whom resigned his position as one of the supreme judges to assume the place. Full dispatches by the mail leaving Honolulu to-day by special steamer.

STEVENS,
United States Minister.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 79.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, January 18, 1893.

SIR: In my 73, of November 8, I gave full information of the surrender of the Queen to the wishes of the Legislature by the formation of a ministry composed of men of intelligence and wealth, possessing the entire confidence of the business men and the more responsible citizens of the country. But this surrender of the Queen and of those surrounding her was only seeming. As soon as the principal appropriations had been voted and the legislative work was nearly concluded, several of the best members having already left for their homes, a remarkable conspiracy was revealed.

The undersigned, for the first time since he has been at the head of this legation, January 4 took passage for Hilo and the volcano on the U. S. S. Boston for the benefit of the health of himself and of his daughter, it being also desirable that the town of the second importance in the islands should have this attention at the time the Boston was making a visit to Hawaii, the chief island in the group. Beyond all doubt, immediately after the Boston and myself had left Honolulu the unscrupulous adventurers around the Queen improved the opportunity to push through the Legislature an astounding lottery franchise with the obvious intent to sell it out to the Louisiana lottery men. This was worked by some of the same parties supposed to be of the powerful opium ring whose four points of operation are Vancouver, San Francisco, Honolulu, and Hongkong. They distributed the lottery stock among the native members of the Legislature in large figures.

Notwithstanding the strong opposition of all the best people of the islands, including whites and natives, and the emphatic opposition of the chamber of commerce, the Queen and her palace favorite gave their warmest support to the lottery bill and signed it at once. She was to be immediately compensated by being allowed to proclaim a new constitution, restoring to the Crown the old despotic prerogatives in direct violation of the existing constitution, which provides for the only mode of change, which is by the action of successive legislatures.

Returning on the Boston from our Hilo trip on the 14th instant, we found the Legislature was to be prorogued at 12 a.m., one half hour after my arrival at the legation. The prorogation completed, members of the Legislature, diplomatic corps, judges of the supreme court, and other officials went to the palace by invitation. In the meantime it began to be known in public circles the Queen's intention to proclaim the revolutionary constitution. This resulted in raising an excitement which alarmed her confidants and caused some of them to draw back. This consumed time, so that she could not secure the signatures of her new cabinet as she had expected. In the meantime the diplomatic corps grew weary and left the palace, realizing that the invitation to be present was a trick.

As I had just returned, weary from my voyage, I had not received the invitation, the chamberlain knowing I was absent when he invited the English, Portuguese, French, and Japanese diplomatic representatives the day before. In the short meanwhile I had suspected the trick. Finally, the Queen appeared in the throne room, before the supreme judges and other officials, in an extreme passion of anger, and avowed her purpose to postpone her revolutionary constitution for a brief period, and then went upon the balcony and spoke with great passion in the same strain to those around the palace, principally her
retainers and the royal guard, her determination to proclaim her constitution at another time. What I have described as to the lottery legislation, the forcing out of the responsible cabinet of November 8 and appointing the lottery cabinet, two of whom had been voted out of the ministry during the legislative session by a two-thirds vote for the best of reasons. It was the lottery bribe and the autocratic design of the Queen that quickly precipitated events.

A mass meeting of the citizens was called to meet on Monday, the 16th, at 2 p. m., which assembled in the largest hall in the city. Short as was the notice, over 1,300 of the principal citizens of Honolulu and from other islands, who happened to be in the city, were in attendance. This meeting included merchants, bankers, professional men, the principal business men, and the mechanics, the chief German and some of the leading English merchants and other nationalities, as well as American residents. It is said such an assemblage was never before equaled in Honolulu. Intelligent American visitors here say that such a public meeting would do credit to a meeting of a similar class of citizens in our best American cities.

The assemblage was a unit in feeling and purpose. The speeches and resolutions are on the printed slips I herewith inclose. This remarkable uprising of the best citizens, including nearly all of the chief property holders, the Tahitian marshal and palace favorite did not dare attempt to suppress. A committee of public safety was at once created to meet the emergency and to prevent anarchy and riot. It was fortunate that the Boston was in the harbor. The committee on public safety called on me for aid. I promptly addressed to the commander of the Boston, Capt. G. S. Wiltse, the following note:

United States Legation, 
Honolulu, January 16, 1893.

Sir: In view of the existing critical circumstances in Honolulu, including an inadequate legal force, I request you to land marines and sailors from the ship under your command for the protection of the United States legation and United States consulate, and to secure the safety of American life and property.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN L. STEVENS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States,
Capt. G. C. Wiltse,
Commander U. S. S. Boston.

A copy of the call of the committee of public safety for aid is inclosed.

Promptly the men from the Boston were landed. Detachments were placed around the legation and the consulate, the principal members having marched to a central hall for shelter and headquarters; the night being at hand, the public anxiety being especially strong as to what might be done by irresponsible persons in the night, the landing of the men of the Boston so promptly gave immediate relief to the public anxiety.

As soon as practicable a Provisional Government was constituted, composed of four highly respectable men, with Judge Dole at the head, he having resigned his place on the supreme bench to assume this responsibility. He was born in Honolulu, of American parentage, educated here and in the United States, and is of the highest reputation among all citizens, both natives and whites. P. C. Jones is a native of Boston, Mass., wealthy, possessing property interests in the islands, and a resident here for many years. The other two members are of the highest respectability. The committee of public safety forthwith
took possession of the Government buildings, archives, and treasury, and installed the Provisional Government at the heads of the respective departments. This being an accomplished fact, I promptly recognized the Provisional Government as the de facto Government of the Hawaiian Islands. The English minister, the Portuguese chargé d'affaires, the French and the Japanese commissioners promptly did the same; these, with myself, being the only members of the diplomatic corps residing here.

All is quiet here now. Without the sacrifice of a single life this change of government has been accomplished. Language can hardly express the enthusiasm and the profound feeling of relief at this peaceful and salutary change of government. The underlying cause of this profound feeling among the citizens is the hope that the United States Government will allow these islands to pass to American control and become American soil. A commission of citizens, duly accredited, will go by the steamer that takes this dispatch to Washington, to state the wishes of the Provisional Government and of the responsible people of the islands, and to give a complete account of the existing state of things here.

It is proper that I should add, that the presence of the Boston here has been of the highest importance, and the behavior of officers and men has been admirable. Capt. Wiltse has exercised prudence and great firmness, while he and the undersigned have recognized only accomplished facts and have not allowed the use of the United States force for any but the most conservative reasons.

I am, sir,

Written copy by future mail.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 73]

PROCLAMATION.

In its earlier history Hawaii possessed a constitutional government honestly and economically administered in the public interest.

The Crown called to its assistance as advisers able, honest, and conservative men, whose integrity was unquestioned even by their political opponents.

The stability of the Government was assured, armed resistance and revolution unthought of, popular rights were respected, and the privileges of the subject from time to time increased and the prerogatives of the sovereign diminished by the voluntary acts of the successive Kings.

With very few exceptions this state of affairs continued until the expiration of the first few years of the reign of His late Majesty Kalakaua. At this time a change was discernible in the spirit animating the Chief Executive and in the influences surrounding the throne. A steadily increasing disposition was manifested on the part of the King to extend the royal prerogatives; to favor adventurers and persons of no character or standing in the community; to encroach upon the rights and privileges of the people by steadily increasing corruption of electors, and by means of the power and influence of officeholders and other corrupt means to illegitimately influence the elections, resulting in the final absolute control of not only the executive and legislative, but to a certain extent the judicial departments of the Government in the interests of absolutism.

This finally resulted in the revulsion of feeling and popular uprising of 1887, which wrested from the King a large portion of his ill-gotten powers.

The leaders of this movement were not seeking personal aggrandizement, political power, or the suppression of the native Government. If this had been their object it could easily have been accomplished, for they had the absolute control of the situation.

Their object was to secure responsible Government through a representative cabinet, supported by and responsible to the people's elected representatives. A clause
to this effect was inserted in the constitution, and subsequently enacted by law by the Legislature, specifically covering the ground that in all matters concerning the state the sovereign was to act by and with the advice of the cabinet, and only by and with such advice.

The King willingly agreed to such proposition, expressed regret for the past, and voluntarily promised for the future.

Almost from the date of such agreement and promises up to the time of his death the history of the Government has been a continual struggle between the King on the one hand and the cabinet and Legislature on the other, the former constantly endeavoring by every available form of influence and evasion to ignore his promises and agreements and regain his lost powers.

This conflict upon several occasions came to a crisis, followed each time by submission on the part of His Majesty, by renewed expressions of regret and promises to abide by the constitutional and legal restrictions in the future. In each instance such promise was kept until a further opportunity presented itself, when the conflict was renewed in defiance and regardless of all previous pledges.

Upon the accession of Her Majesty Lilinokalani, for a brief period the hope prevailed that a new policy would be adopted. This hope was soon blasted by her immediately entering into conflict with the existing cabinet, who held office with the approval of a large majority of the Legislature, resulting in the triumph of the Queen and the removal of the cabinet. The appointment of a new cabinet subservient to her wishes and their continuance in office until a recent date gave no opportunity for further indication of the policy which would be pursued by Her Majesty until the opening of the Legislature in May of 1892.

The recent history of that session has shown a stubborn determination on the part of Her Majesty to follow the tactics of her late brother and in all possible ways to secure an extension of the royal prerogatives and an abridgment of popular rights.

During the latter part of the session the Legislature was repulsed with corruption; bribery and other illegitimate influences were openly utilized to secure the desired end, resulting in the final complete overthrow of all opposition and the inauguration of a cabinet arbitrarily selected by Her Majesty in complete defiance of constitutional principles and popular representation.

Notwithstanding such result the defeated party peaceably submitted to the situation.

Not content with her victory Her Majesty proceeded on the last day of the session to arbitrarily arrogate to herself the right to promulgate a new constitution, which proposed, among other things, to disfranchise over one-fourth of the voters and the owners of nine-tenths of the private property of the Kingdom, to abolish the elected upper house of the Legislature and to substitute in place thereof an appointive one, to be appointed by the Sovereign.

The detailed history of this attempt and the succeeding events in connection therewith is given in the report of the committee of public safety to the citizens of Honolulu and the resolution adopted at the mass meeting held on the 16th instant, the correctness of which report and the propriety of which resolution is hereby specifically affirmed.

The constitutional evolution indicated has slowly and steadily, though reluctantly and regretfully, convinced an overwhelming majority of the conservative and responsible members of the community that independent, constitutional, representative, and responsible government, able to protect itself from revolutionary uprisings and royal aggression, is no longer possible in Hawaii under the existing system of government.

Five uprisings or conspiracies against the Government have occurred within five years and seven months. It is firmly believed that the culminating revolutionary attempt of last Saturday will, unless radical measures are taken, wreck our already damaged credit abroad and precipitate to final ruin our already overstrained financial condition; and the guarantees of protection to life, liberty, and property will steadily decrease and the political situation rapidly grow worse.

In this belief, and also in the firm belief that the action hereby taken is and will be for the best personal, political, and property interests of every citizen of the land—

We, citizens and residents of the Hawaiian Islands, organized and acting for the public safety and the common good, hereby proclaim as follows:

(1) The Hawaiian monarchical system of government is hereby abrogated.

(2) A Provisional Government for the control and management of public affairs and the protection of the public peace is hereby established, to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.

(3) Such Provisional Government shall consist of an executive council of four members, who are hereby declared to be Sanford B. Dole, James A. King, Peter C. Jones, William O. Smith, who shall administer the executive departments of the Government, the first named acting as president and chairman of such council and
administering the department of foreign affairs, and the others severally administering the departments of interior, finance, and attorney-general, respectively, in the order in which they are above enumerated, according to existing Hawaiian law as far as may be consistent with this proclamation; and also of an advisory council, which shall consist of fourteen members, who are hereby declared to be S. M. Damon, L. A. Thurston, J. Emmeluth, J. H. McCandless, F. W. McChesney, W. R. Castle, W. C. Wilder, A. Brown, J. F. Morgan, H. Waterhouse, E. D. Tenney, F. Wilhelm, W. G. Ashley, C. Bolte. Such advisory council shall also have general legislative authority.

Such executive and advisory council shall, acting jointly, have power to remove any member of either council and to fill such or any other vacancy.

(4) All officers under the existing Government are hereby requested to continue to exercise their functions and perform the duties of their respective offices, with the exception of the following-named persons: Queen Liliuokalani; Charles B. Wilson, marshal; Samuel Parker, minister of foreign affairs; W. H. Cornwell, minister of finance; John F. Colburn, minister of the interior; Arthur P. Peterson, attorney-general; who are hereby removed from office.

(5) All Hawaiian laws and constitutional principles not inconsistent herewith shall continue in force until further order of the executive and advisory councils.

Henry E. Cooper,
Andrew Brown,
J. A. McCandless,
Theodore F. Lansing,
John Emmeluth,
C. Bolte,
E. Suhr,
Henry Waterhouse,
W. C. Wilder,
F. W. McChesney,
William O. Smith.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 79.]

Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 17, 1893.

Str: The undersigned, members of the executive and advisory councils of the Provisional Government this day established in Hawaii, hereby state to you that for the reasons set forth in the proclamation this day issued, a copy of which is herewith inclosed for your consideration, the Hawaiian monarchy has been abrogated and a Provisional Government established in accordance with the said above-mentioned proclamation.

Such Provisional Government has been proclaimed, is now in possession of the Government departmental buildings, the archives, and the treasury, and is in control of the city. We hereby request that you will, on behalf of the United States of America, recognize it as the existing de facto Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and afford to it the moral support of your Government, and, if necessary, the support of American troops to assist in preserving the public peace.

We have the honor to remain your obedient servants,

Sanford B. Dole,
J. A. King,
P. C. Jones,
William O. Smith,
S. M. Dawson,
John Emmeluth,
F. W. McChesney,
W. C. Wilder,
J. A. McCandless,
Andrew Brown,
Jas. F. Morgan,
Henry Waterhouse,
E. D. Tenney,
F. J. Wilhelm,
W. G. Ashley,
C. Bolte.

His Excellency John L. Stevens,
United States Minister Resident.
All persons favorable to the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands are hereby requested to forthwith report to the Government at the Government buildings and to furnish to the Government such arms and ammunition as they may have in their possession or control as soon as possible, in order that efficient and complete protection of life and property and the public peace may immediately and efficiently be put in operation.

Sanford B. Dole,
J. A. King,
P. C. Jones,
William O. Smith,

Executive Council of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.
John Emmeluth,
Andrew Brown,
C. Bolte,
James F. Morgan,
Henry Waterhouse,
S. M. Damon,
W. G. Ashley,
E. D. Tenney,
F. W. McChesney,
W. C. Wilder,

Advisory Council of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

It is hereby ordered and decreed that until further ordered, the right of the writ of habeas corpus is hereby suspended and martial law is hereby declared to exist throughout the island of Oahu.

Sanford B. Dole,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
J. A. King,
Minister of Interior,
P. C. Jones,
Minister of Finance,
William O. Smith,
Attorney-General,

Executive Council of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

Mass meeting—Citizens determined to resist aggression—an enthusiastic gathering at the Rifles' Armory protest against the revolutionary attitude of the Queen—resolutions adopted and the Committee of Public Safety authorized to take further steps.

At 2 p. m. yesterday the Honolulu Rifles' armory was the scene of one of the largest and most enthusiastic mass meetings ever held in Honolulu. It was called by the committee of public safety for the purpose of protesting against the revolutionary aggressions of the Queen. At 1.30 citizens began to assemble, and before 2 o'clock the large building was crowded to its utmost capacity, 1,260 being present, by actual count, while many others came later. Every class in the community was fully represented, mechanics, merchants, professional men, and artisans of every kind being
present in full force. The meeting was intensely enthusiastic, being animated by a common purpose and feeling, and most of the speakers were applauded to the echo. Hon. W. C. Wilder, of the committee of safety, was the chairman.

Mr. Wilder said: Fellow citizens, I have been requested to act as chairman of the meeting. Were it a common occurrence, I would consider it an honor, but to-day we are not here to do honor to anybody. I accept the chairmanship of this meeting as a duty. [Applause.] We meet here to-day as men—not as any party, faction, or creed, but as men who are bound to see good government. It is well known to you all what took place at the palace last Saturday. I need not tell you the object of this meeting, nor the right to meet and state their grievances. [Loud applause.] We will maintain our rights and have courage to maintain them. [Universal cheers.]

Noble Thurston being introduced by the chairman read the report of the committee of safety.

"REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY."

To the citizens of Honolulu:

"On the morning of last Saturday, the 14th instant, the city was startled by the information that Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani had announced her intention to arbitrarily promulgate a new constitution, and that three of the newly-appointed cabinet ministers had, or were about to, resign in consequence thereof.

"Immediately after the prorogation of the Legislature at noon the Queen, accompanied, by her orders, by the cabinet, retired to the palace; the entire military force of the Government was drawn up in line in front of the building, and remained there until dark, and a crowd of several hundred native sympathizers with the new-constitution project gathered in the throne room and about the palace. The Queen then retired with the cabinet, informed them that she had a new constitution ready, that she intended to promulgate it, and proposed to do so then and there, and demanded that they countersign her signature.

"She turned a deaf ear to their statements and protests that the proposed action would inevitably cause the streets of Honolulu to run red with blood, and threatened that unless they complied with her demand she would herself immediately go out among the people and announce to the assembled crowd that the reason she did not give them the new constitution was because the ministers would not let her. Three of the ministers, fearing mob violence, immediately withdrew and returned to the Government building. They were immediately summoned back to the palace, but refused to go on the ground that there was no guaranty of their personal safety.

"The only forces under the control of the Government are the household guards and the police. The former are nominally under the control of the minister of foreign affairs and actually under the control of their immediate commander, Maj. Nowlem, a personal adherent of the Queen.

"The police are under the control of Marshal Wilson, the open and avowed royal favorite. Although the marshal is nominally under the control of the attorney-general, Her Majesty recently announced in a public speech that she would not allow him to be removed. Although the marshal now states that he is opposed to the Queen's proposition, he also states that if the final issue arises between the Queen and the cabinet and the people he will support the Queen.

"The cabinet was absolutely powerless and appealed to citizens for support.

"Later they reluctantly returned to the palace, by request of the Queen, and for nearly two hours she again endeavored to force them to acquiesce in her desire, and upon their final refusal announced in a public speech in the throne room and again from the upper gallery of the palace that she desired to issue the constitution, but was prevented from doing so by her ministers and would issue it in a few days.

"The citizens responded to the appeal of the cabinet to resist the revolutionary attempt of the Queen, by gathering at the office of William O. Smith.

"Later in the afternoon it was felt that bloodshed and riot were imminent; that the community could expect no protection from the legal authorities; that, on the contrary, they would imminently be made the instruments of royal aggression. An impromptu meeting of citizens was held, which was attended by the attorney-general, and which was addressed, among others, by the minister of the interior, J. F. Colburn, who stated to the meeting substantially the foregoing facts.

"The meeting unanimously passed a resolution that the public welfare required the appointment of a committee of public safety of thirteen, to consider the situation and devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and the protection of life and property.

"Such a committee was forthwith appointed and has followed its instructions."
“The first step which the committee consider necessary is to secure openly, publicly, and peacefully, through the medium of a mass meeting of citizens, a condemnation of the proceedings of the party of revolution and disorder, and a confirmation of the larger meeting of the authority now vested in the committee.

