

there is no more monarchy and no more royalty, the country is better for it. Every boy who grows up will feel on an equal footing with his neighbor. The royalists have prophesied that the Queen would be restored to her throne. The throne was not hers, but lent her by the people, whose voice is as the voice of God, and when she violated the conditions and abused her privileges the people had an inalienable right to take it away from her again. Many had hoped that she had learned something from the example of Kalakana and believed that she should have a fair chance. The supreme court gave her a chance to choose her own cabinet, and everybody knows how she returned the compliment in the constitution which she didn't promulgate. While we decline to return in our steps, we must be patient and considerate. The period is one of transition and trial, and the future will depend on our present conduct. With an administration like the present we may be sure that what the Government does will be for the best interest of the country at large, and that their efforts will be finally crowned with success."

WALTER G. SMITH said: "The 17th of January is a day which stands for a great deal that is inspiring in the political annals of the world. It was upon that day, in 1793, that the people of France condemned to death a despotic king and made liberty, which has been the dream of the philosopher, the possession of the subject. Then and there the republican movement in Europe, in spite of precedents and older activities, really began its onward march. Up to that era most of the people of the European mainland had been fixed in the belief that a state without a king and a church without a bishop meant chaos and infidelity.

"The events which grouped about that January day brought them to their senses. The scales fell from their eyes when the King's head fell into the basket, and they saw that the divinity which had seemed to hedge the despot had been but a figment of their own superstitious and inherited fears. It was then that the feudal principle in the politics of the world received a wound that was to defy all surgery. One hundred years after that great day in France came a day in Hawaii when the last independent sovereign in the Western Hemisphere lost her throne and the last recognized dynasty on this side of the globe was expunged from the calendar of princes.

"Thereupon the 17th of January gained the right to be known as one of the world's democratic holidays. It is the day from which an historical chapter in the contest of the subject against the crown, on both sides of the earth, transpicuously dates. Let what the day has witnessed for France, for Hawaii, and for all men, approve the thought that it is a sign set eternal in the heavens of fatality that kings and queens and potentates shall be no more, and that the reign of the people has begun. My friends, it builds up a man's political constitution to be a citizen of Hawaii in such an era as is now in the vigor and brightness of its prime. It is a privilege, so far as the principle is concerned, equal to that enjoyed by the fortunate men, some of them your ancestors and mine, who did duty at Faneuil Hall or behind the earthworks of Bunker Hill. I do not withdraw the comparison, because Hawaii in contrast with colonial America is so small or because the forces with which you grappled beside those which stood for England, were so weak and impotent; for it must ever be remembered that your defiance to the tottering Hawaiian monarchy lost no tone of sternness or of courage when you stood at bay to the President of the United States and the power which he misused.

"There is nothing more inspiring in the annals of 1776 than the unwavering front which you preserved in your great emergency. There, on the one side, was the chief of sixty millions; here was an armed body of a paltry thousand; there was the strongest of modern powers, with its army and its fleets; here were a few lone rocks in the ocean without a fort upon its pinnacles and without a gun upon a deck; there was a great Government whose President had declared that our dethroned Queen should reign again; here was a little band of men who said that she must pass over their dead bodies first; there in our harbor were the broadsides of a possible foe; here on shore was a battalion behind its sandbags! The odds were great, but the patriots of Hawaii took them; and if the American people, aroused by that spectacle, had not placed themselves between us and all harm, I feel that here upon this soil would have been a new Thermopylae, not less consecrated to human courage than was that which made immortal the memory of 300 Greeks. It is not enough, fellow citizens, to look backward with pride, for we must look forward with courage. You destroyed a monarchy one year ago to-day; what are we to have in place of it a year from to-day or ten years hence?

"The problem of January 17 was easy to solve beside the problems that may be in store; problems which will tax the calmest statesmanship of the great man who is our President to-day; which will also tax the wisdom and experience of his cabinet, the sagacity and patience of our councils. We have a party at home devoted to the lost cause and a moneyed influence abroad conspiring for control. We are in the midst of alien races and more alien creeds. There is a clamor of many tongues within our gates; the pressure of foreign governments at the outer walls. Our

enemies are powerful and insidious, and though some work secretly and others openly all are united to defeat the objects of the January revolution. It is for us to remain steadfast to those objects, no matter who or what may prove false to them; no matter who or what may conspire or oppose; no matter what self-interest may undermine; no matter who may come with the olive branch in one hand and a dagger in another. This is our highest public duty. There is but one political goal and watchword for us all and that is annexation. It is the beginning and end of our political alphabet. It is the best hope of the Americans in Hawaii, and of thousands who are not Americans except in principle, and it is the best that could happen to the natives.