For such purpose the committee hereby recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

**RESOLUTION.**

1. Whereas Her Majesty Lilinokalani, acting in conjunction with certain other persons, has illegally and unconstitutionally and against the advice and consent of the lawful executive officers of the Government, attempted to abrogate the existing constitution and proclaim a new one in subversion of the rights of the people;

2. And whereas such attempt has been accompanied by threats of violence and bloodshed and a display of armed force, and such attempt and acts and threats are revolutionary and treasonable in character;

3. And whereas Her Majesty’s cabinet have informed her that such contemplated action was unlawful and would lead to bloodshed and riot and have implored and demanded of her to desist from and renounce such proposed action;

4. And whereas such advice has been in vain, and Her Majesty has in a public speech announced that she was desirous and ready to promulgate such constitution, the same being now ready for such purpose, and that the only reason why it was not now promulgated was because she had met with unexpected obstacles and that a fitting opportunity in the future must be awaited for the consummation of such object, which would be within a few days;

5. And whereas at a public meeting of citizens held in Honolulu on the 14th day of January instant a committee of thirteen to be known as the ‘committee of public safety’ was appointed to consider the situation and to devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and safety and the preservation of life and property;

6. And whereas such committee has recommended the calling of this mass meeting of citizens to protest against and condemn such action, and has this day presented a report to such meeting denouncing the action of the Queen and her supporters as being unlawful, unwarranted, in derogation of the rights of the people, endangering the peace of the community, and tending the excite riot and cause the loss of life and destruction of property:

Now, therefore, we, the citizens of Honolulu of all nationalities and regardless of political party affiliations, do hereby condemn and denounce the action of the Queen and her supporters;

And we do hereby ratify the appointment and indorse the action taken and report made by the said committee of safety; and we do hereby further empower such committee to further consider the situation and further devise such ways and means as may be necessary to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order and the protection of life, liberty, and property in Hawaii.”

Mr. THURSTON said: Mr. Chairman, Hawaii is a wonderful country. We are divided into parties and nationalities and factions, but there are moments when we are united and move shoulder to shoulder, moved by one common desire for the public good. Three times during the past twelve years this has happened—in 1880, 1887, and to-day. They say it is ended, it is done, there is nothing to consider. Is it so? [Calls of no! no!] I say, gentlemen, that now and here is the time to act. [Loud cheers.] The Queen says she won’t do it again. [Cries of hoo-hoo.] Fellow-citizens, have you any memories? Hasn’t she once before promised—sworn solemnly before Almighty God to maintain this constitution? What is her word worth? [Calls of nothing! nothing!] It is an old saying that a royal promise is made to be broken. Fellow-citizens, remember it. We have not sought this situation. Last Saturday the sun rose on a peaceful and smiling city; to-day it is otherwise.

Whose fault is it? Queen Lilinokalani’s. It is not her fault that the streets have not run red with blood. She has printed a proclamation and at the same time, perhaps sent out by the same carriers, her organ prints an extra with her speech with bitterer language than in the Advertiser. She wants us to sleep on a slumbering volcano which will one morning spew out blood and destroy us all. The constitution gives us the right to assemble peacefully and express our grievances. We are here doing that to-day without arms. The man who has not the spirit to rise after the menaces to our liberties has no right to keep them. Has the iron sun cooled and thinned our blood, or have we flowing in our veins the warm, rich blood which loves liberty and dies for it? I move the adoption of the resolution.

[Timidurous applause.]

Mr. H. F. GLADE. The Queen has done an unlawful thing in ignoring the constitution which she had sworn to uphold. We most decidedly protest against such revolutionary proceedings, and we should do all we possibly can to prevent her from repeating actions which result in disorder and riot. We now have a promise from the Queen that proceedings as we experienced on Saturday shall not occur again; but we should have such assurances and guaranties for this promise that will really
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

satisfy us and convince us of the faith and earnestness of the promise given, of which we now have no assurance. What such guaranties and assurances ought to be I can not at this moment say or recommend. This should be referred to the committee of safety for their careful consideration. I second the motion.

Mr. YOUNG, in addressing the meeting, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens: In June, 1887, I stood on this same platform and addressed an audience almost as large as the one now before me. At that time we had met to consider a resolution that looked toward a new constitution, which proposed constitution was considered the most effectual method of removing some flagrant abuses in governmental affairs, practiced by the King and his cabinets. The constitution was promulgated. To-day we have met to consider the action of Her Majesty in attempting to set aside the constitution we all worked so hard to have promulgated, in the lost interests of the Sovereign and the people at large, as well as for the redemption of the credit of the Kingdom abroad. It has long been re- perced that at some favorable opportunity the Constitution should spring a new construction upon the people and place matters even more in the hands of the Sovereign than they were before the revolution of 1887. Some did not believe the rumors, but the actions of the Queen in the last few days have convinced the most skeptical that the rumors were well founded and that she had been pregnant with this unborn constitution for a long time; but it could not be born till under the propitious star.

In trying to promulgate this long-promise constitution the Queen has therefore premeditatedly committed a breach of faith with one portion of her subjects in order to satisfy the clamors of a faction of natives urged by the influence of a mischievous element of foreigners who mean no good to the Queen or the people, but simply for the purpose of providing avenues for carrying out more perfectly the smuggling of opium and diverting the contents of the treasury into their own pockets. A by-authority circular has now been handed around setting forth that the Queen and her ministers propose to promulgate a new constitution; but can we depend on this promise of Her Majesty? Is this promise any more binding upon her than the oath she took before Almighty God to support and maintain the present constitution? Has not the Queen resorted to her questionable methods in an underhanded way to remove what, to the people, was one of the most acceptable cabinets ever commissioned by any sovereign in this Kingdom, in order that four other ministers might be appointed that would carry out her behest, treasonable or otherwise, as might be most conveniently within their scope.

I say, have we any reasonable assurance that the Queen and her ministers have abandoned finally the new constitution promulgation scheme? [Roars of "No" from the audience.] My fellow citizens, while the Queen and her cabinet continue to trifle with and play fast and loose with the affairs of state there can be no feeling of security for foreign families residing within these domains. There can be no business prosperity here at home, and our credit abroad must be of the flimsiest and most uncertain nature.

And you, business men, who are toiling honestly for your bread and butter, will have to put up with thin bread and much thinner butter if this farcical work is continued. In order that matters may be set to rights again, and that honest, stable, and honorable government may be maintained in Hawaii, I support the resolution and trust that it will be passed unanimously by this meeting.

Mr. C. Bolte. Since the resolution which was read here has been written things have changed. On Saturday the Queen promised the native people that she would give them a new constitution under all circumstances; she did not say exactly when but as soon as possible. This morning a proclamation was issued, in which she says that her attempt to promulgate a new constitution last Saturday was made under stress of her native subjects, but that she will not do it again. An attempt to change the fundamental law of the land is a very serious matter, a matter that requires a good deal of consideration, and I am well convinced that this matter has been weighed and considered for more than a day by the Queen, and that there was no acting on the spur of the moment under the stress of her native subjects about it. It was her well-premeditated conclusion that she would change the constitution so as to suit herself on the day of prorogation of the Legislature. Many people knew this several days ago, but there have been so many rumors about all sorts of things that not very much attention was paid to it; it was expected that she might change her mind before that day would come. But she did not change her mind as soon as that; she told the native people that she was ready to give them a new constitution right then and there, but that she could not do it because her ministers would not let her. Now she has changed her mind; she makes a sort of excuse for what she did, and says she will never do it again.

It seems to me that the question that your committee has to ask now, and which is for you gentlemen here in the meeting to decide, is this: Are you satisfied with the assurance given in to-day's proclamation signed by the Queen and the four ministers, and will you consider this matter ended, or do you desire greater and stronger guarantees for the safety and preservation of your life and liberty and property? I am one of the citizens' committee of public safety; my views on the situation are ex-
pressed in the resolutions which have just been read, and I trust you will show that you are of the same mind as the committee by adopting these resolutions.

Hon. H. P. Baldwin. I feel, with the rest of you, that the actions of the Queen have put the country in a very critical situation. Before this revolutionary act of Her Majesty we were getting along. A ministry had been appointed which would probably have been able to pull us through. The McKinley bill had put the whole country into a critical situation. We were working up new industries. Mr. Dillingham was trying to build a railroad around this island. The Queen seems to have blinned herself to all these things. She has followed a whim of her own—a whim of an irresponsible body of Hawaiians—and tried to establish a new constitution. We must stop this; but we must not go beyond constitutional means. I favor this resolution, but think the committee should act within the constitution. There is no question that the Queen has done a revolutionary act; there is no doubt about that. The Queen's proclamation has not inspired confidence; but shall we not teach her to act within the constitution? [Loud calls of “No.”] Well, gentlemen, I am ready to act when the time comes.

J. Emmeuth wished to say a few words on the situation. He had heard the Queen's speech at the palace, and noted the expression of her face. It was a scene. When the petitioners filed out he reflected on the fact that 30 men could paralyze the business of the community for 24 hours. It was not they that did it, but the schemers behind them, and perhaps a woman, too. It was not the Hawaiians that worked for this new constitution. It was a man who worked. This was the third time that he had shut his doors, let his men go, and came back to this building. It would be the last time. If we let this time go by we would deserve all we would get. An opportunity came once in every lifetime. It had come to us, and if we finished as we should a repetition of last Saturday would never occur in this country again. [Applause.] We must stand shoulder to shoulder. There was but one course to pursue, and we would all see it. The manifesto of this morning was bosh. “I won't do it any more; but give me a chance and I'll do it again.” If the Queen had succeeded last Saturday, myself and you would have been robbed of the privileges without which no white man can live in this community. “Fear not, be not afraid,” was written in my Bible by my mother twenty-five years ago. Gentlemen, I have done. As far as the Hawaiians are concerned, all have an aloha for them, and we wish to have laws enabling us to live peaceably together.

W. B. Green. Fellow citizens, among the many things I never could do was to make an impromptu speech. I have tried it over and over again and never succeeded, but once, and that was after five weeks' preparation. Our patience has been exhausted. We all agree about the case. The question is, the remedy. John Greene, of Rhode Island, entered the war of the Revolution and served throughout. His son, my father, served through the war of 1812, until that little matter was settled. In 1862 John Greene, my father, stood before a meeting like this, and said he had four sons in the war, of whom I was the youngest, and would serve himself if he was not too old. This experience has biased my judgment as to some matters of civil government. It is too late to throw obstacles across the path of its progress here. I have adopted this flag and am loyal to it, but I am not willing to go one step back in the name of civil liberty, and I will give the last drop of Rhode Island blood in my veins to go forward, and not back. [Cheers.]

Chairman Wilder read the latter part of the resolution. It was passed by a unanimous standing vote, without a dissenting voice, and amid tremendous cheers, after which the meeting broke up.

[Inclusion 6 in Nov. 79.]

[Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser, January 18, 1893.]


All day yesterday the community were in a state of expectancy, looking to the committee of public safety to do something to end the state of tension, and to secure slighty. Their efforts were successful, for the committee in the meantime was not idle, but was incessantly occupied completing its organization and perfecting the final arrangements necessary to the proclamation of the Provisional Government and its protection by an armed force. At about 2.30 o'clock an attempt was made by three native policemen to arrest the progress of a wagon which was being driven up Fort street by Mr. Benner and Mr. Good. Those in charge of the wagon resisted the attempt of the officers to arrest its course.
of the officers making a motion to draw a revolver, Mr. Good drew his own, and
calling attention to the fact that he was justified in shooting, he fired, seeking how-
ever, to avoid the infliction of a dangerous wound. The wagon pursued its way,
followed by a policeman in a hack. This episode precipitated the movement.
Citizens hurried to the Beretania street armory, where they were formed into com-
panies and marched to the Government building.

In the meantime the committee of public safety, accompanied by members of the
Government about to be formed, proceeded to the Government building. They were
entirely unarmed. Arrived at the Government building the committee inquired for
the cabinet, but the ministers were not to be found. They then demanded and re-
ceived of Mr. Hassinger the possession of the building. The party now proceeded
to the front steps and, in the presence of a rapidly increasing crowd, the following
proclamation was read:

Before the reading of the proclamation was completed the volunteers from the
Rifles' armory began to assemble in force. The grounds of Aliiolani Hale were cleared
and a guard set at all the gates.

The following orders were then promptly issued by the Provisional Government:

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,
January 17, 1893.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

[Order No 1.]

All persons favorable to the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands are
hereby requested to forthwith report to the Government at the Government building
and to furnish the Government such arms and ammunition as they may have in their
possession or control as soon as possible, in order that efficient and complete pro-
tection of life and property and the public peace may be immediately and efficien-
tly put into operation.

SANFORD B. DOLE,
J. A. KING,
P. C. JONES,
WILLIAM O. SMITH,

Executive Counsel of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.
JOHN EMMELTH,
ANDREW BROWN,
C. BOLTE,
JAMES F. MORGAN,
HENRY WATERHOUSE,
S. M. DAMON,
W. G. ASHLEY,
E. D. TENNY,
F. W. MCMCHESNEY,
W. C. WILDER,
J. A. MCCANDLESS,
W. R. CASTLE,
LORINA A. THURSTON,
F. J. WILHELM,

Advisory Counsel of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, January 17, 1893.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

[Order No 2.]

It is hereby ordered and decreed that until further ordered the right of the writ
of habeas corpus is hereby suspended, and martial law is hereby declared to exist
throughout the Island of Oahu.

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
J. A. KING,
Minister of the Interior,
P. C. JONES,
Minister of Finance,
WILLIAM O. SMITH,
Attorney-General,

Executive Council of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.
The Provisional Government sent for the late ministers, who were at the police station. Two of them came, and finally all four repaired to the headquarters of the new Government, where formal demand was made upon them for the possession of the police station. The ex-ministers asked for time to deliberate upon this demand. They went to the palace in company with Hon. Samuel M. Damon, and held a consultation with Liliuokalani. The result was a compromise proposition, which was rejected by the Provisional Government. After further consultation the following protest was noted:

I, Liliuokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, his excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said Provisional Government.

Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893.

LILIUOKALANI, R.
S. B. DOLE, Esq., and others,

Composing the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

(Indorsed:) Received by the hands of the late cabinet this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893. (Signed) Sanford B. Dole, chairman of the executive council of Provisional Government.

The late Queen and cabinet accordingly yielded unconditionally, and the police station was turned over to Commander Soper and Capt. Ziegler with forty men from Company A. Mr. Wilson made a short address to the police force assembled in the station, telling them that resistance was no longer feasible.

The Provisional Government sent notifications of the situation to the representatives of foreign powers. The following answer to the request for recognition was received from his excellency John L. Stevens:

"A Provisional Government having been duly constituted in the place of the recent Government of Queen Liliuokalani, and said Provisional Government being in full possession of the Government building, the archives, and the treasury, and in control of the capital of the Hawaiian Islands, I hereby recognize said Provisional Government as the de facto Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

"JOHN L. STEVENS,

"Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States."

At latest advices the Provisional Government was in complete possession of the city, and the only Government possessing, exercising, or claiming any authority or power whatsoever.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 80.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, January 19, 1893.

SIR: The Provisional Government of Hawaii, by special steamer, send a commission to Washington with full powers to negotiate with the Government of the United States. It is composed of six representative men of the highest respectability. Hon. William C. Wilder is the president and chief manager of the Inter-island Steamship Company,
running steamers among the islands, and he has large property interests in Honolulu. Hon. C. M. [surname omitted] is a leading lumber merchant, doing business with Puget Sound and Oregon, born here of the best American stock. Hon. L. A. Thurston is one of the most, if not the most, talented and influential man on the islands, and is of the highest respectability. He and his father were born on the islands, of Connecticut parentage. Though a young man, he was the leading member of the reform cabinet from July, 1887, to 1890.

Hon. William H. Castle is a lawyer of eminence, born on the islands, of western New York parentage, his father still living here at the age of 84, having resided in Honolulu nearly half a century, and for many years exercised a large influence here. Mr. Charles P. Carter is the son of the recent Hawaiian minister at Washington, Hon. H. P. Carter, and is an accomplished and most reliable gentleman, American to the core, and has a Michigan wife. Hon. Mr. Marsden is of English birth, is a prominent business man and a noble in the Legislature.

These six commissioners represent a large preponderating proportion of the property holders and commercial interests of these islands. They are backed by the influences which will enable them to fully carry out their agreements with the United States Government.

I am, sir, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

[Confidential]

No. 81.] UNITED STATES LEGATION, Honolulu, January 26, 1893.

SIR: By the steamer taking this dispatch, goes Mr. Paul Neuman to Washington, the attorney of the deposed Queen. Nominally he may make at the Department of State a "protest" as to the way his client lost her crown. In reality his mission is to get a large fee out of whatever sum it is supposed may be paid by the treaty of annexation to the fallen monarch and the Crown Princess. This attorney, as the Hawaiian Commissioners now in Washington may inform you, was a former resident of San Francisco, where he had and still has an unsavory reputation. For years his influence in politics here has been preeminent. He was a boon companion of the debased Kalakaua, the recent King; shared in his corruptions, and is reputed to have won at cards the money of the weak monarch.

He was twice voted out of the cabinet by the recent Legislature by a large majority, every reputable member each time against him. He is believed on strong reasons to have been the head man in getting through the Legislature in the closing hours of the session the infamous lottery bill, which so much aided in precipitating the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. This man, the Queen's attorney, is a good-natured, "jolly fellow," who, seeing the strong drift of things here, now avows himself unqualifiedly for annexation. I think it my duty to give to the Department of State this amount of information about the fallen Queen's attorney, and the Commissioners now in Washington can give you as much more as they deem proper.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.
Since the preceding dispatch was written Paul Neuman, as the attorney of the Queen, has called on me and explained his mission to Washington. I will take back nothing as to his former political career here; but he is good natured and politic lawyer. While he will probably urge the request to have the United States restore the fallen Queen to the throne as a matter of form and good faith on his part to his royal client, I have impressed on him the logic of the situation and the absolute impossibility of restoring the deposed Queen. I think he sees this clearly, however otherwise he may at first talk, and that his only hope is to obtain a good cash consideration for all her claims. I think he has "full power of attorney" to this end. He takes with him the young man, Prince David, as he is called here, one of the two princes made by Kalakaua, spoken of in my No. 82, page 9.

STEVEN.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 28, 1893.

Your dispatch, telegraphed from San Francisco, announcing revolution and establishment of a Provisional Government, was received to-day. Your course in recognizing an unopposed de facto Government appears to have been discreet and in accordance with the facts. The rule of this Government has uniformly been to recognize and enter into relation with any actual Government in full possession of effective power, with the assent of the people. You will continue to recognize the new Government under such conditions. It is trusted that the change, besides conducing to the tranquillity and welfare of the Hawaiian Islands, will tend to draw closer the intimate ties of amity and common interests which so conspicuously and necessarily link them to the United States. You will keep in constant communication with the commander of the United States naval force at Honolulu, with a view to acting, if need be, for the protection of the interests and property of American citizens and aiding in the preservation of good order under the changed conditions reported.

Foster.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

[Telegram.]

HONOLULU, February 1, 1893.

Provisional Government of Hawaii gaining power and respect. Everything is quiet. Annexation sentiment is increasing. Dead monarchy and opposition to annexation is supported chiefly by lottery and opium ring. To-day at 9 a.m., in accordance with the request of Provisional Government of Hawaii, I have placed Government of Hawaii under the United States protection during negotiations, not interfering with the execution of public affairs. Have mailed important dispatches. Have sent duplicate copies of dispatches. It is advisable that Commodore Skerrett proceed at once to Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, with one or more United States ships as precautionary measures.

STEVEN.
400

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

No. 70.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, Feb. 1, 1893.

SIR: I append a copy of telegraphic correspondence with your legation, relative to the new Government of Hawaii.

I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 82.] UNITED STATES LEGATION,

Honolulu, February 1, 1893.

SIR: Everything is moving on here quietly. The Provisional Government is discharging its responsibilities with firmness, discretion, and in the spirit of conciliation and magnanimity. The annexation sentiment has constantly increased since the departure of the commissioners for Washington, and with heartfelt earnestness is taking possession of all classes. Nearly all the Germans, the large proportion of the respectable and responsible English, and almost the entire Portuguese population are warmly for annexation. This inclination of the Portuguese is quite important, for they number seven or eight thousand, are among the most industrious and saving; and they are thoughtfully led by Senor Canavarro, their chargé d'affaires, who has resided here for years, and commands the respect and confidence of all the best citizens of the island of whatever nationality. Canavarro’s wife, on account of health and business, is obliged to spend much of her time in California, where she owns valuable property. Annexation and the United States have good friends in the Canavarros.*

As to terms of annexation, I still adhere firmly to the opinion expressed in my despatch No. 74 that the sugar bounty to be paid to the Hawaiian sugar planters should be limited to 6 mills per pound—$12 per ton, so long, and only so long as the United States bounty system shall be maintained. To the objection that this allows only $12 per ton on Hawaiian sugar while the Hawaiian planters get twice the amount per acre that the Louisiana planters do on the average, as I said in my despatch 74, the concensus of opinion among the leading planters here, obtained by me five or six months since, was, and is, that $12 per ton bounty will place all the Hawaiian plantations worth maintaining on the road of financial safety and success.

As to the form of Government for the islands, I now only vary from views expressed in my 74 as to incline strongly to the opinion that the beginning should be substantially like that of President Jefferson and Congress in respect of Louisiana in the act of 1804, page 283, United States Statutes at Large, only differing from that by providing, in addition to governor, attorney-general, a commissioner of finance, a commissioner of the interior, and a legislative council of thirteen or fourteen, all to be appointed by the President, unless it should be deemed best for the governor to appoint the attorney-general, and the commissioners of finance and the interior, who would be prac-

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* See Mr. Stevens’s telegram of January 18, 1893, and Mr. Foster’s telegram of January 28, 1893, in reply.
* The remarks relative to Senor Canavarro, the Portuguese chargé, strictly confidential.
tically a cabinet of three to aid the governor to carry on the Government. This plan and method of Government could be maintained as a transition Government until experience should prove it best to change it to a more popular form. In the meantime the responsible voters would rapidly increase and American ideas and interest would gain in force and volume. My private consultation with the Provisional Government since the departure of the commissioners for Washington has led us to think highly of the Jefferson act of 1804 for Louisiana as a transition expedient for Hawaii. This would cause no shock and would allow affairs to move along on safe and conservative lines until time and experience demand something better. It would be fortunate to have such a man as Sanford B. Dole, the present head of the Provisional Government, the first American governor of Hawaii.

As to liquidating all political claims from the fall of the Queen and the Crown Princess, may I be allowed to suggest that the spirit and import of the Marcy treaty plan of 1854 had better be adopted, which authorized the expenditure of $100,000 for like purposes. I, therefore, suggest that if a liquidation of this kind be now under consideration and $150,000 should be allowed as the total sum for this purpose, $70,000 should go to the fallen Queen Liliuokalani and $70,000 to the Crown Princess Kalaniana, and $5,000 to each of the two young princes. The last named—the two princes—are harmless young persons, of little account, not chiefs by blood, but they were made princes by the late King Kalakaua without any constitutional right or power to do so, the then boys being nephews of his wife Kapiolani. Should the entire sum granted for these purposes be greater or less than $150,000 I advise that the above specified proportions be maintained.

As to the native Hawaiians and their native leaders at this time, things are tending favorably towards annexation. Mr. Kauhame, for many years a member of the Legislature, and regarded for years the best native in the islands in public life, a noble to the close of the recent session of that body, is earnest for annexation. So is Mr. Kaniuhi, a member of the Legislature from this island. Hon. John W. Kahia, the ablest native lawyer in the island, years a member of former Legislatures from the important island of Maui, thinks the fall of the Queen and the extinction of the monarchy a boon to Hawaii, and he is for annexation. Robert W. Wilcox, a half-white native, who led the Hawaiian revolt in 1889, which came so near being successful, is now for annexation. He was educated in Italy at a military school, is 37 years of age, his father being a citizen of Rhode Island, and, it is said, is still living in that State. This Wilcox has more fighting ability than any other native Hawaiian, and will be proud to become an American citizen and at a future time to serve in the army or civil service of the United States.

The ablest of the native Hawaiian Christian ministers are strong in their American sympathies. The pastor of the large native Hawaiian church in this city, a native Hawaiian, is for annexation earnestly. The other large Hawaiian congregation and church in Honolulu has a favorite pastor born here of American parentage, whose quiet influence is in the same direction. The native newspaper of much the largest circulation in the islands advocates annexation, stands by the Provisional Government, and is losing none of its circulation. The main part of the opponents of annexation are the lower class of natives, led by unscrupulous foreigners, of little property, mostly of California, Australia, and Canada, who wish to maintain the Hawaiian monarchy and its corruptions for their own unworthy purposes, and who think their
opportunities for power and spoliation will be gone if annexation becomes a fact.

The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it. If annexation does not take place promptly, all is held in doubt and suspense for six or ten months, there certainly will be here a revulsion to despair, and these people, by their necessities, might be forced towards becoming a British colony, for the English here of the monarchical type would then avail themselves of their opportunity and stir up all possible opposition to annexation. The wealthiest Englishman of these islands has to day called at this legation, and no man in Hawaii is more earnest for annexation. His two sons, large business men, are with him in this regard, and the next old British resident, a Scotchman by birth, is with the man first named for annexation. I can not otherwise than urge prompt action at Washington.

I am, etc.,

John L. Stevens.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 83.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, February 1, 1893.

SIR: In my No. 81, by this mail, I have given information as to the going of Paul Neumann to Washington by this steamer to represent the interests of the fallen Queen. I have since learned that it is not improbable that there also will go to Washington, of the Queen’s faction, Mr. H. A. Widemann and Mr. C. O. Berger. The former is a Hessian German who came to these islands nearly forty years ago. He is married to a pure native wife, and has acquired property through his relations to natives and by the American sugar tariff under reciprocity. His views are widely different from all the other principal Germans here. His relations have been close with the fallen Queen and he was voted out of her cabinet early in the session of the recent Legislature, all of the best members voting against him. He is, and always has been, strongly anti-American. He was of the small clique in Honolulu bitterly against us from 1861 to 1865. He was the leading man of the only fire who, in the Legislature two years since, voted to put an end to all further negotiations with the United States. For years he has had relations with the English minister here, though the latter has not always approved of Widemann’s eccentricities, for which the latter is well known.

Widemann is 70 years of age, somewhat broken, and says he is going only to California for his health. He takes with him Mr. O. C. Berger, his son-in-law, a German or a Swede, who came here from the United States. Berger is reputed to be of few scruples. He was a member of the recent Legislature, always voted with the thieves, voted for the lottery franchise, and had “a job” with the recent Government which made much talk here unfavorable to Berger. It is thought now that he cares little for the old palace dynasty, but goes only to please and to take care of the health of Widemann, of whose property, as son-in-law, he hopes soon to share. Possibly Widemann and Berger tell the

* It is now understood here that Widemann goes to Washington with Paul Neumann. Both of them have taken tickets for the steamer which leaves here to-morrow for San Francisco.
truth in saying that they are going only to San Francisco, but rumor and strong suspicion say that they will go with Neumann to Washington to help the case of the deposed Queen and to oppose annexation.

Another leaf of valuable information I wish to give the Department of State: The old "palace gang" for the past ten days have been busy here and in the other islands in getting the signatures of natives to a remonstrance against annexation, in the hope thus to restore the monarchy. The signatures to these petitions or remonstrances are being obtained by utterly false representations as to the purposes of the United States, by promises, and other unscrupulous means. This dirty work is managed exclusively by the same white men, American renegades, Australians, and Canadians, who have thrived on the palace corruption under the recent King Kalakaua and his sister, the deposed Queen. There will be no certainty that half the signatures to the petitions or remonstrances are genuine.

Possibly a Mr. Bush and a Mr. Namahi will be the bearers of these petitions. The former is a half-white, a minister of Kalakaua in the brief and famous "Moreno fiasco," and Bush and Namahi were members of the recent Legislature and voted for the lottery franchise. These and the whole lottery and palace gang are directly interested in discrediting the Provisional Government, for that Government has just annulled the lottery charter, which the palace gang hoped to sell out to the Louisiana lottery men for a half million dollars, more or less. There is also some talk that Antone Rosa, a half-white lawyer, with a doubtful reputation, may go with Bush and Namahi. It is possible that none of these named—Widemann, Berger, Bush, Namahi, and Rosa—will go to Washington. Bush, Namahi, and Rosa have no following among the better class of the native Hawaiians, and their representations would be entirely unreliable. The members of the Provisional Government's commission, now in Washington, thoroughly know the character and backing of Widemann, Berger, Namahi, Bush, and Rosa. There is no doubt that the palace gang of white men will pay the bills of Bush, Namahi, and Rosa, if they go on their visit to Washington.

I am, etc.,

John L. Stevens.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 84.] United States Legation, Honolulu, February 1, 1893.

Sir: Today the undersigned and Capt. Wiltse of the Boston are compelled to assume a grave responsibility. The inclosed copies of official notes will explain the reasons which have led to this action on our part.

I have time before the departure of the mail steamer only to state briefly the additional reasons which caused us to assume temporary protectorate of these islands. The Provisional Government must have time to organize a new police and to discipline a small military force. When the monarchy died by its own hand, there was no military force in the islands but the royal guard of about 75 natives, not in effective force equal to 20 American soldiers. These were promptly discharged

* Have received absolutely reliable information that the signatures of the natives to the petitions above specified are secured by paying so much a head to the signers or to the agents who secure them. The white palace and lottery men are working this plan of action.
by the Provisional Government, except 16 left as the guard of the fallen Queen at her house.

The white men here, as well as the natives, have not been much accustomed to the use of arms. There are scarcely any men familiar with military discipline. Companies are now being organized and drilled. They must have a few weeks for drill. Only a small force of a few hundred will be required, but these must be disciplined men. So far the Provisional Government has been sustained by the uprising and union of the business men and best citizens. Bankers, merchants, clerks, professional men, respectable mechanics have stood manfully by the new Government and kept guard by night. This kind of defense must give place to a small, reliable military force. Time is the necessity of the new Government. There are 40,000 Chinese and Japanese on the islands, and evil-disposed persons might stir some of them to disorder. But the chief elements of evil are in Honolulu, where are the renegade whites at the head of the lottery and opium rings, and a considerable number of hoodlum foreigners and the more vicious of the natives.

Another important reason for our action is the possibility of the arrival here of a British war vessel, and that the English minister here, thus aided, might try to press unduly the Provisional Government. With the islands under our protection we think the English minister will not attempt to insist that his Government has the right to interfere while our flag is over the Government building. This is all I have time to write before the departure of the mail. We shall continue to maintain our present position with great caution and firmness until we hear from the President through the Secretary of State. As a necessary precaution against all contingencies, I advise that Admiral Skerrett be promptly sent here with one or two ships in addition to the Boston.

I am, sir, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

(One or two of the preceding numbers of the dispatches by this mail were written prior to this date, but they were dated February 1 because this is the day of the steamer’s departure.)

[Inclosure 1]

Mr. Stevens to Capt. Wilse.

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, February 1, 1893.

SIR: The Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands having duly and officially expressed to the undersigned, the fear that said Government may be unable to protect life and property and to prevent civil disorder in Honolulu, the capital of said Hawaiian Islands, request that the flag of the United States may be raised for the protection of the Hawaiian Islands, and to that end confer on the United States, through the undersigned, freedom of occupation of the public buildings of the Hawaiian Government and the soil of the Hawaiian Islands, so far as may be necessary for the exercise of such protection, but not interfering with the administration of the public affairs by said Provisional Government.

I hereby ask you to comply with the spirit and terms of the request of the Hawaiian Provisional Government, and to that end to use all the force at your command, in the exercise of your best judgment and discretion, you and myself awaiting instructions from the United States Government at Washington.

I am, sir, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

Capt. G. C. WILSE,
Commander of the U. S. Ship Boston.
The Hawaiian Provisional Government to Mr. Stevens.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, January 21, 1893.

Sir: Believing that we are unable to satisfactorily protect life and property, and to prevent civil disorders in Honolulu and throughout the Hawaiian Islands, we hereby, in obedience to the instructions of the advisory council, pray that you will raise the flag of the United States of America for the protection of the Hawaiian Islands for the time being, and to that end we hereby confer upon the Government of United States, through you, freedom of occupation of the public buildings of this Government, and of the soil of this country, so far as may be necessary for the exercise of such protection, but not interfering with the administration of public affairs by this Government.

We have, etc.,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
President of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

J. A. KING,
Minister of Interior.

P. C. JONES,
Minister of Finance.

WILLIAM O. SMITH,
Attorney-General.

His Excellency John L. Stevens,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

[Telegram.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, February 8, 1893.

The affairs of state continue to be hopeful. Hoisting flag in protection of this Government was expected. Subjects who were doubtful, now for annexation. The natives showed unexpected regard of the United States flag. Prudent conduct of Capt. Wiltse, the officers and crew of the Boston, credit to the Navy. Can not send by mail.

STEVENS.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 85.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, February 8, 1893.

Sir: As I have already indicated by cipher telegram of this date, political affairs here continue to have a hopeful aspect. The raising of the United States flag and the published proclamation of temporary American protectorate of the islands, so far, appear to be having a more beneficial effect than could have been reasonably anticipated. Foreign residents, before in doubt, are now expressing satisfaction that the American flag has been raised here, and are hoping that it will not be lowered, believing annexation best for all concerned. The native Hawaiians are showing an unexpected regard for our flag. The fallen Queen has conducted herself so shamefully and shown so much favoritism to foreign adventurers that all the better portions of the natives had ceased to have legal reverence for her. Her bold, unblushing associa-
tion with the Tahitian half-white palace favorite weakened the hold of
the Queen on the natives nearly as much as the official confidence she
gave to the American and Australian adventurers of the lottery and
opium rings.

Information from all the principal islands of the group is favorable;
much more so than could have been anticipated. The local govern-
ment affairs are moving on with little friction, and the courts are transact-
ing their regular and customary business. The interruption to private
business and labor is comparatively little, while the hope of annexation
is exerting an invigorating financial influence. As soon as it can
become a certainty that these islands are to remain under the United
States flag as a part of American territory, there is little doubt that
all the principal native leaders will wish to become American citizens,
and their assistance can be had to help bring the native people into
ready obedience to American law and fidelity to the American flag.

As stated in my cipher telegram of this date, the conduct of Capt.
Wiltse, of the Boston, and of the officers and men under his command
has been admirable. Their deportment on shore and in public places,
whether on duty or otherwise, has been such as to command the favor-
able comment of all. The time of Capt. Wiltse here is understood to
expire February 10. I have no doubt it would be a just gratification
to him could he remain on duty here until the question of annexation
shall have been substantially decided.

I am, etc.,

John L. Stevens.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

[Telegram.]

Department of State,
Washington, February 14, 1893.

Your telegram of the 1st instant has been received, with coincident
report from commander of the Boston. Press telegrams from San Fran-
cisco give full details of events of 1st instant, with text of your pro-
clamation. The latter, in announcing assumption of protection of the
Hawaiian Islands in the name of the United States would seem to be
tantamount to the assumption of a protectorate over those islands on
behalf of the United States, with all the rights and obligations which
the term implies. It is not thought, however, that the request of the
Provisional Government for protection or your action in compliance
therewith contemplated more than the cooperation of the moral and
material forces of the United States to strengthen the authority of the
Provisional Government, by according to it adequate protection for
life and property during the negotiations instituted here, and without
interfering with the execution of public affairs. Such cooperation was
and is within your standing instructions and those of the naval com-
manders in Hawaiian waters. So far as your course accords to the
de facto Sovereign Government, the material cooperation of the United
States for the maintenance of good order and protection of life and
property from apprehended disorders, it is commended; but so far as
it may appear to overstep that limit by setting the authority of the
United States above that of the Hawaiian Government in the capacity
of protector, or to impair the independent sovereignty of that Govern-
ment by substituting the flag and power of the United States, it is disavowed.

Instructions will be sent to naval commanders confirming and renewing those heretofore given them, under which they are authorized and directed to cooperate with you in case of need. Your own instructions are likewise renewed, and you are accordingly authorized to arrange with the commanding officer for the continued presence on shore of such marine force as may be practicable and requisite for the security of the lives and property interests of American citizens and the repression of lawlessness threatening them, whenever in your judgment it shall be necessary so to do, or when such cooperation may be sought for good cause by the Government of the Hawaiian Islands; being, however, always careful to distinguish between these functions of voluntary or accorded protection and the assumption of a protectorate over the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, which the United States have recognized as sovereign and with which they treat on terms of sovereign equality.

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 15, 1893.

A treaty of annexation has been signed and will be sent to the Senate without delay.

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

No. 72.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 16, 1893.

SIR: I append copies of my telegrams to you of the 15th instant in relation to your recent bereavement, and to the treaty annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

No. 73.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 16, 1893.

SIR: I append on the overleaf a copy of a telegram* sent to you on the 14th instant, relative to the Hawaiian revolution.

I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

* See under date of February 14, 1893.
Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

No. 74.]  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, February 17, 1893.

SIR: I append for your information copy of an instruction to the consul-general at Honolulu, of this date, directing him to report fully as to the shipping under Hawaiian registry on the 17th day of January, 1893, and any transfers of vessels to the Hawaiian flag which may have been or may be effected since that date.

You will kindly lend Mr. Severance your counsel and aid in preparing the indicated report.

I suggest, moreover, for your confidential guidance, that it may be well for you to make such friendly and discreet intimation to the present Government as may discourage the placing of foreign shipping under its flag at this juncture.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,  
Acting Secretary.

[Inclosure in No. 74.]

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Severance.

No. 74.]  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, February 17, 1893.

SIR: I have to request that you will prepare, at as early a day as may be possible, and forward to the Department, a table showing all vessels, bona fide, under Hawaiian registry on the 17th of January last, giving names, character, tonnage, horse-power, if steamers, where and when built, and how owned at that date, whether by Hawaiian citizens or foreigners.

You will also be expected to report what vessels, if any, have been or may be transferred from foreign registry to the Hawaiian flag since the 17th of January, giving the same particulars.

It is said, but with what positive foundation is not here known, that a movement is on foot to place a number of foreign vessels under Hawaiian registry, with a view to eventually obtain the benefits of United States registry. Your inquiries, which should be discreet, and your report should aim to throw light on this subject.