"Whatever comes and whatever proposals of government may be, we must be true to the objects of the revolution or we shall be undone by the forces now at work against us. But what, it may be asked, if annexation is long delayed, if the wait becomes one of years? What if we are left to work out our own salvation first? Fellow-citizens, in that event, the best thing we can do is to work it out on the American plan and by the exercise of Anglo-Saxon pluck, and leave the rest to the Ruler of all nations. I sometimes think that Providence may have a great political work for this little island community to perform before our common hopes may be secured and realized. It is in such small confines that God has set the mightiest forces of the world's affairs in motion. Events upon a narrow strip of sea shore, among the fishers and the poor, have swayed the world for nineteen centuries.

"Some of the brightest chapters of civilization and the strongest ones of philosophy, and the most heroic ones of war, opened among the isles of Greece. Upon the narrow ledges of Switzerland a few plain people and a few plain rules did more for mankind in one unhappy day than all the empires. Among the sea-girt hills of Corsica was born the genius of Napoleon. In Haiti all men were once taught the might of a free people. Nor is this all. From those little islands in the northern seas where the British flag first reddened the dull air, the strongest tides of civilization have flowed for a thousand years in a continuous stream. You might take those islands and put them in the midst of one of the many great American lakes and they could not be seen from the shore; but their very name to the Zulu of the Cape, to the bushman of Australia, to the redman of the forests of Manitoba, to the high and the low all over the earth is the incarnation of one of the world's affairs. Surely the opportunity to do great things and useful things is not dependent upon the size of the theater. It may be, for ought we know, that Hawaii has some historical function to perform before her identity is merged into the greatness of the Union.

"No man can foresee where and how the responsibility is to fall; but if it should be for us to spread ideas of free government through the thousands sent among us from the coast of Asia; if it becomes our privilege to inspire the same eagerness for liberty among them which the colonial Americans lodged in the minds of their French allies, and which the latter put to such good service on the 17th of January, 1793, why that is a duty which all true Americans would be proud to perform as the best homage they could pay to the Fatherland, to the flag they yet hope to see waving over the North American continent, and to the principles which they believe will some day dominate the world. Whether annexation comes now or is deferred for a generation, in either case there are American principles to teach and American duties to perform on the Hawaiian Islands which our people will uphold with courage, administer with prudence, and defend, if needs be, with their lives. And if such years are to come and stern duties befall, I am sure that none of us will forget that annexation is the end that must be sought, the object that must and shall be won. It is that which will give Hawaii diversified industries; fill the land with the instruments of modern progress; connect it with the cable systems of the world; multiply its population by a score; expand its commerce and its trade; upbuild its civilization; give peace to all its people, and strengthen the authority of the American Republic in this great ocean.

"It is a prize worth working for, and one upon which courage and patience will not be wasted. Standing here upon ground once consecrated to the pomp of monarchy, face to face with the derojalized house of government, knowing no flag so dear as the Stars and Stripes, we appeal to our countrymen to open their gates to us of kindred blood; but we pledge ourselves, if that can not be, to be at least worthy of the service by the work we shall do on this soil for the glory of American principles."

NOTES OF THE DAY—SOME OF THE HAPPENINGS OF YESTERDAY BRIEFLY REVIEWED.

Two large bon fires, in honor of the day, were made on the peninsula at Ewa, by the Portuguese, from 7 till 8 o'clock.

The decorations of the executive building and grounds surpassed anything of the kind ever attempted.

Three thousand people griled in the sun watching the parade.

The report of Judge Hartwell's and W. G. Smith's speeches in this issue is a verbatim one.

An old resident states that he has never seen as large a crowd in Honolulu, except, possibly, at the funeral of Kamehameha III.

One of the policemen on duty last night at Palace Square states that he had never seen such an orderly and well-behaved crowd.

The column was so long that when the head of the battalion reached the corner of Fort street and Boretania one company was still on Richard street.

A number of fireworks in the executive grounds were "homemade."

The green and red lights that so beautifully lit up the grounds made a scene not soon to be forgotten by those fortunate enough to see it.

The Portuguese procession was a great success.

C. S. Bradford deserved great credit for his arrangement of the speakers and press stand.

Notwithstanding the fact that orders were received by the officers of the men of war in port not to call officially at the president's reception, a number of them did so, though in plain clothes.

The fireworks that were being fired from the roof of the executive building accidentally caught fire and went up in one big blaze. It was hard on the boys, but it was a beautiful sight while it lasted.

The flag pole of No. 1 engine company was gaily decorated with lanterns last evening.

In front of the engine house No. 2 an evergreen banner was stretched across the street containing the word "Annexation." In the evening the flag pole and house were illuminated with lanterns.

[The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday, January 18, 1894.]