The minister has been informed of this instruction, and you may confer with him on the subject.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,  
Acting Secretary.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Stevens.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, February 22, 1893.

The treaty of annexation is still pending in the Senate. Confirming previous instructions, you are directed, in cooperation with the naval authorities, to support the Provisional Government in the maintenance of security to life and property and good order, until action shall be had upon the treaty.

FOSTER.
No. 75.]

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 23, 1893.

SIR: I append a copy of your telegram* of 8th instant on Hawaiian affairs.
I am, sir, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON.

No. 76.]

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 24, 1893.

SIR: I append a copy of a telegraph† sent you on 22d instant.
I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 86.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, February 27, 1893.

SIR: The political status of affairs here remains much the same as at the date of my last previous dispatch, with improving indications as to these islands becoming a part of the territory of the United States, to the great satisfaction of nearly all of the responsible citizens, whites as well as native Hawaiians.

The raising of the United States flag over the Government building continues to have a pacifying influence. The qualified United States protectorate, which has been temporarily assumed at the request of the Provisional Government, is being exercised with caution and reservation, in no way interfering with Hawaiian sovereignty nor with the administration of Hawaiian public affairs by the duly constituted authorities. My understanding of the spirit and terms of our temporary protectorate is in entire accord with the spirit and terms of the Secretary of State's dispatch to me of February 14, and implied in my dispatch No. 84, of February 1st, and the papers accompanying the same.

There are now on shore about one hundred and twenty marines and sailors of the U. S. S. Boston, with their officers, and their conduct so far has been highly creditable to the American Navy.

All present indications are to the import that if annexation becomes a fact the white population will be nearly unanimous in its favor; that most of the native Hawaiians will readily acquiesce, and that the permanent good order and prosperity of the islands will be secured. The most recent advices from all the principal islands indicate quiet, good order, and general acquiescence in the rule of the Provisional Government.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

* See under date of February 8, 1893.
† See under date of February 22, 1893.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

United States Legation,
Honolulu, February 27, 1893.

SIR: In my dispatch 84, of February 1, I gave as one of the reasons for our action in assuming a qualified and temporary "protectorate" over these islands, the possibility of the arrival here of a British war vessel, and stated that the English minister thus aided might try to press unduly the Provisional Government. On the 13th instant the British cruiser Garnet, an iron ship of 2,120 tons, 240 men and officers, Capt. H. F. Hughes-Hallet in command, arrived here. Only three or four days had elapsed when the manifest unfriendliness of the English sailors as well as of some of the officers of the Garnet was displayed. The men of the Garnet being allowed to go on shore in the customary way, they soon showed marked sympathy for the fallen Queen's cause and indulged in insulting remarks towards the United States marines and sailors of the Boston on duty ashore by the request of the Provisional Government and with my approval.

There came very near being a riot and severe quarrel in the public streets. Only the forbearance and self-possession of the officers and men of the Boston prevented the English sailors getting a severe beating, with unhappy incidents. It at once became necessary for the Provisional Government to take precautionary steps as to the men from foreign naval vessels being on shore, providing that only those of one nationality should be on shore the same day. I cannot think that Capt. Hughes-Hallet, of the Garnet, gave countenance to this insulting and disorderly conduct of the men of his ship, though some of the under officers may have done so. Neither the captain of the Garnet nor his officers have made the customary call on the Provisional Government, and so far as possible they seem to wish to ignore it. It is generally supposed, and I think correctly, that the English minister here, Hon. J. H. Wodehouse, whose son is married to the sister of the Hawaiian Crown Princess, is largely responsible for this unfriendliness to the Provisional Government. By those best informed as to Hawaiian Government affairs in the past twenty years, it is said that Mr. Wodehouse in his persistent resistance to American predominance here has never been well supported by the British cabinet in London, and it is believed that he will not be now.

Were it not that our flag is over the Government House there is little doubt that this British unfriendliness would have done much more mischief in stirring up the "hoodlum" elements, of which the lottery and opium gang of the fallen Queen's supporters have more or less control. At a great American reception and ball here on the evening of the 25th instant, the largest and most imposing ever had in Honolulu, partly as a testimonial to Captain Wiltse, of the Boston, about to leave for the United States, the English, the English diplomatic and consular officials, nor the officers of the Garnet attended, though they were invited.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

[Telegram.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, March 1, 1893.

All quiet throughout archipelago. Protectorate is preventing pressure of the British minister. The Japanese representatives telegraphed Government January 19. Japanese ship Nanica arrived February 23. Kongo arrived January 28. It is believed that the Japanese representative who arrived November 28 is urged by the British minister. It is believed that the British ship Warspite has been ordered here to provide for contingencies. It is advisable to send here at once the most powerful American ship available. I have sent particulars by mail.

STEVENS.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster.

No. 88.] UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, March 1, 1893.

SIR: My telegram preceding this dispatch informed the Department of State that quiet and general regularity in political and business affairs prevailed throughout the islands.

Our qualified protectorate appears to work favorably. It not only tends to increase American and annexation sentiments, but it also operates to prevent foreign complications. It makes it very difficult for the English Minister here—very hostile to American predominance—from interfering.

He is very desirous of bringing about a state of things to afford a pretext for landing English marines and sailors, and to bring about a tripartite management of Hawaiian affairs. Hence his efforts to secure the Japanese commissioner to his design. With the former Japanese commissioner, a gentleman of education and intelligence and very farsighted, I had most cordial relations.

The present commissioner, here only a few weeks, is a different man. He had been in the consular service in San Francisco and New York and evidently has a certain degree of anti-American prejudice.

When he telegraphed Tokio for the great iron clad which arrived here February 23, the Provisional Government had not got fairly to work, and our “qualified protectorate” had not been established.

Not fully understanding the situation he acted hastily. So far the commanders of the two Japanese vessels have followed the example of the English commanders in not calling on the Provisional Government, though both the English minister and the Japanese commissioner had acknowledged it as the Hawaiian Government de facto. The French commissioner and the Portuguese charge are on most friendly terms with the Provisional Government, as are nearly all the foreign consuls.

I still hope to separate the Japanese commissioner from the English minister. He has already avowed himself quite well satisfied with the course of the Provisional Government, and acknowledges the unsupportable state of things the last weeks of the Hawaiian monarchy.
It is possible he has some connection with the middlemen who have been supplying contract laborers for the Hawaiian plantations, and fears annexation might spoil the occupation and profits of middlemen.

Whether any suggestions should be made to our minister at Tokio to say anything to the Japanese Government touching Hawaiian affairs, it is for the Department of State to decide.

I am, sir, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Note.—In requesting that war vessels be sent here I have considered that the Department of State might probably have information prior to arrival of my cipher dispatch rendering the granting of my request unnecessary.

But I also consider that if I do not give the view as it appears at this distant standpoint at this date, I would fail of duty.

STEVENS.

Mr. Wharton to Mr. Stevens.

No. 77.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 2, 1893.

Sir: I transmit a letter of the President in reply to the letter of January 24, 1893, of his excellency the President of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, relating to political events; and a copy thereof. You will send the copy to the foreign office, and deliver the original at a time and in a manner agreeable to his excellency.

I am, sir, etc.,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary.

[Enclosure in No. 77.]

Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States of America, To His Excellency,
Sanford B. Dole, President of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

WASHINGTON, March 1, 1893.

Great and Good Friend: I have received your letter of January 24, 1893, by which you inform me that the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands has been quietly and peaceably established under a proclamation formally and publicly made at the door of the Government building in Honolulu, on the 17th day of January, 1893, and that the said Government has honored you with the office of President of the Provisional Government and chairman of the executive and advisory councils of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

I am pleased to note the expression of your earnest desire to maintain and strengthen the strong friendship which has for so many years existed between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, and to assure your excellency that I shall omit no effort which may conduce to the accomplishment of a purpose which I so heartily desire.

May God have your excellency and the people of the Hawaiian Islands in His wise keeping.

Your good friend,

By the President:

Wm. F. Wharton,
Acting Secretary of State.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Gresham.

No. 89.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, March 7, 1893.

SIR: Believing it to be proper and just for the administration of President Cleveland to have the appointment of a United States minister abroad who fully represents its views as to foreign policy, I hereby tender my resignation as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Honolulu. It is not improper for me to say that I should have offered my resignation about this date had President Harrison been re-elected, it having been my firm resolution when I came here in 1889 not to remain longer than four years at most. I am aware that the present Hawaiian Government and most of the Americans and friends of the United States in these islands have a strong desire that I should continue to hold my official position here at present, owing to my thorough acquaintance with Hawaiian affairs.

But if annexation is near being accomplished, I think by the 1st of May I can leave here without being in the way to public interests, and that whatever further duties may be required of a diplomatic official can be safely intrusted to Hon. H. W. Severance, the present consul general. He is well informed as to the history of recent political events here. In addition to his four years of consular service in Honolulu he had had in former years an extensive acquaintance with these islands. He is a gentleman of correct life and has the confidence of the best men here, being about 64 years of age. As neither a United States minister nor consul is likely to be needed here long, I would advise that Mr. Severance be continued in office so long as his official services may be necessary.

If annexation is not at present to become an accomplished fact, and a minister should be needed here, you will allow the suggestion that he should be a superior man of tact, firmness, integrity, and correct life, and American to the core. To avoid risks I would advise he be not a Californian politician of any party, for owing to contiguity and near commercial association a Californian might not be entirely unbiased on some questions and interests.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Gresham.

No. 90.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, March 7, 1893.

SIR: The political situation here at this time is much the same as it was at the dates of my two preceding dispatches. There is general quiet throughout the islands and the Provisional Government is getting along exceedingly well, all circumstances considered. It is giving satisfaction to all the better and more responsible citizens. Of course, all are awaiting with deep anxiety the result of the action of the Senate on the annexation treaty. Mr. Wodehouse, the British minister, is trying to embarrass it in several particulars, especially its freedom of action in respect to its negotiations with the United States. He has tried to induce it to request the return to their ship of the marines and sailors of the Boston, about 120 in all. He is assuming to urge that the
annexation treaty if ratified by the Senate should be submitted here to a popular vote, hoping to stir up all the factional and irresponsible elements thus to defeat annexation, though none knows better than he that such a procedure here under existing conditions would be a farce and no test of the opinions of the responsible people of the islands.

Of course, the views of the English minister in this regard get to the public ears and the factional and irresponsible elements are stirred more or less by the Canadian, Australian, and American adventurers here, of the lottery and opium rings. I think the Provisional Government has answered the English minister very effectively by pointing him to the general course of the British Government in its numerous annexations of Pacific Islands as well as of other countries.

In my dispatch 74 I have given the special personal and family reasons why Minister Wodehouse wishes the Hawaiian monarchy restored and American ascendancy here weakened. Annexation alone will put an end to these ultra British intrigues and give Hawaii responsible government and great prosperity.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

No. 91.] Mr. Stevens to Mr. Gresham.

[Confidential]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, March 7, 1893.

SIR: By the American newspapers it appears, and I have the information from other sources, that a Mr. E. C. Macfarlane is in Washington, professing to be an ardent American, sometimes claiming to be an annexationist, but avows himself hostile to the Hawaiian Provisional Government and to the course of the Hawaiian commissioners.

It is proper for me to inform the Department of State that this man is one of the firm of George Macfarlane & Co., referred to by my predecessor here, Minister Merrill, in his dispatch 78, to Secretary Bayard, of September 2, 1886, page 558 of printed volume of diplomatic documents. Again, the minister refers to the same firm in his dispatch 138, of August 2, 1887, page 832, printed volume, by which it is seen that the firm was a party to defrauding the Hawaiian Government of more than $100,000 in negotiating a loan with a London house. For years this firm has been ultra English in its political affiliations and mercantile plans.

A few months since this E. C. Macfarlane, by intrigues and associations became one of the recent Queen's ministers, minister of finance. So unsatisfactory was he to all the best members of the Legislature and to the business men of the Islands, that he remained in the ministry but a few days, being voted out by the Legislature though the English minister, openly and by personal effort, and his wife more conspicuously in the legislative hall, worked to retain him. After Macfarlane was voted out, the English minister used the former as a go-between to the Queen to get her to appoint another pro English cabinet, but the effort failed. This E. C. Macfarlane is referred to in my 70 and 71. This is the man who sought to get access to President Cleveland, at Lakewood, according to the New York and Washington papers, and is now posing as an American and is said to be asking a
hearing at Washington. He and his brother were born here of Scotch parentage, and E. C. lived several years in California. But American interests here have no more unrelenting foe than this liquor-importing house of G. W. Macfarlane & Co.

E. C. Macfarlane is a fitting confederate in Washington, as he has been in Honolulu, with Paul Neuman, the deposed Queen’s attorney, whose character is described in my dispatch 51 of January 26.

I am, sir, etc.,

John L. Stevens.

Mr. Gresham to Mr. Stevens.

No. 79.] Department of State, Washington, March 10, 1893.

SIR: I append a copy of a telegram* received on 8th instant, over your signature.

I am, etc.,

W. Q. Gresham.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Gresham.

No. 92.] United States Legation, Honolulu, March 15, 1893.

SIR: That the Department of State may fully understand the present status of affairs here, it is necessary for me to state as accurately as possible the practical working of the qualified and restricted protectorate which the United States officials are exercising here. We have never understood this practically to allow us to go much, if any, beyond the spirit and terms of Secretary Bayard’s dispatch to Minister Merrill of July 12, 1887, in printed volume of Foreign Relations of that year, page 581, and both the Provisional Government and myself have ever construed it as strictly within the limitations specified in Secretary Foster’s dispatch 71 of February 11, 1893, fully understanding that the United States representatives here shall not interfere with the sovereignty nor with the administration of the public affairs of these islands. This restricted protectorate has proved more necessary and beneficial than was fully perceived when assumed.

When the Hawaiian monarchy collapsed and the Provisional Government was instituted, there were corruptions and abuses wherever the palace power had exercised predominating influence in the selection of officials. Time was necessary for the eradication of these evils, for the creation of a reliable police, and for the organization and drilling of a small military force. Besides the English minister, for reasons indicated in previous dispatches, was bitterly dissatisfied that I had acted independently of him, landing the men of the Boston when they were imperatively needed, while there was then no British vessel here. According to what was anticipated might occur, not long after our restricted protectorate was assumed the British war ship Carnet arrived. It was then too late for the English minister to make effective any demand to land troops or to insist on dual action with the United States minister. Still more, the Japanese commissioner arriving here but a short time before the fall of the monarchy, and not fully understanding the situation, began to manifest a wish to land men from the Japanese

* See under date of March 8, 1893.
war vessel in the harbor, and telegraphed Tokio via San Francisco, two
days after the fall of the monarchy, for another war vessel, and Febru-
ary 23, as previously stated in my dispatch 88, one of the largest ships
of the Japanese navy arrived here. But it was then too late for the
intrigues and pressure of the English minister and the arrival of the
increased Japanese naval force to intervene. It was found that the
prompt American action had given so much moral support to the new
Hawaiian Government that neither the Government nor the United
States officials here would consent to any temporary dual or tripartite
arrangement as to Hawaiian affairs.

Yesterday, the 14th, the British ship Garnet left for Vancouver, and
to-day or to-morrow the Kongo, the smallest Japanese ship, will leave
for Japan. There is no doubt that but for our protectorate, restricted
as it is, the British minister would have insisted on the same right to
land troops that he had formerly exercised here, while our action of
February 1 and of the days preceding closed the door against complica-
tions, saved the Provisional Government from foreign pressure, leav-
ing the United States complete master of the situation. The Japanese
commissioner and naval commanders now fully recognize the Provi-
sional Government by official and ceremonial calls, and their attitude
toward this legation and our naval commanders here appear to be cor-
dial. But I have learned positively and beyond all doubt that had not
the monarchy here fallen and this Government had remained in its for-
mer condition of weakness, it was the intention of the newly arrived
Japanese commissioner to have demanded the same political rights in
Hawaii, including the voting franchise for Japanese, as, under the con-
stitution of 1887, have been exercised by resident foreigners of Christian
nations. I am equally convinced that with annexation to the United
States the Japanese Government will attempt no pressure of this kind,
that Government fully understanding that the United States is a reliable
friend of Japan and that the Japanese subjects in these islands will be
well protected should Hawaii come fully under the rule of the United
States. While I say this I shall be allowed to express the opinion that
there is occasion for keeping a sharp eye on Tokyo and British and per-
haps other foreign intrigues there against our plans of predominance
in the North Pacific.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Gresham.

No. 93.]  UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, March 24, 1893.

Sir: In my previous dispatches I have given some facts and sur-
mises regarding Japanese ambitions as to these islands. I presume
the Department of State has knowledge of the elaborate article of Sir
Edward Arnold in the London Telegraph of February 24, strongly
anti American and favoring the surrender of Hawaii to Japanese pre-
dominance and protection. By residence in Japan, as well as by some
previously acquired taste of Calcutta and Hindostan life, Arnold
seems to accept readily Japanese morals and civilization, warmly flatters
the easily susceptible vanity of the Japanese, the real Frenchmen
of Asia. My only reason for referring to Sir Edward Arnold and his
copyrighted London article is because of certain Japanese indications
in this neighborhood.
How far these indications have substantial basis in Tokyo of course I am unable to say. It is reasonable to presume that this Japanese interest in Hawaiian affairs is cherished and pushed forward by at least one of the political cliques in the Japanese capital. The sudden coming here of the Naniwa, a powerful iron clad, at the telegraphic call of the Japanese diplomatic agent here, though the Kongo, a Japanese war ship of 2,200 tons, was then here, indicates some sensitive spring of action at Tokyo. Just before the fall of the Queen, the Japanese commissioner had positively indicated to me his purpose to press on the Hawaiian Government the demand for the amendment of the Hawaiian constitution so as to give the Japanese in the islands the same rights of suffrage enjoyed by European and American foreigners and Hawaiians. He was to demand this in virtue of stipulations which he regarded to be in a Japanese treaty with Hawaii secured under the old Hawaiian régime prior to the adoption of the reform constitution of 1887.

There is every reason to believe that had not the United States flag been raised over the Hawaiian Government building, and American protection thus secured, it was the intention of the Japanese Commissioner to have demanded and asserted the right of landing Japanese forces from the Naniwa and the Kongo, and thus to have placed Japanese officials here on equal footing with the representatives of the United States, thus establishing a dual arrangement and protection in Hawaiian affairs. But when the Naniwa arrived here February 23 our action of February 1 raising the flag over the Government building had completely closed the door, and the Japanese commissioner and naval commander saw it would not do to encroach on ground covered by United States protection. Of course, the only hope of the Japanese jingo to carry out the suffrage scheme would be in the restoration of the Queen, who is ready secretly to promise anything for Japanese help in her monarchical design. Lately I have had several interviews with the Japanese commissioner of a friendly character. I have reminded him of the long-existing friendship and good relations between Japan and the United States, and why those relations are likely to exist in the future.

I called his attention to and explained our many years of special relations to and interest in these islands, and gave him to understand that we would view any encroachment on the sovereignty and soil of Hawaii by a foreign power much the same as an encroachment on the soil and rights of the United States. I assured him that in case annexation should become a fact we should strictly protect the life, property, and interests of all residents of the islands. I approached this point with so much caution and with such friendly words that I am confident he appreciated the weight of my reasons and the kindly vigor with which I stated them. Since these interviews with the Japanese commissioner I have learned of his saying to one of the principal men of the Provisional Government that he thinks it does not matter much who control the islands provided that the laws were well enforced and the life and property of the residents well secured.

Apparently at this writing the Japanese commissioner is more responsive to the wishes and purposes of the United States representatives here than to those of any other power. Yet I can but regard it all important for us to hold our position on shore firmly, especially so long as the Naniwa remains in Hawaiian waters.

There is no doubt that the foreign adventurers here, especially the lottery and opium rings that drew the Queen to her overthrow, will do
their utmost to seduce the Japanese officials by stimulating their animosities and aspirations. Among these adventurers are well known here to be Paul Neuman, the fallen Queen's attorney, now or recently in Washington. He is in the paid employ of the Tokyo contract labor importing ring; who for years have been bleeding the Hawaiian planters and the Japanese laborers out of large sums of money. There are the best reasons for the belief that this Tokyo ring and their co-partners here are opposing annexation because they believe that American possession will put an end to their corrupt work and large gains. Careful inquiry leads to the conclusion that this Tokyo ring, aided by Englishmen and others like Sir Edward Arnold, are stimulating Japanese ambitions and interference here. Highly placed Englishmen will do this, because they prefer Japanese influence should predominate rather than American. Annexation would end forever all schemes of this kind. Certain it is that at present it would be risking too much to withdraw our protecting flag and armed marines from Honolulu until this Japanese menace shall have completely terminated and the unscrupulous ring of foreign adventurers can no longer make use of it as an agency of reaction and misrule.

All friends of the United States in these islands, and none more keenly than the Provisional Government, appreciate this, and are anxious for the continued support and protection of the United States. I had failed to give to the Department of State the information and suggestions contained in this dispatch, I would have keenly realized that I had failed of my duty as an American minister at this important juncture of Hawaiian affairs.

I am, sir, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

NOTE.—I have in the above and a preceding dispatch spoken of the presence here of the Japanese war ship, the Kongo. While in these waters that ship made a visit to Hilo early in March. While at Hilo the conversation related in the inclosed paper took place on board that ship, which may be read in connection with my accompanying dispatch 93. I also inclose printed slips of the Honolulu Advertiser, the chief newspaper on the islands, strongly American in its views and sentiments:

Copy of language used by the captain of the Japanese war ship Kongo while in the harbor of Hilo, March 5 or 6.

INTERVIEW OF JAPANESE INTERPRETER.

I have just had a long talk with Mr. LeRoy, the Japanese interpreter for the Hilo district. He was the only one who had a talk with the captain of the Kongo during her presence in the harbor, and I quote his own language.

"Sunday afternoon when the Kongo arrived the surgeon of the ship called upon me and asked about the health of the port. I referred him to Dr. Williams, the Government physician, and then he handed me a sealed letter; upon the upper corner of the envelope were the words 'official business.'

"Upon opening it I found a communication from the captain of the Kongo, who asked me to visit the ship the next day. I accepted, and Monday afternoon went on board. The captain took me into his cabin, away from the others, and, after a few introductory remarks, he said:

"What is the sentiment of the Japanese on the islands? Do they not side with the natives?" I assured him that such did not seem to be the case.

"In case," he continued, "that there should be trouble, would they not bear arms with the Hawaiians?"

"This question rather puzzled me, but I told him I did not think so.

"He went over the same ground several times, and, from what he said, I am convinced he was not pleased with the attitude the Japanese had taken.
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

"I then asked him what the Kongo had come to Hilo for, and he replied, 'To protect the rights of Japanese.'"

"Well, there are many ways.' I asked him if he intended to take any definite action. 'No,' said he, 'I must consult with the captain of the Jamaica. I have to consult with him at Honolulu.' I then referred to the appearance of the U. S. S. Alliance. He shrugged his shoulders, and I said, 'I suppose she came to watch us; but she is a wooden tub, anyway.'"

Stevens to Mr. Gresham.

No. 94.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, April 4, 1893.

SIR: Your dispatch of March 11 was placed in my hands by Special Commissioner Hon. James H. Blount. So long as I remain in service here I shall endeavor faithfully to carry out the instructions of the Secretary of State.

The presence of the men from the U. S. S. Boston on shore from January 16 to April 1 had a remarkably beneficial influence on public affairs in the islands, safeguarding American life and property and encouraging the elements of public order. When the Hawaiian monarchy fell under the weight of its astounding corruptions and by its own suicidal hand, there remained here no reliable organized police, and there was no military force in all the islands with a population of nearly 100,000. The supporters of the Provisional Government having had little or no military experience, an organized military force could not be created at once. Time was absolutely necessary. The presence of the few United States soldiers with their country's flag was of incalculable importance to the only existing and only possible government for Hawaii. When the men of the Boston went to their ship, April 1 the Provisional Government had at its command a military force of 400 men—the most effective ever known in the islands—and an organized police with a tried and efficient man at the head. The remarkable change accomplished in seventy-five days had been without the loss of life or the destruction of property. Had the United States minister and the naval commander not acted as they did they would have deserved prompt removal from their places and the just censure of the friends of humanity and of civilization.

The general aspect of Hawaiian affairs at this time is highly encouraging. The Provisional Government is gaining in public confidence and popular support. There is complete good order throughout the islands. The present government is supported by all the more responsible citizens and by seven eighths of the property of the country. By all the best citizens it is regarded the best government the islands have had for many years. The friends of annexation continue to increase and now include all the supporters of the Provisional Government, the principal property holders, and a large number of native Hawaiians.

With my family I intend to leave Honolulu for our home in Maine in the steamer of May 24. Unless otherwise directed, I will leave the archives, books, and other property of the legation in care of Hon. H. W. Severance, the consul general. Owing to the advanced years and imperfect health of Mrs. Stevens and myself, it will be necessary for us to have repeated stopping for rest on our long journey, though we expect to make our home transit inside of the thirty-five days allowed by law.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.
Mr. Gresham to Mr. Stevens.

No. 81.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 18, 1893.

SIR: I have received your No. 92, of the 15th ultimo, relative to the Provisional Government recently established in Hawaii, and the attitude of the British and Japanese representatives with respect thereto. I am, etc.,

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Mr. Gresham to Mr. Stevens.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 25, 1893.

In view of your tender of resignation dated March 7 and of your dispatch 94 of April 4, I am directed by the President to inform you that your resignation is accepted. You are therefore authorized to quit your post at your early convenience, leaving the archives and property of the legation in custody of Consul-General Severance without diplomatic functions.

GRESHAM.

Mr. Adee to Mr. Stevens.

No. 82.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 27, 1893.

SIR: I have received your dispatches numbered 89 and 94, of 7th ultimo and 4th instant, and with reference thereto append a copy of a telegram* of 25th instant accepting your resignation.

I am, etc.,

ALVEY A. ADEE,
Acting Secretary.

*See under date of April 25, 1893.

Mr. Gresham to Mr. Stevens.

No. 83.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 4, 1893.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 93, of the 24th March last, and the newspaper extracts therewith, concerning rumors and reports of a desire on the part of Japan to improve its footing in the Hawaiian Islands.

I am, etc.,

W. Q. GRESHAM.
Mr. Stevens to Mr. Gresham.

United States Legation,
Honolulu, May 18, 1893.

Sir: Agreeably to your instructions I have turned over the archives and other property of the legation to Hon. James G. Blount, my successor as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States. Herewith is inclosed his receipt for the same. A duplicate copy I leave at the legation. I leave here with my family and the remains of my deceased daughter May 24. Had it been possible to have secured proper steamer accommodations we would have left Honolulu ten days earlier, though that would have been several days prior to your dispatch directing me to place the legation in charge of Mr. Blount.

I am, sir, etc.,

John L. Stevens.

Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham.

Legation of the United States,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, May 21, 1893.

Sir: I received by the Australia arriving here on the 17th instant two telegrams from you, dated on the 9th instant, forwarded through W. A. Cooper, United States Dispatch agent at San Francisco.

I regret very much that it was found necessary to appoint me as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Hawaiian Islands.

On the afternoon of the former date I took the oath of office—which I inclose herewith—and have taken charge of the records and property of the legation.

I have done so because I supposed from the circumstance that I was appointed against a declaration on my part to you in Washington that I could not accept it, that some important reason, not contained in the telegram, made it desirable to the President and yourself that Mr. Stevens' connection with the legation should be promptly severed.

I inclose herewith my resignation of the office, with the request that it be accepted, and my successor appointed as soon as practicable.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

James H. Blount.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 1.]

Legation of the United States,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, May 24, 1893.

Sir: I herewith tender my resignation of the office of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Hawaiian Islands, to take effect on your acceptance thereof.

With profound admiration for you officially and personally,

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

James H. Blount,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

His Excellency Grover Cleveland,
President of the United States of America.
Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham.

Legation of the United States,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, May 21, 1893.

Sir: The letters of Mr. Nordhoff to the New York Herald, on the situation of affairs in the Hawaiian Islands, have produced intense resentment in the minds of American residents and of white annexationists generally here.

On the 21st instant Dr. J. C. McGrew, who claims to be an American citizen, and who is a leading member of the Annexation Club, and the editor in chief of the Hawaiian Star, which belongs to the Annexation Club and is a quasi official organ of the Government, reported to Admiral Skerrett that there had been quite an excitement all day long amongst persons who were offended by Mr. Nordhoff's letters, and that he had scarcely been able to restrain them from insulting Mr. Nordhoff by applying to him a coat of tar and feathers.

I immediately addressed a note to Mr. Dole, a copy of which I enclose herewith. (Inclosure No. 1.)

Later in the day Dr. McGrew informed Admiral Skerrett that there would be no effort to tar and feather Mr. Nordhoff, but that proceedings would be taken the next day in court against him.

The following day brought no answer from President Dole to my communication.

In the afternoon of the 22d instant, a paper was served upon Mr. Nordhoff—a copy of which I enclose.

The assertion of a power under the color of law to hold Mr. Nordhoff responsible for the publication of his letters in the New York Herald being regarded as without warrant of authority and in violation of his rights as an American citizen, I determined immediately to communicate to the Government a denial of their right to proceed against him on account of said publication.

Desiring to avoid any semblance of too great readiness to enter into a controversy with the Hawaiian Government over this matter, I went to see President Dole, and called attention to the action of the attorney general and informed him that the Government of the United States would not submit to the exercise of such a prerogative on the part of the Hawaiian Government; that I deemed it proper to hold a conversation with him, hoping to avoid thereby any official correspondence which might produce acerbity or the slightest estrangement. He replied that he was very much obliged to me for having taken such a course, and that the question raised would be examined and the conclusions reached communicated to me.

He then referred to my letter, saying that he would have answered it, but supposed that it was intended simply to give him notice of the facts stated. I replied that I regretted he had not seen fit to give me any information concerning the matter in writing in order that the same might be forwarded to the Government of the United States; that I hoped the additional subject of controversy, to which I invited his attention, would be adjusted in a manner consistent with the honor of the United States, and so speedily that I might be able to communicate this also to the home Government. After some conversation on this subject he informed me that the advisory council had requested Mr. Nordhoff to come before it, and asked me if I thought he would come, as it was only a request. To this I answered, "I presume not. Whatever information Mr. Nordhoff may have obtained carried with it an obligation of privacy, which I do not believe he would violate."
All this occurred on the street, and as we were about to part, I said to him that I should call on Mr. Nordhoff, and let him know the status of the affair; that I felt it my duty to give him such assurances as would conduce to his sense of security. To this he responded: "I have taken precautions against any violence being done to him, although I do not think he is in any danger."

I immediately sent to Mr. Nordhoff's house and was at first prevented from entering the yard by two policemen. I am persuaded, however, that this was an unintentional error on their part and not in pursuance of their instructions.

In conversation with Mr. Nordhoff he told me he had been summoned before the advisory council. On reaching home I found the document, a copy of which I inclose herewith (No. 3).

It had very little the appearance to my mind of a request. On the 23d I had Mr. Nordhoff come to the legation headquarters at 9 o'clock, and requested him to remain there until I should return from the Government building where I was about to proceed to make formal announcement of my appointment as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

I do not deem it necessary to report the speech of myself or President Dole, but simply to say that they contained those manifestations of friendship usually occurring on such occasions between friendly powers.

After this ceremony was over President Dole expressed a desire to speak with me on the subject of the legal proceedings instituted by the attorney-general against Mr. Nordhoff, and likewise the action of the advisory council and my verbal complaint in relation thereto. He began by desiring an appointment with me sometime during the day in order to communicate with me what had occurred in the matter of the consideration of the subject by the law officers of the Government. I said that I hoped it would be disposed of as promptly as possible; and that I had foreborne any written communication on the subject in the interest of good will between the two countries; that unless the matter was disposed of speedily I must address him a communication.

He asked me if Mr. Nordhoff would go before the council and make an apology? To this I responded that I did not think he would; that I could not advise him to such a course; that after denunciation by the "Star," the Annexation Club organ, threats of insult by tarring and feathering, proceedings instituted by the attorney general in the local courts, and the action of the advisory council, such an apology would have the appearance of compulsion, to which I was not willing to see an American citizen subjected.

At this hour (10:40) I am awaiting a communication from the Government. To avoid any additional complications I have advised Mr. Nordhoff to remain at the legation.

At 2:10 p.m. a communication was received from President Dole, through his secretary, a copy of which I inclose herewith (No. 4). Whereupon Mr. Nordhoff left the legation for his residence.

At 4:30 p.m. of the same day, the 23d instant, not hearing anything from President Dole, I sent my secretary, Mr. Mills, to inquire whether he would call during the day, and if so, at what time? He sent me a verbal message by Mr. Mills to the effect that he was not under the impression that he was to have any further conversation with me, having had one at the Government building. Of course this was a misunderstanding between us. He further stated that the advisory council had referred the subject to the attorney-general, to inquire
424 IIAWAIIAN ISLANDS,

JAMES M. BLOUNT,

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whether any civil or criminal proceedings would be taken against Mr. Nordhoff.

Thereupon I determined to forward to him a letter (a copy of which I inclose, No. 5), which I had written on yesterday afternoon, but had withheld it, hoping for a speedy adjustment of the difference without its being placed in writing.

I recognize the obligation of an American citizen residing in a foreign country to obey its laws.

It has appeared to me that the doctrine laid down by Mr. Bayard in the case of A. K. Cutting, September 9, 1885, is applicable to the pending case. If this be true then the issue may as rightfully be made before the consideration of the cause as subsequent thereto.

Yesterday afternoon the Hon. John L. Stevens called to see me. He was exceedingly bitter against Mr. Nordhoff—charging him with treasonable conduct and displaying the most eager interest in the matter of the action of the Hawaiian Government against him. Amongst other things he alleged that Mr. Nordhoff had been conspiring with the royalists to overthrow the Provisional Government, and that the Government had the evidence against him in black and white. I asked him how this came to his knowledge? He replied, "Well, I have it, anyhow; and they ought to have it."

I very much fear that his relations to the people here, and his bitter feeling against Mr. Nordhoff, has contributed to produce an abnormal excitement against the latter.

I believe the situation was such as made it necessary for me to promptly act in the manner related.

The objectionable correspondence heretofore referred to was published in the Daily Bulletin. So far as I know it is not claimed by the authorities here that Mr. Nordhoff had anything to do with its publication.

I inclose herewith a copy of a communication from him (No. 6).

I expect that action will be taken requiring Mr. Nordhoff to leave the country. Should this occur I shall not deem it my duty to make objection.

I am, etc.,

JAMES M. BLOUNT,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister

Plenipotentiary of the United States.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 2.]

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, May 21, 1893.

Sir: I beg your attention to the following statement from Admiral Skerrett:

"I was informed to-day upon reliable authority—the authority being Dr. S. McGrew—that some exasperated citizens of Honolulu had taken great offense at the wording of a letter supposed to have been written by Mr. Nordhoff, a United States citizen, and newspaper correspondent of the New York Herald, which statement that he had received from certain persons in Honolulu, he communicated to his paper.

Threats have been made with regard to his possible maltreatment, such threats being far and feathering, and other things."

Mr. Nordhoff being an eminent citizen of the United States, I deem it proper to call your attention to this matter.

Very respectfully,

JAMES H. BLOUNT,

United States Special Commissioner.

Hon. S. B. Dole,

Minister of Foreign Affairs.
MINISTER STEVENS' INTRIGUE.

Minister Stevens has been engaged all the last week in an intrigue having for its object to alarm the Queen and cause her to abdicate. Mr. Dole, head of the Provisional Government, has been, it is understood, working with the American minister at this enterprise, and reports have been set abroad that President Cleveland wishes her to make acession of the islands to the United States; that Commissioner Blount would be pleased if she did; that Mr. Blount is going away soon; that he intends to land troops again and hoist the American flag; that he is unhappy over the situation; that he is afraid to leave here even to visit some of the other islands without first putting an American garrison in possession of Honolulu, and so forth.

IN THE NAME OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS:

To the Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands, or his deputy on the Island of Oahu greeting:

Whereas, by a resolution of the executive and advisory councils adopted on the 22d day of May, A.D. 1893, a copy of which is as follows:

"Whereas the following statement, among others, has been published in the Daily Bulletin in a letter purporting to have been written by Mr. Charles Nordhoff, viz:

"SHREWD LOTTERY MEN.

"It is not necessary to give more names. A good many retail merchants, grocers, clothing sellers, etc., are on the lottery petitions, and I am told the labor union men, now all annexationists, went in almost in a body for the lottery, as well as most of the members of the Provisional Assembly."

And whereas said statement, as far as it applies to the Provisional Assembly, is wholly false,

Resolved, That said Charles Nordhoff he cited to appear before this assembly on Tuesday, May 23, A.D. 1893, at 11 o'clock a.m., to show upon what authority he has based such assertions. It was voted that Charles Nordhoff he cited to appear before said Assembly on Tuesday, the 23d day of May instant, at 11 o'clock a.m., to show upon what authority he based his said assertion.

Now, therefore, you are commanded to cite said Charles Nordhoff, if he can be found within your jurisdiction, to appear before the executive and advisory councils of the Provisional Government, at the Council Chamber in Honolulu, on Tuesday, the 23d day of May, A.D. 1893, at 11 o'clock a.m., to answer to such complaint as may be made against him.

Witness: Hon. Sanford B. Dole, President of the executive and advisory councils of the Provisional Government at Honolulu, this 23d day of May, A.D. 1893.

CHARLES T. ROGERS,
Secretary Executive and Advisory Councils.

HONOLULU, OAHU, Hawaiian Islands, May 22, 1893.

I hereby certify the within to be a true and correct copy of the original in re the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands vs. Charles Nordhoff, citation to be and appear before the executive and advisory councils of the said Provisional Government.

C. G. HITCHCOCK,
Marshal, Hawaiian Islands
[Inclosure 4 in No. 2]

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, May 23, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter as United States Special Commissioner of the 21st instant, calling my attention to a statement by Rear Admiral Skerritt, that threats had been made by exasperated citizens of Honolulu of maltreatment of Mr. Charles Nordhoff, a citizen of the United States and the correspondent of the New York Herald.

In reply I beg to express regret that any such violence as your letter suggests has been threatened Mr. Nordhoff, and have called the attention of the proper authorities of the Government to the matter, and have taken steps for his protection against any violence whatever during his residence here.

With sentiments of the highest regard and esteem,

I have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's obedient servant,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency JAMES H. BLOUNT,
United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Honolulu.