The celebration of the 17th of January was the most enthusiastic and successful festival ever held in this city. The programme of the day went off without a jar. The Government and the Annexation party stand more strongly entrenched and more united in feeling now that they have turned to review the events and mark the progress of this stirring year.

A VICARIOUS APOLOGY.

A great deal of indignation is felt at the discourtesy, to use no stronger word, shown by the diplomatic corps towards the Provisional Government yesterday. This indignation is directed towards the U. S. minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary, Willis, who as the head of the diplomatic body, is of course responsible for the course taken, the other members merely following his lead.

We feel no sympathy for this indignation, which appears to us quite unfounded. At the same time it is so natural that it should be felt, and expressed too, that we take the liberty of suggesting some considerations in explanation of the apparently extraordinary course of the American minister.

In a nutshell, the truth is that Mr. Willis found himself in a dilemma. The entire sovereignty and independence of the Hawaiian Government having been fully recognized by the United States, the American war ships should have fired a salute. On the other hand, the United States having demanded the surrender of the Government, a salute should not have been fired. As a free and independent nation, we should have been saluted, but as a private dependency of Mr. Cleveland, we should not. As we are at peace with the United States, the minister should have bowed and smiled at the Executive building, but as we are at war, he should have barred his front gate, rolled himself up in the American flag, and gazed around with an air of gloomy and forbidding defiance. Who shall "rede" this riddle; who shall resolve these contradictions? Whatever course Mr. Willis had pursued, he might have cited chapter and verse for it. Whatever he had done he would have been right. Is this Government at peace with the United States or not? Does the United States recognize its sovereignty or not? Who shall say? Does Mr. Willis himself know?

We think that the foregoing facts should teach us to be patient and forbearing in our relations with the United States minister, and to withhold our judgments. Whichever way he turns he finds himself confronted with the bristling horns of a dilemma. Everywhere bloody prospects of impalement, and no way of escape. If he has not found a way out of the difficulty consistent with the usages of diplomacy, the ordinary requirements of courtesy, the dignity and power of the great nation which he represents, the fault is not his, but his master's.

The whole situation is an extraordinary commentary upon the foreign policy which has brought things to such a pass. Mr. Cleveland disowning the acts of his prede-

cessor is like the Pope who exhumed the body of a rival and cast it into the Tiber. Unhappily, the President has not to deal with a rival only. His own acts of recognition are there, in like manner to be exhumed and disowned. What is to be done with them? He would, and he would not; and what with calling President Dole his "great and good friend," and then stabbing him under the fifth rib—between the open smiles of friendship and the secret acts of enmity—he has brought the diplomatic relations of the United States with this country into a tangle which it would take a greater than Solomon to unravel. Hawaii is at peace with the American people, but at war with Mr. Cleveland, and Mr. Willis has chosen to cast in his lot with that of the man who unquestionably is his master, and who claims to be the master of the American people, too.

We are inclined to believe that the above suggestions contain a sound theory of the conduct of the American minister. At the same time any hypothesis can be at best but tentative and provisional. We are treading here diplomatic mazes where all light fails us and precedents are not. Yet the theory indicated would seem to be as plausible as any. It would be absurd to suppose that Mr. Willis denies the right of this Government to observe such holidays as it may choose. It would be monstrous to imagine that he or his Government resents the celebration of a day which marks above all other days the regard which this Government and its supporters bear the United States. If it be true, indeed, that the constant affection of Americans for their native land is a crime in the eyes of Mr. Willis and his master, then, certainly, like Othello, we have "loved not wisely, but too well."

In the meanwhile, in spite of the neglect of the United States minister plenipotentiary, the Provisional Government still lives and pursues its calm way unmoved. It has celebrated its anniversary, rejoicing. It has not only survived a year of trial within and without, but it has grown stronger, wiser, and better, and it stands to-day secure in its strength, in the brightness of its hopes, in anticipations well founded upon the deeds of the past, leading away from despotism, pointing forward to the freedom of the American flag, and remaining an abiding guarantee that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish in this outpost of civilization in the Pacific.

[The Hawaiian Star, Thursday, January 18, 1894.]

JANUARY 17.

Within the memory of the oldest inhabitant there has been no more inspiring holiday than that of January 17. This is not alone due to the events it stood for. A fact of but less significance was in the way it was received by the natives who have been so strongly counted on to swell the following of the lost cause. They flocked to the reception at the executive building and paid sincere honors to the chief of the State, and hundreds of them participated with unmistakable good will in the splendid festivities of the evening. The day was one of rejoicing and satisfaction to the masses, and the party of reactionaries was forgotten in the midst of the common jubilee. The Provisional Government and the cause of annexation are the stronger for the way in which the people showed their *aloha* for the powers that be.