[Inclosure 5 in No. 2.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, May 23, 1893.

SIR: I have been handed the following communication from Mr. Charles Nordhoff, (See inclosure No. 2, Attorney-General W. O. Smith to Mr. Nordhoff.)

The New York Herald is a paper not published in the Hawaiian Islands, and the proposition that the Government thereof can take jurisdiction of the author of the article aforesaid on account of its publication in the United States is wholly inadmissible. It is equivalent to asserting that the Hawaiian Government can take jurisdiction over the authors of the various criticisms of political affairs in the Hawaiian Islands which appear in the newspapers of the United States.

To an assumption of such jurisdiction by the Hawaiian Government the Government of the United States will not submit. It will not permit that this prerogative shall be in any degree usurped by the Hawaiian Government, nor will it permit a citizen of the United States to be called to account by the Hawaiian Government for acts done within the boundaries of the United States.

On this ground I insist that no proceedings shall be taken against Mr. Nordhoff such as are indicated in the letter signed W. O. Smith, Attorney-General.

Since writing the foregoing I find the following paper has been served on Mr. Nordhoff. (See inclosure No. 3.—"In the name of the Provisional Government, etc.")

Permit me to say that in my judgment this, and the foregoing proceeding, under the color of law, is a violation of the rights of Mr. Nordhoff as an American citizen.

When I remember how on the 16th of January last, at the request of your leading citizens, American troops were landed and brought quiet to the homes of the people of this city, it is passing strange to me to find an eminent citizen of the United States subjected to such outrage at the hands of the Provisional Government of these Islands.

I can but hope that this action will be, on reconsideration, repudiated.

While I desire to promote the kindliest feelings between your Government and mine, I shall not forget that one of the proudest reflections of the American people is their disposition and ability to protect an American citizen throughout the civilized world.

I am, etc.,

JAMES H. BLOUNT,
E. E. and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

Hon. SANFORD B. DOLE,
President, etc., of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

[Inclosure 6 in No. 2.]

HONOLULU, May 23, 1893.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your question I say that the publication in the Bulletin of my letters to the New York Herald was without my knowledge and consent; that is to say, I knew nothing at all about it.

Yours, truly,

CHARLES NORDHOFF.

His excellency JAMES H. BLOUNT,
Minister of the United States.
Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham.

No. 3.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, May 29, 1893.

SIR: Just before the leaving of the Australia, on the 24th instant, there came to me, too late for mailing to you, a communication from President Dole, a copy of which I inclose (No. 1).

At this date (May 29) nothing further has been heard.

I suggested to President Dole and the attorney-general, in conversations with them, that if Mr. Nordhoff was so obnoxious they might possibly require him to leave the country. This did not seem to impress them favorably. Indeed, the whole proceeding in relation to him seems to have been animated by the spirit of crushing out all opposing opinions by forceful methods.

I do not expect the Government to recur to this matter again until a mail from the United States brings some letter to the Herald from Mr. Nordhoff, criticising the action of the annexationists. Then I expect it to be very much stirred again with anger toward him.

The action I have already taken will restrain it from excesses.

The Hawaiian Star, which is the annexation organ, commenting on the stay of proceedings against Mr. Nordhoff, published an editorial entitled "The Cutting Precedent," a copy of which I inclose herewith. (No. 2.)

I also inclose another comment from the same paper, entitled "The Farce of Protection." (No. 3.)

The editor-in-chief of this paper, prior to my taking any notice of the temper of the community towards Mr. Nordhoff, went to Admiral Skerrett late in the afternoon and informed him that he had been all day endeavoring to prevent the people from tarring and feathering Mr. Nordhoff; that up to that time he had been able to prevent it, and called on Admiral Skerrett to do what he could with the same view.

Admiral Skerrett communicating the facts to me I communicated them to President Dole. On his motion he sent the police to Mr. Nordhoff's house.

The situation, therefore, will appear somewhat graver than in my former dispatch, in which the statement of Admiral Skerrett was not as full as herein contained.

I hope you will not underrate the excitement which prompted all my actions in regard to Mr. Nordhoff.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES H. BLount,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 3, Diplomatic Series.]

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, May 29, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 22d instant relating to Mr. Nordhoff, and to state in reply that upon full consideration of the questions involved this Government has decided to take no criminal proceedings against Mr. Nordhoff for what was suggested as contempt against the advisory council of this Government.

In respect of the matters referred to in the attorney-general's letter to Mr. Nordhoff, this Government does not propose to take any proceedings in contravention of the view of international law expressed by the United States Government in the Cutting case; but there is apparently this distinction to be noted in the two matters, viz., That Mr. Cutting was in the United States when he made the publication
IRLANDS. 

been in Government, he proceeded to American the Hawaiian Star, May 23, del his release Nordhoff on it; they would is for it he did release of this argument would be use was through the publication which Hawaiian Mr. Kennan's libelous Government whereas Nordhoff and of Islands, and which articles have been republished here.

I beg to inform you that this Government will rigidly adhere to the rules of international law in respect of this matter as in all other matters, and in that view has referred to its law advisers the question of Mr. Nordhoff's civil liability in the premises.

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's obedient servant,

SANFORD B. DOLE, 
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

To His Excellency J. H. BLount, 
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Honolulu.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 3.]

[From the Hawaiian Star, May 24, 1893.]

THE CUTTING PRECEDENT.

The Cutting case, which was cited by United States Minister Blount in behalf of Charles Nordhoff, is a well-remembered episode in the criminal practice of international law. Mr. Cutting was a citizen of the United States, who lived at Juarez, formerly Paso del Norte, on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande border. At outset with an official of the Mexican Government, he assaulted him bitterly in a paper published on the Texas side of the line at El Paso, for which offense he was arrested by the Mexican authorities and thrust into jail. The American Secretary of State thereupon demanded and enforced his release on the ground that a citizen of the United States could not be criminally punished by the Government of a foreign country for a libelous publication made on American soil, holding that the injured party must seek redress in the courts within the jurisdiction of which the offense of publication had been committed.

Such a rule as this would, for example, apply to George Kennan, author of the Century papers on Siberia, in case he should, upon another visit to Russia, be criminally prosecuted by the Czar for the libels which the Russian Government claim he committed in his accounts of official cruelties practiced upon Siberian convicts. The Imperial Government would doubtless be informed by the American Foreign Office that its only remedy—except the deportation of Mr. Kennan as an undesirable visitor—lay in his prosecution in the courts of the United States and before a jury of his peers. No doubt in Mr. Kennan's case the validity of this argument would be as promptly admitted by Russia as it was when applied a year ago to Poultney Bigelow and Frederick Remington, who went into the Empire on a mission similar to that of Kennan, but were arrested for it and expelled from the country. That they would have been otherwise punished but for the force of the international rule laid down in the Cutting case can hardly be doubted by any one who is familiar with the tendencies of the Czar towards those who write, speak, or act against his mode of government.

Mr. Nordhoff is of course fortunate that by appeal to American precedent he has escaped another humiliation; but that fact does not alter the circumstances that, morally speaking, and in a way amenable to civil damages, he libeled Minister Stevens and President Dole and deserved the punishment which has been likely to indict upon him. His guilt is patent, though the consequences of it may have been avoided. The only gratification he can feel is that of an apprehended miscreant who escapes his deserts through a merely technical plea against the jurisdiction of the judge.

[Inclosure 3 in No. 3, Diplomatic Series.]

[From the Hawaiian Star, May 23, 1893.]

THE FARCE OF PROTECTION.

A broad smile of amusement went across the face of the town last evening, when it was learned that Mr. Nordhoff had applied for protection to the United States minister, and that, at the request of the latter, the Provisional Government had detailed
two native policemen to guard the Herald correspondent’s lodgings. In view of the fact that Mr. Nordhoff is as safe in Honolulu as he could be at his sequestered home on Coronado Beach, the whole episode becomes a tax upon the risibles.

Careful inquiry shows that the only basis for the Herald man’s fears—apart from that conscience which, as the poet says, “Doth make cowards of us all”—was a stray remark here and there that he ought to be tarred and feathered. As Mr. Nordhoff is well aware, such talk is often heard in times of political debate, and is but the smallest of small change in the circulation of public opinion. It is the coinage of idle chatter merely; in this case particularly so, as the annexation party is standing on its dignity as a representative Hawaiian body, asking admission to the American brotherhood on the ground, among other grounds, that in civilization, Christianity, and moral purpose it is worthy of the fellowship. It could not be induced to do or permit a ruffianly act, a fact which we believe Mr. Nordhoff himself appreciates as well as anyone else.

Why, then, did he ask protection? Wait and see! If he doesn’t use the fact that he got it to fill the columns of the Herald with a lurid tale of how he escaped death at the hands of an infuriated annexation mob, only to be saved by the intervention of Minister Blount and the reluctant display of provisional force, then the Star misses a reasonable guess. The two shirt-sleeved native policemen who dawdle about his palace dozing and yawning will doubtless be magnified into a garrison of men in buckram surrounded and besieged by bloodthirsty planters or missionaries all eager to flash their daggers in the heart of the one bold correspondent who had exposed their foul conspiracies and haled their cause to the bar of public judgment. Life will hardly be worth Mr. Nordhoff’s living until he can get some such phantasmagoria before the Herald’s readers, as evidence that all he had previously said against the nature and personnel of the annexation movement is true.

In the meantime it is to be hoped that the two native guardians of Mr. Nordhoff’s person and peace will manage to keep awake during the drowsy days and soporific nights which envelop the pastoral region of Nuuanu street.

Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham.

No. 4.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, June 1, 1893.

Sir: I send you a communication to-day signed as special commissioner because it relates to the object for which my appointment in that capacity was made.

I was sworn in as minister because I believed that some public reason for my temporary appointment influenced it. I could not under the circumstances do otherwise.

I now earnestly urge the immediate appointment of some person as my successor.

My resignation was forwarded in the form which you have seen because I did not deem it respectful to tender it absolutely when some temporary and public reason might have made it seem improper for me to do so.

If you have appointed a good man for consul-general here I do not see why he might not take charge of the affairs of the legation.

I am, etc.,

JAMES H. BLount.

Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham.

No. 5.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, June 1, 1893.

Sir: Last night about 11 o’clock three sticks of giant powder were found, accompanied by some preparation of mercury. Suspicion is rife with royalists and annexationists.
The place where they were found is near the Barracks. Believing it was intended to blow up the Barracks the soldiers have been removed this morning into the Palace grounds.

The mail leaves very soon and I can not get any full or accurate statement.

I do not think it indicates any general movement, but rather seems to be confined to a few white persons.

I am, etc.,

JAMES H. BLOUNT.

Mr. Gresham to Mr. Blount.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 23, 1893.

SIR: I transmit for your information a copy of a note of the minister of Hawaii, touching the recall by the Provisional Government of the Commission appointed last January for the purpose of negotiating terms for the union of the Hawaiian Islands with the United States, and announcing his readiness to resume the subject at any convenient time.

I am, etc.,

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, November 6, 1893.

SIR: I beg to inform the Department that I reached San Francisco on the 27th ultimo and sailed the following day, arriving in this city on, Saturday, November 4th, at 9 a.m.

On Saturday night I was tendered a serenade by the band of the Provisional Government, which passed off quietly and pleasantly. Having received information through our consul-general, Mr. Mills, that the Royalist party were contemplating a counter serenade and demonstration to-night, I strongly discouraged such action and it has been abandoned.

I addressed a note this morning to Hon. Sanford B. Dole, minister of foreign affairs, asking him to designate a convenient time and place when I could present the letters of recall and of credence which I bore, a copy of which I transmit herewith together with his reply, designating 11 o'clock of the forenoon, to morrow, the 7th instant, as the time for the presentation at the Executive building. I also inclose the remarks which I propose to make upon the occasion referred to, a copy of which I sent to the Provisional Government.

Admiral Skerrett and his staff paid me the usual official call at 10 o'clock this morning, which in company with Consul-General Mills I returned this afternoon at 3, receiving from the flagship the customary official courtesies. I afterwards called on Capt. Nelson, commanding the Adams, where I also met with a cordial reception.

I send by mail to morrow per steamship China a cipher telegram, as to the landing from steamship Australia last Saturday, of Winchester
rifles and ammunition, and the reported intention of the Provisional Government to issue a proclamation establishing a republic, the constitution for which, it is said, has been already prepared by Mr. Hatch, a member of the present cabinet.

The city is full of rumors, and the excitement is increasing every hour. I shall, therefore, avail myself of the earliest opportunity, after my credentials are approved, to carry out the instructions of the Department. The next steamer leaving here after to-morrow will be the Australia, which sails on Saturday, the 11th of November, by which time I hope to be able to give you reliable information as to the present attitude of all parties.

Mr. Mills has given me active and valuable assistance.

I have thus far had no communication with either of the opposing parties, except as herein stated.

With sentiments of high regard, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 1.]

Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.

Legation of the United States,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, November 6, 1893.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you of my arrival in this city, bearing sealed letters, open official copies whereof are herewith transmitted, addressed by the President of the United States of America to the President of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, recalling Mr. James H. Blount, who has for sometime past resided near your Government in the character of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, and accrediting the undersigned as his successor. By reason of his having resigned the office while in the United States, Mr. Blount is unable to present in person his letter of recall.

In pursuance of my instructions, I respectfully request you to designate a convenient time and place at which I may have the honor of presenting in person such original letters of recall and of credence.

With assurances of the most distinguished consideration, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 1.]

Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.

Department of Foreign Affairs,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, November 6, 1893.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's communication of this day's date informing me of your arrival in this city and that you are the bearer of sealed letters from the President of the United States of America to the President of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, recalling Mr. James H. Blount, sometime United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at this capital and accrediting you as his successor, which fact is duly authenticated by the inclosed copies of your excellency's letter of credence, and soliciting that a time and place be designated for the presentation of the original letters of recall and credence.

In reply I have the honor to state that it will give me pleasure to designate 11 o'clock of the forenoon to-morrow the 7th instant, as the time for the presentation at the Executive building.

I beg your excellency to accept the assurance of the high consideration and esteem with which I have the honor to be, sir, etc.,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr. President: Mr. Blount, the late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to your Government, having resigned his office while absent from his post, I have the honor now to present his letter of recall and to express for him his sincere regret that he is unable in person to make known his continued good wishes in behalf of your people and his grateful appreciation of the many courtesies of which, while here, he was the honored recipient.

I desire at the same time to place in your hands the letter accrediting me as his successor. In doing this I am directed by the President to give renewed assurances of the friendship, interest, and hearty good will which our Government entertains for you and for the people of this island realm.

Aside from our geographical proximity and the consequent preponderating commercial interests which centre here, the present advanced civilization and Christianization of your people, together with your enlightened codes of law, stand today beneficial monuments of American zeal, courage, and intelligence.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the United States were the first to recognize the independence of the Hawaiian Islands and to welcome them into the great family of free.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Telegram]

HONOLULU, November 6, 1893.

Two hundred sixty rifles and ammunition arrived by steamer Saturday. Rumor that Provisional Government will declare for a Republic, with constitution already prepared.

WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Telegram]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, November 11, 1893.

Report can be sent to Congress on 19th November.

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Confidential]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, November 11, 1893.

Sir: On the 7th instant, at 11 o'clock, I presented to the Provisional Government Mr. Blount's letter of recall and the letter accrediting me as his successor. I inclose an extract from the Commercial Advertiser giving an account of the proceedings. The time since then has been occupied with the reception of executive, judicial, and diplomatic representatives of the Provisional and foreign Governments. I have not, therefore, had an opportunity of executing more fully your instructions, nor was fuller action advisable while the excitement was so great. I expect on next Monday morning to have an interview with the Queen which, if satisfactory, will be followed immediately by one with the Provisional Government. I have, therefore, inclosed a telegram to
your dispatch agent at San Francisco as follows: "Report can be sent to Congress on 19th November," it being my understanding that you desired to have all the facts presented before any decisive action here.

The Alameda, the next vessel leaving here after next Monday, will not reach San Francisco until November 23, during which interval it is hoped some definite result may be secured.

On the afternoon of the 6th the British minister, Major Wodehouse, called my attention to the following paragraph in the "Hawaiian Star" of the same date: "It would serve the ex-Queen well to pray to her gods that the peril of restoration will never come to her"—which he interpreted to be a threat of assassination, and inquired whether our Government was ready and willing to extend to her its protection. I replied that, without reference to her royal claims, she stood in such relations to the United States that she was entitled to and would receive the amallest protection at their hands. As a matter of fact, I had already ascertained that, at present, she did not desire our protection. After next Monday, however, and earlier if necessary, I shall insist on her coming to the legation.

Neither side has the vaguest idea, as yet, of the attitude of our Government, and consequently no outbreak has occurred, although every night is filled with rumors. I inclose several extracts from the "Commercial Advertiser" (annexation) morning daily; the "Star" (annexation) evening daily; the "Bulletin" and "Holomua," both evening royalist papers, which will give you the situation here from a newspaper standpoint.

The U. S. S. Philadelphia and Adams are connected with Honolulu by telephone, but in the event of riot Admiral Irwin, now in command, has made arrangements for rocket signaling.

On Monday next I will, by request, meet a committee of the "American League," which one who claimed to be a member informed me was "six hundred strong, well armed with Winchester rifles, and would never permit the restoration of the Queen." He further intimated that the League had some fear that the Provisional Government "would make concessions and surrender their rights, and if so, they would overthrow it," etc. There is undoubtedly in this Government, as in all governments, a class of reckless, lawless men, who, under the impression that they have the moral support of some of the better class of citizens, may at any moment bring about a serious condition of affairs. Fortunately the men at the head of the Provisional Government are acknowledged by all sides to be of the highest integrity and public spirit, which, combined with the large material interests they represent, will, it is hoped, cause them to stand firmly and successfully for peace and good government.

The Japanese consul general, Mr. Suburo Fujii, has just called to say that his people, who now number nearly one-third of the male population, are very apprehensive of immediate disturbances. He desired to know whether I would advise him to send for a man-of-war. I declined to give him any advice. He then inquired whether his people could expect protection from the United States troops. I told him that if it was his request, and that if his people were nonparticipants in any trouble, that he could probably rely upon the protection of our Government. The American interests here are so extensive and all interests are so close that it is impossible to touch one without involving all.

With sentiments of high regard, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.
Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Telegram.]

November 16, 1893.

Views of first party so extreme as to require further instructions.

WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 4.]

Legation of the United States,
Honolulu, November 16, 1893.

SIR: On last Monday, November 13, I received a call from three gentlemen who said they were a committee representing the "American League." The chairman, Mr. Van Houton, made a speech of welcome, covering substantially the statements contained in the papers which I send herewith.

I replied thanking them for their words of welcome and friendship, and stating in very general terms the circumstances under which I came, and saying to them that it was the duty of all Americans, whether at home or abroad, to cooperate in executing the will of their Government when it was declared. After some further remarks as to the desirability of free institutions, provided the people were adapted to them and prepared for them, the committee withdrew. The chairman came back, after several hours, to inform me that he neglected to state that the "league" was opposed to the restoration of the monarchy. Nothing was said in the conversation as to the status of affairs here or of the instructions of our Government. I mention this as the committee, I am informed, have placed a different construction on the interview.

With high regard, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure.]

The Committee of the American League to Mr. Willis.

Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, November 13, 1893.

SIR: As you are doubtless aware, a considerable number of citizens of the United States reside in the Hawaiian Islands. Having a love and veneration for the United States it is but natural that a fraternal feeling should exist among men so far from native land; and being desirous of cultivating these fraternal feelings an organization has been effected, where only citizens of the United States have been admitted to membership. The aims and objects of the organization may be briefly summarized as follows: To bear true allegiance to the United States, and, so far as possible, advance the interests of our native country. To aid and protect the members of the organization, and to assist in all honorable ways the members of the organization in obtaining employment, and advocate the just cause of the members and others owing allegiance to the United States of America.

The organization has assumed the name of the American League, and for the better protection of its members has adopted a simple ritual and has a password to be changed as often as necessary. While eligibility to membership is based on United States citizenship, the application must go into the hands of a committee, who investigate as to the qualifications of the candidate, including character and habits, with the object of receiving only those who are reliable and worthy.

The members of the league earnestly desire that the Hawaiian Islands should become a part of the United States, and with that object in view the organization
will support the present Provisional Government of Hawaii, and in all honorable ways aid in accomplishing annexation.

Believing that you would desire to know something of the aims and methods of work of the organization this committee was appointed to visit you and give you such information as you desire, and to extend to you cordial greeting. It would afford us pleasure to meet and greet you under the most ordinary circumstances, but, coming as you do as a representative of the President and the people of the United States, and considering the importance of your mission, it affords us peculiar pleasure to give you welcome.

Some of our members have resided in Hawaii for many years, while others have come within the last few years and some have arrived within the last year, yet whether we have been away from America a few months or many years; whether native born citizens of the Union or citizens by adoption, we still venerate and love our country, and will cooperate with you in advancing its best interests and looking out for the welfare of the citizens of the United States, whether they are such from birthright or adoption. If at any time there is an opportunity for us to aid you feel free to command us, and be assured that under all circumstances we desire to make your stay here pleasant to yourself and beneficial to the country that you represent, for it is our common country and in its welfare we are all interested.

We have delayed somewhat in calling on you, believing that your official duties and the numerous calls being made would fully occupy your time for the first few days.

Again expressing the pleasure it affords us to greet and welcome you, we are, very respectfully yours,

Geo. Van Houten,
James F. Hilburn,
Jos. L. Curtis,
Committee American League.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 5.]

Legation of the United States,
Honolulu, November 18, 1893.

SIR: In the forenoon of last Wednesday, November 15, Hon. S. M. Damon, Minister of Finance, notified me in person that there were rumors of an attack that night or the ensuing night upon the Government building, in consequence of which the regular guard would be increased and one of the volunteer companies would be ordered under arms for the night. On the royalist side apprehensions for the safety of the Queen were expressed. The next day was King Kalakaua's birthday, an event which generally attracts a large crowd here, and is celebrated with various festivities. A concert in honor of the occasion was advertised under the auspices of the native Hawaiians.

In view of these facts, I thought it proper in an informal way to make public the fact that there would be no decisive action taken by our Government for three or four weeks, or until I heard from Washington. I also thought it proper, with the private knowledge and consent of all factions, to say that mob violence would not be allowed during this interval.

The effect of these announcements was to reassure the people and to stop active military preparations. Many representatives of foreign governments and prominent citizens, officially representing both parties, have called to express their gratification at the result.

The excitement has been continuous for so long that the slightest circumstances are magnified, and rumors fill the air, both night and day. It is impossible to exaggerate the unhappy condition of this people, nor can I, in words, picture their pathetic surroundings. Almost every movement is under espionage, the most meaningless expression is
given an important significance, and speeches are quoted which were never delivered or thought of. In my dispatch No. 4, of November 11, I referred to the visit of a committee from the American League, to whose address I made a brief formal response, not having even the remotest bearing upon the question pending here. In yesterday's Star, a paper whose life began with the so-called revolution, was my alleged reply, which I inclose to you. This is a fair sample of the prevailing spirit of misrepresentation. I inclose, also, an extract from the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, also an annexation organ, upon the same subject.

I send this by a sailing vessel which leaves to-day. The next steamer leaves here December 9. The next steamer arriving from San Francisco, the Monowai, due December 23.

With high regard, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS.

[Hawaiian Star, November 17, 1893.]

WILLIS FOR THE FLAG—HIS REPLY TO THE AMERICAN LEAGUE—HE WILL DO NOTHING HERE TO CONFLICT WITH HIS ARDENT AMERICAN PRINCIPLES.

The Star has obtained with much difficulty a complete and authentic report of the remarks made by Minister Willis to a delegation of the American League which presented him with a memorial some days ago. After a few words of welcome to his visiting countrymen, he said:

"GENTLEMEN: I am an ardent American. I would like to see the stars and stripes waving, under proper conditions, not only over the Pacific islands, but over any other territory which would be beneficial to the United States. I have my instructions, which I can not divulge. You will understand this. But this much I can say, that the policy of the United States is already formulated regarding these islands, and that nothing which can be said or done either here or there can avail anything now. I do not come here as did Mr. Blount. I come here as an executive officer. I come to act. When the proper time arrives I shall act. I am sorry that I can not tell you when or how. I wish you to understand that, knowing the policy of the United States, I could not have accepted the position of an executive officer had it been in conflict with the principles I hold. While performing my duties in carrying out the United States policy I shall have no need of aid from you or other resident Americans. I wish to state positively that any outside interference will not be tolerated by the United States."

[The Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Saturday, November 18, 1893.]

Be just and fear not;
Let all the ends thou aimst at be
Thy country's, thy God's, and truth's.

A reporter who willfully and purposely falsifies the language of a diplomatic representative, as was done by the Star reporter, on Thursday last, in an interview with Minister Willis, as shown by his published statements, deserves to be branded as unworthy of public credence. Minister Willis may be thus compelled in future, for self-protection, to follow Mr. Blount's example and refuse all press interviews.

This paper is now, as it always has been, since the day when the monarchy was forever banished from Hawaii, the firm and unflinching advocate of annexation to the United States, without any compromise in any shape or form whatever. Nor can one word be produced to show a contrary determination. To this paper more than to any other it is due the credit of firmly standing by and defending the Provisional Government and the cause it represents. It yields to no other paper a firmer allegiance to the principles which the Government and its supporters represent.
Mr. Gresham to Mr. Willis.

[Telegram]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 24, 1893.

The brevity and uncertainty of your telegrams are embarrassing. You will insist upon amnesty and recognition of obligations of the Provisional Government as essential conditions of restoration. All interests will be promoted by prompt action.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Mr. Gresham to Mr. Willis.

[Telegram]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 3, 1893.

Your dispatch, which was answered by steamer on the 25th of November, seems to call for additional instructions.

Should the Queen refuse assent to the written conditions, you will at once inform her that the President will cease interposition in her behalf, and that while he deems it his duty to endeavor to restore to the sovereign the constitutional government of the islands, his further efforts in that direction will depend upon the Queen's unqualified agreement that all obligations created by the Provisional Government in a proper course of administration shall be assumed, and upon such pledges by her as will prevent the adoption of any measures of proscription or punishment for what has been done in the past by those setting up or supporting the Provisional Government. The President feels that by our original interference and what followed, we have incurred responsibilities to the whole Hawaiian community, and it would not be just to put one party at the mercy of the other.

Should the Queen ask whether if she accedes to conditions active steps will be taken by the United States to effect her restoration, or to maintain her authority thereafter, you will say that the President can not use force without the authority of Congress.

Should the Queen accept conditions and the Provisional Government refuse to surrender, you will be governed by previous instructions. If the Provisional Government asks whether the United States will hold the Queen to fulfillment of stipulated conditions you will say, the President acting under dictates of honor and duty, as he has done in endeavoring to effect restoration, will do all in his constitutional power to cause observance of the conditions he has imposed.

GRESHAM.

Mr. Thurston to Mr. Gresham.

HAWAIIAN LEGATION,
Washington, December 5, 1893.

SIR: In confirmation of the claims presented to you by myself during several recent interviews, concerning suggested action by the United States Government towards the Provisional Government of Hawaii, as
outlined in your communication to the President recently published, and affirmed in the President's message sent yesterday to Congress, I have the honor to hereby submit to you the claims of the Government which I represent in and concerning the premises.

If I correctly apprehend the propositions advanced by the Government of the United States they are:

First. That the Hawaiian monarchy was subverted by the action of the United States representatives and forces.

Second. That but for such action the monarchy would not have been subverted nor the Provisional Government created.

Third. That such conclusions are based upon the report made by the Hon. James H. Blount.

Fourth. That in view of such action by those representing the Government of the United States, it is proposed that the latter Government shall restore the status existing prior to such subversion of the monarchy.

In opposition to such proposed action I hereby, on behalf of the Government I represent, submit the following claims and reasons:

First. The Provisional Government of Hawaii is a duly organized and fully recognized independent Government, holding diplomatic relations with nearly all the nations of the world.

It has accredited its diplomatic representatives to the United States Government, which has received them in the manner customary in dealing with the representatives of friendly independent nations.

The United States Government has, in turn, accredited its representatives to the Provisional Government of Hawaii, and they have in like manner been formally received by it.

There is nothing lacking to constitute the present Government of Hawaii a full, free, and independent sovereignty, subject to all the obligations and entitled to all the rights, privileges, and courtesies accorded by the United States Government to the most favored nations with whom it is in treaty relations.

Second. It is submitted that the Government of the United States has acquired no jurisdiction over the independent sovereign state of Hawaii. There being two distinct sovereignties, jurisdiction by the United States can only be obtained in three ways, viz: (1) by conquest; (2) by treaty; (3) by voluntary submission to the decision of the United States Government in the nature of arbitration.

There is no claim made that the sovereignty of Hawaii is subordinate to that of the United States by reason of conquest, nor has it been surrendered by treaty.

There is a suggestion, however, in the communication by yourself to the President, above referred to, that authority by voluntary submission in the nature of a power to arbitrate has been conferred upon the Government of the United States. I refer to that portion wherein you state that, "The Government of Hawaii surrendered its authority under a threat of war, until such time as the Government of the United States, upon the facts being presented to it, should reinstate the Constitutional Sovereign; and the Provisional Government was created 'to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.'"

I submit that no such authority has been conferred, and in support of such contention present the following reasons: (1) If the parties in Hawaii contending for the control of the Government had intended to submit their differences to the arbitration of the United States, a formal statement to such differences and the points to be settled would
have been drawn up and signed in the usual form of an agreement for arbitration.

No such action has been taken. (2) An arbitration is essentially a judicial proceeding, the elemental features of which, under the principles and forms of procedure in use both in the United States and Hawaii, are, first, notice of the charges made or points at issue; second, opportunity to hear and cross-examine evidence produced by the opposing party; third, opportunity to produce evidence in support of claims made and to meet that of the opposing party; fourth, a full and fair hearing accorded to both parties in open court.

In no particular have these particulars, fundamental to the just and equitable decision of the simplest judicial issue, been observed in this admittedly complicated question.

The Government of Hawaii, acting under its international right, has made a formal proposition to, by treaty, change the political relation existing between the two countries.

The authority of the Hawaiian Government to make such a proposition was not questioned, and a treaty for the accomplishment of such purpose was duly signed by the representatives of the executives of the two countries.

Pending the final ratification of such treaty, by desire of the Government of the United States, negotiations were suspended over nine months ago, and an investigation was instituted by the Government of the United States by a special commissioner.

During all such time the Hawaiian Government has peaceably administered its own affairs and faithfully carried out all its treaty obligations with all foreign powers.

Up to the present time the Hawaiian Government has received no information that such investigation was for any purpose other than to determine the policy of the Government of the United States concerning such proposition of the Government of Hawaii.

It has not been a party to such investigation, which has been ex parte and conducted in secret.

It has been accorded no opportunity to meet the evidence produced nor to present evidence or argument in its own behalf.

The names of the witnesses and the character of the evidence upon which it is proposed to be subverted were unknown to it until published simultaneously with the announcement of the conclusion of the investigating commissioner.

It has received no notice that it was on trial for its life, and has not even been informed that it was charged with having taken action for which it was responsible to the United States or whereby it had brought itself within the jurisdiction of such Government.

The proclamation issued by the Provisional Government of Hawaii defining its objects and causes does, indeed, state as quoted in your communication above referred to, that it was created “to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.” But I submit that neither legally, logically, nor grammatically does such phrase indicate that because annexation has not yet been consummated the Provisional Government is therefore and thereby terminated.

On the contrary, I submit that its meaning is clearly and distinctly the exact opposite of that suggested.

The Provisional Government was formed with a fixed, definite purpose in view, viz, annexation to the United States. If the date of the consummation of such object had been known it could have been
in the place of the phrase actually used. As such date was not and
could not be known, an appropriate phrase was used signifying that
the Government should continue to exist until the object was
accomplished. A government was established not absolutely but condition-
ally. If the wording of the proclamation had been "to exist until the
Government of the United States refuses to agree to annexation," a
refusal would then have constituted a condition the happening of which,
in and of itself, would have terminated the Provisional Government.

There was, however, but one condition named in the proclamation,
the happening of which should terminate the existence of the Govern-
ment thereby created, viz, "Union with the United States of America." There is no other terminating condition. Unless and until that condi-
tion happens the Government continues in existence. If the happening
of the condition is postponed for one, two, or ten years, or for an indefi-
nite period, the Government continues to exist for a like period. The
fact that annexation has not yet taken place does not negative the pos-
sibility of its happening in the future. So long as the terminating con-
dition has not happened, but may happen, so long does the Government
continue to exist, unless changed or terminated by its own act or the
act of the people of Hawaii.

I further submit that if the reasoning last above set forth is incor-
rect, and the failure to have yet secured annexation does logically ter-
minate the existence of the Provisional Government, such fact does
not confer jurisdiction upon the United States to construe such instru-
ment, but that the construction and interpretation of the wording of
such proclamation is purely a matter of domestic concern to be settled
by the parties in interest in Hawaii in such manner as the Government
and laws of that country may provide.

Third, While neither admitting nor questioning the correctness of
the allegations of fact reported by Mr. Blount, I purposely omit dis-
cussion or criticism thereof, for the reasons, first, that the Hawaiian
Government has not been a party to such investigation, and therefore
can not be bound by same; and, second, if it be true that the representa-
tives of the United States exceeded their powers, as alleged, such
fact does not vest any jurisdiction in the Government of the United
States to now infringe upon Hawaiian sovereignty.

It is an axiom of law that no man may take advantage of his own
wrong. The fact that the United States minister, with or without the
authority of his Government, may have trespassed upon the inter-
national rights of Hawaii, does not thereby confer jurisdiction upon the
Government of the United States to now again, and deliberately, tresp-
ass upon such rights.

If the United States minister or naval officers have exceeded their
authority or violated their instructions they are responsible to their
Government therefor. The Hawaiian Government had no control over
them. It is not responsible for what they did, and is not and can not
be held answerable to the Government of the United States for their
acts, nor to have forfeited any of its attributes of independent sover-
eignty by reason of their actions whether the same were right or wrong,
authorized or unauthorized.

In like manner, if the allegation is true, that the ex Queen abdicated
under the belief that the Provisional Government would submit the
question to the United States Government, such fact does not vest in
the Government of the United States any jurisdiction over the subject-
matter. If the ex Queen was warranted in such belief and an agree-
ment was made between her and the Provisional Government, which I
do not admit, the Government of the United States was no party to such agreement, and neither the making, nor the failure to carry it out, if made, confers any jurisdiction upon the Government of the United States to construe such agreement, nor in any manner to intervene between the contending parties in Hawaii, nor control or direct which of such parties shall at any given time exercise the functions of government in Hawaii.

Fourth. If after consideration of the reasons hereinbefore advanced it is maintained by you that they do not establish the claims advanced, and that the Government of the United States has jurisdiction, notwithstanding the independent sovereignty of Hawaii, to decide upon the form, and who shall carry on the Government of Hawaii, I then submit that neither international law nor the usage of nations authorize the Government of the United States to enforce, against the will of the parties, the conclusions to which it may come.

It is not suggested in the report of Mr. Blount than any such power was agreed upon, either between the ex-Queen and the Provisional Government or otherwise.

Even if a formal submission to the United States Government had been made, and full hearing had thereon, and a decision announced, such fact would not vest in the United States any power to carry out such decision or to compel either party to abide thereby.

Unless the method of enforcement of such decision is agreed upon by the parties, the carrying out of the decision rendered is purely a matter of good faith as between the parties in interest, with no power in the arbitrating Government to compel the recognition by either party of the decision rendered.

I beg also to re-affirm in this connection my firm conviction, based upon an intimate acquaintance with all the persons and conditions involved, that the restoration of the ex-Queen, regardless of the method by which the same may be accomplished, will, unless she is maintained by the troops of some foreign power, be speedily followed by the forcible overthrow of the monarchy, involving the probable loss of life and destruction of property.

Such action will be taken, as in the past, by the intelligent, law-abiding, property-owning portion of the community, for the same reasons that the same persons took similar action last January, viz: that the long and bitter experience under the monarchy has convinced them that so long as the monarchy exists no material improvement in the methods of conducting the Government can be expected and that a further continuance of the misrule of the past years is intolerable.

It is unnecessary for me to state that such a condition of affairs will be disastrous in the extreme to every material interest in the islands, and to all trade and commerce connected therewith, the greater portion of which is owned and carried on by American citizens and capital.

Allow me to reiterate that neither this statement nor any act done by the Provisional Government or by myself is with any spirit of hostility to the people or Government of the United States. On the contrary, so far from being in any manner hostile, the Provisional Government and its supporters have demonstrated by their acts that they are not only friendly in the ordinary acceptance of the word, but that they have such faith in the Government of the United States that they have taken up arms and risked their lives and property to place themselves, almost unreservedly and unconditionally, under the jurisdiction and control of that Government, asking only in return that they may share
in the freedom of its flag and the stability and equality of its Government.

All that I seek by this statement is to convey to you a plain frank statement of what the Provisional Government of Hawaii conceives to be its rights under international law in and concerning the premises, and to indicate to you, as it is my duty to do, what in my opinion the conditions are and will be if action on certain suggested lines is taken.

I have, &c.

L. A. Thurston.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Telegram.]

HONOLULU, December 1, 1893.

Understand message. Had no communications from Washington, D. C., either to the United States Admiral or to me since my (our) arrival. One British man-of-war and one Japanese man-of-war are here. Active defensive preparations for several days; otherwise situation about the same. The feeling intense, but hope to preserve status until further instructed. Government last Wednesday inquired as to authenticity of your published letter and intentions of the President. I have declined to-day to answer. Prompt action desirable.

WILLIS.
PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE
RELATING TO THE
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.
DECEMBER 18, 1893.
MESSAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In my recent annual message to the Congress I briefly referred to our relations with Hawaii and expressed the intention of transmitting further information on the subject when additional advices permitted.

Though I am not able now to report a definite change in the actual situation, I am convinced that the difficulties lately created both here and in Hawaii and now standing in the way of a solution through Executive action of the problem presented, render it proper, and expedient, that the matter should be referred to the broader authority and discretion of Congress, with a full explanation of the endeavor thus far made to deal with the emergency and a statement of the considerations which have governed my action.

I suppose that right and justice should determine the path to be followed in treating this subject. If national honesty is to be disregarded and a desire for territorial extension, or dissatisfaction with a form of government not our own, ought to regulate our conduct, I have entirely misapprehended the mission and character of our Government and the behavior which the conscience of our people demands of their public servants.

When the present Administration entered upon its duties the Senate had under consideration a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the territory of the United States. Surely under our Constitution and laws the enlargement of our limits is a manifestation of the highest attribute of sovereignty, and if entered upon as an Executive act, all things relating to the transaction should be clear and free from suspicion. Additional importance attached to this particular treaty of annexation, because it contemplated a departure from unbroken American tradition in providing for the addition to our territory of islands of the sea more than two thousand miles removed from our nearest coast.

These considerations might not of themselves call for interference with the completion of a treaty entered upon by a previous Administration. But it appeared from the documents accompanying the
treaty when submitted to the Senate, that the ownership of Hawaii was tendered to us by a provisional government set up to succeed the constitutional ruler of the islands, who had been dethroned, and it did not appear that such provisional government had the sanction of either popular revolution or suffrage. Two other remarkable features of the transaction naturally attracted attention. One was the extraordinary haste—not to say precipitancy—characterizing all the transactions connected with the treaty. It appeared that a so-called Committee of Safety, ostensibly the source of the revolt against the constitutional Government of Hawaii, was organized on Saturday, the 14th day of January; that on Monday, the 16th, the United States forces were landed at Honolulu from a naval vessel lying in its harbor; that on the 17th the scheme of a provisional government was perfected, and a proclamation naming its officers was on the same day prepared and read at the Government building; that immediately thereupon the United States Minister recognized the provisional government thus created; that two days afterwards, on the 19th day of January, commissioners representing such government sailed for this country in a steamer especially chartered for the occasion, arriving in San Francisco on the 28th day of January, and in Washington on the 3d day of February; that on the next day they had their first interview with the Secretary of State, and another on the 11th, when the treaty of annexation was practically agreed upon, and that on the 14th it was formally concluded and on the 15th transmitted to the Senate. Thus between the initiation of the scheme for a provisional government in Hawaii on the 14th day of January and the submission to the Senate of the treaty of annexation concluded with such government, the entire interval was thirty-two days, fifteen of which were spent by the Hawaiian Commissioners in their journey to Washington.

In the next place, upon the face of the papers submitted with the treaty, it clearly appeared that there was open and undetermined an issue of fact of the most vital importance. The message of the President accompanying the treaty declared that "the overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this Government," and in a letter to the President from the Secretary of State, also submitted to the Senate with the treaty, the following passage occurs: "At the time the provisional government took possession of the Government buildings no troops or officers of the United States were present or took any part whatever in the proceedings. No public recognition was accorded to the provisional government by the United States Minister until after the Queen's abdication and when they were in effective possession of the Government buildings,"
the archives, the treasury, the barracks, the police station, and all
the potential machinery of the Government." But a protest also
accompanied said treaty, signed by the Queen and her ministers at
the time she made way for the provisional government, which ex-
plicitly stated that she yielded to the superior force of the United
States, whose Minister had caused United States troops to be landed
at Honolulu and declared that he would support such provisional
government.

The truth or falsity of this protest was surely of the first impor-
tance. If true, nothing but the concealment of its truth could
induce our Government to negotiate with the semblance of a gov-
ernment thus created, nor could a treaty resulting from the acts
stated in the protest have been knowingly deemed worthy of con-
sideration by the Senate. Yet the truth or falsity of the protest
had not been investigated.

I conceived it to be my duty therefore to withdraw the treaty
from the Senate for examination, and meanwhile to cause an accu-
rate, full, and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attend-
ing the subversion of the constitutional Government of Hawaii,
and the installment in its place of the provisional government. I
selected for the work of investigation the Hon. James H. Blount, of
Georgia, whose service of eighteen years as a member of the House
of Representatives, and whose experience as chairman of the Com-
mittee of Foreign Affairs in that body, and his consequent famili-
arity with international topics, joined with his high character and
honorable reputation, seemed to render him peculiarly fitted for the
duties entrusted to him. His report detailing his action under the
instructions given to him and the conclusions derived from his in-
vestigation accompany this message.

These conclusions do not rest for their acceptance entirely upon
Mr. Blount’s honesty and ability as a man, nor upon his acumen
and impartiality as an investigator. They are accompanied by the
evidence upon which they are based, which evidence is also here-
with transmitted, and from which it seems to me no other deduc-
tions could possibly be reached than those arrived at by the Commissioner.

The report with its accompanying proofs, and such other evidence
as is now before the Congress or is herewith submitted, justifies in
my opinion the statement that when the President was led to submit
the treaty to the Senate with the declaration that “the overthrow
of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this Govern-
ment”, and when the Senate was induced to receive and discuss it
on that basis, both President and Senate were misled.

The attempt will not be made in this communication to touch
upon all the facts which throw light upon the progress and consummation of this scheme of annexation. A very brief and imperfect reference to the facts and evidence at hand will exhibit its character and the incidents in which it had its birth.

It is unnecessary to set forth the reasons which in January, 1893, led a considerable proportion of American and other foreign merchants and traders residing at Honolulu to favor the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. It is sufficient to note the fact and to observe that the project was one which was zealously promoted by the Minister representing the United States in that country. He evidently had an ardent desire that it should become a fact accomplished by his agency and during his ministry, and was not inconveniently scrupulous as to the means employed to that end. On the 19th day of November, 1892, nearly two months before the first overt act tending towards the subversion of the Hawaiian Government and the attempted transfer of Hawaiian territory to the United States, he addressed a long letter to the Secretary of State in which the case for annexation was elaborately argued, on moral, political, and economical grounds. He refers to the loss to the Hawaiian sugar interests from the operation of the McKinley bill, and the tendency to still further depreciation of sugar property unless some positive measure of relief is granted. He strongly inveighs against the existing Hawaiian Government and emphatically declares for annexation. He says: "In truth the monarchy here is an absurd anachronism. It has nothing on which it logically or legitimately stands. The feudal basis on which it once stood no longer existing, the monarchy now is only an impediment to good government—an obstruction to the prosperity and progress of the islands."

He further says: "As a crown colony of Great Britain or a Territory of the United States the government modifications could be made readily and good administration of the law secured. Destiny and the vast future interests of the United States in the Pacific clearly indicate who at no distant day must be responsible for the government of these islands. Under a territorial government they could be as easily governed as any of the existing Territories of the United States." * * * "Hawaii has reached the parting of the ways. She must now take the road which leads to Asia, or the other which outlets her in America, gives her an American civilization, and binds her to the care of American destiny." He also declares: "One of two courses seems to me absolutely necessary to be followed, either bold and vigorous measures for annexation or a 'customs union,' an ocean cable from the Californian coast to Honolulu, Pearl Harbor perpetually ceded to the United States, with an implied but not ex-
pressly stipulated American protectorate over the islands. I believe the former to be the better, that which will prove much the more advantageous to the islands, and the cheapest and least embarrassing in the end to the United States. If it was wise for the United States through Secretary Marcy thirty-eight years ago to offer to expend $100,000 to secure a treaty of annexation, it certainly can not be chimerical or unwise to expend $100,000 to secure annexation in the near future. To-day the United States has five times the wealth she possessed in 1854, and the reasons now existing for annexation are much stronger than they were then. I can not refrain from expressing the opinion with emphasis that the golden hour is near at hand."

These declarations certainly show a disposition and condition of mind, which may be usefully recalled when interpreting the significance of the Minister's conceded acts or when considering the probabilities of such conduct on his part as may not be admitted.

In this view it seems proper to also quote from a letter written by the Minister to the Secretary of State on the 8th day of March, 1892, nearly a year prior to the first step taken toward annexation. After stating the possibility that the existing Government of Hawaii might be overturned by an orderly and peaceful revolution, Minister Stevens writes as follows: "Ordinarily in like circumstances, the rule seems to be to limit the landing and movement of United States forces in foreign waters and dominion exclusively to the protection of the United States legation and of the lives and property of American citizens. But as the relations of the United States to Hawaii are exceptional, and in former years the United States officials here took somewhat exceptional action in circumstances of disorder, I desire to know how far the present Minister and naval commander may deviate from established international rules and precedents in the contingencies indicated in the first part of this dispatch."

To a minister of this temper full of zeal for annexation there seemed to arise in January, 1893, the precise opportunity for which he was watchfully waiting—an opportunity which by timely "deviation from established international rules and precedents" might be improved to successfully accomplish the great object in view; and we are quite prepared for the exultant enthusiasm with which in a letter to the State Department dated February 1, 1893, he declares: "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it."

As a further illustration of the activity of this diplomatic representative, attention is called to the fact that on the day the above letter was written, apparently unable longer to restrain his ardent, he issued a proclamation whereby "in the name of the United
States” he assumed the protection of the Hawaiian Islands and declared that said action was “taken pending and subject to negotiations at Washington.” Of course this assumption of a protectorate was promptly disavowed by our Government, but the American flag remained over the Government building at Honolulu and the forces remained on guard until April, and after Mr. Blount’s arrival on the scene, when both were removed.

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

On Saturday, January 14, 1893, the Queen of Hawaii, who had been contemplating the proclamation of a new constitution, had, in deference to the wishes and remonstrances of her cabinet, renounced the project for the present at least. Taking this relinquished purpose as a basis of action, citizens of Honolulu numbering from fifty to one hundred, mostly resident aliens, met in a private office and selected a so-called Committee of Safety, composed of thirteen persons, seven of whom were foreign subjects, and consisted of five Americans, one Englishman, and one German. This committee, though its designs were not revealed, had in view nothing less than annexation to the United States, and between Saturday, the 14th, and the following Monday, the 16th of January—though exactly what action was taken may not be clearly disclosed—they were certainly in communication with the United States Minister. On Monday morning the Queen and her cabinet made public proclamation, with a notice which was specially served upon the representatives of all foreign governments, that any changes in the constitution would be sought only in the methods provided by that instrument. Nevertheless, at the call and under the auspices of the Committee of Safety, a mass meeting of citizens was held on that day to protest against the Queen’s alleged illegal and unlawful proceedings and purposes. Even at this meeting the Committee of Safety continued to disguise their real purpose and contented themselves with procuring the passage of a resolution denouncing the Queen and empowering the committee to devise ways and means “to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order and the protection of life, liberty, and property in Hawaii.” This meeting adjourned between three and four o’clock in the afternoon. On the same day, and immediately after such adjournment, the committee, unwilling to take further steps without the cooperation of the United States Minister, addressed him a note representing that the public safety was menaced and that lives and property were in danger, and concluded as follows:
"We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and therefore pray for the protection of the United States forces." Whatever may be thought of the other contents of this note, the absolute truth of this latter statement is incontestable. When the note was written and delivered, the committee, so far as it appears, had neither a man nor a gun at their command, and after its delivery they became so panic-stricken at their position that they sent some of their number to interview the Minister and request him not to land the United States forces till the next morning. But he replied that the troops had been ordered, and whether the committee were ready or not the landing should take place. And so it happened that on the 16th day of January, 1893, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, a detachment of marines from the United States steamer Boston, with two pieces of artillery, landed at Honolulu. The men, upwards of 160 in all, were supplied with double cartridge belts filled with ammunition and with haversacks and canteens, and were accompanied by a hospital corps with stretchers and medical supplies. This military demonstration upon the soil of Honolulu was of itself an act of war, unless made either with the consent of the Government of Hawaii or for the bona fide purpose of protecting the imperilled lives and property of citizens of the United States. But there is no pretense of any such consent on the part of the Government of the Queen, which at that time was undisputed and was both the de facto and the de jure government. In point of fact the existing government instead of requesting the presence of an armed force protested against it. There is as little basis for the pretense that such forces were landed for the security of American life and property. If so, they would have been stationed in the vicinity of such property and so as to protect it, instead of at a distance and so as to command the Hawaiian Government building and palace. Admiral Skerrett, the officer in command of our naval force on the Pacific station, has frankly stated that in his opinion the location of the troops was inadvisable if they were landed for the protection of American citizens whose residences and places of business, as well as the legation and consulate, were in a distant part of the city, but the location selected was a wise one if the forces were landed for the purpose of supporting the provisional government. If any peril to life and property calling for any such martial array had existed, Great Britain and other foreign powers interested would not have been behind the United States in activity to protect their citizens. But they made no sign in that direction. When these armed men were landed, the city of Honolulu was in its customary orderly and peaceful condition. There was no
symptom of riot or disturbance in any quarter. Men, women, and children were about the streets as usual, and nothing varied the ordinary routine or disturbed the ordinary tranquillity, except the landing of the Boston's marines and their march through the town to the quarters assigned them. Indeed, the fact that after having called for the landing of the United States forces on the plea of danger to life and property the Committee of Safety themselves requested the Minister to postpone action, exposed the untruthfulness of their representations of present peril to life and property. The peril they saw was an anticipation growing out of guilty intentions on their part and something which, though not then existing, they knew would certainly follow their attempt to overthrow the Government of the Queen without the aid of the United States forces.

Thus it appears that Hawaii was taken possession of by the United States forces without the consent or wish of the government of the islands, or of anybody else so far as shown, except the United States Minister.

Therefore the military occupation of Honolulu by the United States on the day mentioned was wholly without justification, either as an occupation by consent or as an occupation necessitated by dangers threatening American life and property. It must be accounted for in some other way and on some other ground, and its real motive and purpose are neither obscure nor far to seek.

The United States forces being now on the scene and favorably stationed, the committee proceeded to carry out their original scheme. They met the next morning, Tuesday, the 17th, perfected the plan of temporary government, and fixed upon its principal officers, ten of whom were drawn from the thirteen members of the Committee of Safety. Between one and two o'clock, by squads and by different routes to avoid notice, and having first taken the precaution of ascertaining whether there was any one there to oppose them, they proceeded to the Government building to proclaim the new government. No sign of opposition was manifest, and thereupon an American citizen began to read the proclamation from the steps of the Government building almost entirely without auditors. It is said that before the reading was finished quite a concourse of persons, variously estimated at from 50 to 100, some armed and some unarmed, gathered about the committee to give them aid and confidence. This statement is not important, since the one controlling factor in the whole affair was unquestionably the United States marines, who, drawn up under arms and with artillery in readiness only seventy-six yards distant, dominated the situation.

The provisional government thus proclaimed was by the terms of
the proclamation "to exist until terms of union with the United States had been negotiated and agreed upon". The United States Minister, pursuant to prior agreement, recognized this government within an hour after the reading of the proclamation, and before five o'clock, in answer to an inquiry on behalf of the Queen and her cabinet, announced that he had done so.

When our Minister recognized the provisional government the only basis upon which it rested was the fact that the Committee of Safety had in the manner above stated declared it to exist. It was neither a government de facto nor de jure. That it was not in such possession of the Government property and agencies as entitled it to recognition is conclusively proved by a note found in the files of the Legation at Honolulu, addressed by the declared head of the provisional government to Minister Stevens, dated January 17, 1893, in which he acknowledges with expressions of appreciation the Minister's recognition of the provisional government, and states that it is not yet in the possession of the station house (the place where a large number of the Queen's troops were quartered), though the same had been demanded of the Queen's officers in charge. Nevertheless, this wrongful recognition by our Minister placed the Government of the Queen in a position of most perilous perplexity. On the one hand she had possession of the palace, of the barracks, and of the police station, and had at her command at least five hundred fully armed men and several pieces of artillery. Indeed, the whole military force of her kingdom was on her side and at her disposal, while the Committee of Safety, by actual search, had discovered that there were but very few arms in Honolulu that were not in the service of the Government. In this state of things if the Queen could have dealt with the insurgents alone her course would have been plain and the result unmistakable. But the United States had allied itself with her enemies, had recognized them as the true Government of Hawaii, and had put her and her adherents in the position of opposition against lawful authority. She knew that she could not withstand the power of the United States, but she believed that she might safely trust to its justice. Accordingly, some hours after the recognition of the provisional government by the United States Minister, the palace, the barracks, and the police station, with all the military resources of the country, were delivered up by the Queen upon the representation made to her that her cause would thereafter be reviewed at Washington, and while protesting that she surrendered to the superior force of the United States, whose Minister had caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the provisional government, and that she
yielded her authority to prevent collision of armed forces and loss of life and only until such time as the United States, upon the facts being presented to it, should undo the action of its representative and reinstate her in the authority she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

This protest was delivered to the chief of the provisional government, who endorsed thereon his acknowledgment of its receipt. The terms of the protest were read without dissent by those assuming to constitute the provisional government, who were certainly charged with the knowledge that the Queen instead of finally abandoning her power had appealed to the justice of the United States for reinstatement in her authority; and yet the provisional government with this unanswered protest in its hands hastened to negotiate with the United States for the permanent banishment of the Queen from power and for a sale of her kingdom.

Our country was in danger of occupying the position of having actually set up a temporary government on foreign soil for the purpose of acquiring through that agency territory which we had wrongfully put in its possession. The control of both sides of a bargain acquired in such a manner is called by a familiar and unpleasant name when found in private transactions. We are not without a precedent showing how scrupulously we avoided such accusations in former days. After the people of Texas had declared their independence of Mexico they resolved that on the acknowledgment of their independence by the United States they would seek admission into the Union. Several months after the battle of San Jacinto, by which Texan independence was practically assured and established, President Jackson declined to recognize it, alleging as one of his reasons that in the circumstances it became us "to beware of a too early movement, as it might subject us, however unjustly, to the imputation of seeking to establish the claim of our neighbors to a territory with a view to its subsequent acquisition by ourselves". This is in marked contrast with the hasty recognition of a government openly and concededly set up for the purpose of tendering to us territorial annexation.

I believe that a candid and thorough examination of the facts will force the conviction that the provisional government owes its existence to an armed invasion by the United States. Fair-minded people with the evidence before them will hardly claim that the Hawaiian Government was overthrown by the people of the islands or that the provisional government had ever existed with their consent. I do not understand that any member of this government claims that the
people would uphold it by their suffrages if they were allowed to vote on the question.

While naturally sympathizing with every effort to establish a republican form of government, it has been the settled policy of the United States to concede to people of foreign countries the same freedom and independence in the management of their domestic affairs that we have always claimed for ourselves; and it has been our practice to recognize revolutionary governments as soon as it became apparent that they were supported by the people. For illustration of this rule I need only to refer to the revolution in Brazil in 1889, when our Minister was instructed to recognize the Republic "so soon as a majority of the people of Brazil should have signified their assent to its establishment and maintenance"; to the revolution in Chile in 1891, when our Minister was directed to recognize the new government "if it was accepted by the people"; and to the revolution in Venezuela in 1892, when our recognition was accorded on condition that the new government was "fully established, in possession of the power of the nation, and accepted by the people."

As I apprehend the situation, we are brought face to face with the following conditions:

The lawful Government of Hawaii was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives.

But for the notorious predilections of the United States Minister for annexation, the Committee of Safety, which should be called the Committee of Annexation, would never have existed.

But for the landing of the United States forces upon false pretexts respecting the danger to life and property the committee would never have exposed themselves to the pains and penalties of treason by undertaking the subversion of the Queen’s Government.

But for the presence of the United States forces in the immediate vicinity and in position to afford all needed protection and support the committee would not have proclaimed the provisional government from the steps of the Government building.

And finally, but for the lawless occupation of Honolulu under false pretexts by the United States forces, and but for Minister Stevens's recognition of the provisional government when the United States forces were its sole support and constituted its only military strength, the Queen and her Government would never have yielded to the provisional government, even for a time and for the