DID VERY WELL WITHOUT HIM.

It is to be regretted that "contingencies" should have arisen by which Minister Willis was unable to take note of yesterday's holiday and by which the *Philadelphia* and her consort were prevented from hanging up flags in place of their weekly washing. These "contingencies," it may be observed, are due to the strange perversity of the Americans here in not making way when asked to, for the return of a discarded heathen Queen and her rabble of bootlers and hula-drivers. To have them do that is so strong and fervid an ambition of the part of the worshipful chieftain of the American Democracy, or what there is left of it since the November elections, that he would see them in the river Styx before he would let his personal agent here acknowledge their claims of independence; that is to say acknowledge them again. As to that personal agent himself, whom we have heard was a gallant Union captain during the war, we are constrained to doubt that he fully believes in the justice and Americanism of such a programme. However, He Who-Must-Be-Obeyed leaves his official employes small latitude of judgment when a question comes up between the rights of a free people and the prerogatives of a would-be dictator. Being somewhat in the dictator line himself, Cleveland feels like standing in with the profession. We must surmise that he abhors the fact that such an uncontrollable thing as popular sentiment and Congressional initiative sometimes gets in his way.

However, the Americans of Hawaii and their German, English, Portuguese, and

native friends made a great holiday all by themselves on the 17th of January, and hardly missed the diplomatic absentee, or stopped to grumble at the long lines of half-dry undershirts and pantaloons with which the Navy saluted the Republican anniversary. They were having too good a time for anything of that sort and were content to leave the extraordinary envoy to himself and to the pleasure which he might derive from hearing the song of the dinkey bird in the damafala tree.

The local public need not be surprised to hear at any time that the lower branch of Congress has indorsed the President's Hawaiian policy. So much may be predicated of its partisanship and its desire to let the Executive down easily. The meaning of such action, if it has been or should be taken, would fall very short of doing any harm to the Provisional Government. So far as it has developed, the Cleveland policy is of the pleading and admonitory type towards Hawaii and to indorse that would be, so far as the government of these islands is concerned, a harmless proceeding, "intended," as a former Congressman would have put it; "for Buncombe County only."

WAS A DAY OF DAYS—COMPLETE SUCCESS OF THE FIRST CELEBRATION—LEAGUE FLAG RAISING—MILITARY PARADE—RECEPTION—MEETING—DECORATIONS—FIREWORKS.

The celebration programme was carried through with a dash. There was no variations from the proceedings as announced in advance. The weather was absolutely perfect. The feeling was enthusiastic. So far as could be observed, none held aloof from the occasion. It seemed that nearly everybody in the city was heart and soul in the observance of the first regular "Fourth of July" for Hawaii. A little coterie, which wandered about in holiday attire, attempted to wet-blanket the affair, but found its mission the saddest sort of a failure and was actually compelled to become an indistinguishable part of the gala gathering. During the evening of the 16th and on the morning of the 17th this worthy contingent circulated rumors designed to frighten people. The scare scheme miscarried completely. Even the roundabout threat of a dynamite explosion at the speaker's stand had not the least effect. There was no brooking the tide of patriotism; it was universal and resistless. The sentiments of freedom and independence pervaded and governed everywhere. Vent was given to the spirit of the day by actions indorsing fully the Provisional Government and reaffirming the principles which actuated the overthrow of monarchy.

The events of the day were the flag-raising by the American League, the battalion drill and review of troops, the reception by President Dole and Mrs. Dole, the great mass meeting, and the display of fireworks.

THE FLAG-RAISING.

At 8 o'clock an immense crowd had gathered at the corner of Nuuanu and King to witness the hoisting of a 60 by 30 American flag on a 120-foot pole. The band was in attendance, and rendered such patriotic airs as "Star-Spangled Banner," "Marching through Georgia," "Rally Round the Flag." A great cheer went up from the throng that congested two streets as the flag was hauled aloft. R. H. Sampson, who served in the civil war as first lieutenant of Company G, First Massachusetts Cavalry, cracked a bottle of champagne and christened the flag "General Dix." Three cheers were then proposed and given with a will. Twenty-one giant bombs, furnished by John Egan, were set off as a salute. Each explosion brought cheers. Gen. Dix, of New York, is the man who said, "If any man hauls down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." This was the feeling throughout the concourse of liberty-loving people. As the flag gracefully swung to the breeze, winding itself like a thing of life, and as the band sent into the air the glorious music so dear to Americans the world over, eyes moistened, and men with the G. A. R. button, and men and women who are with them, said: "It would not go well with the one who molested that flag." It was a pretty, impressive scene, really inspiring, conjuring to the surface all that is best in the man. For some time a crowd lingered about, and all day the flag was a center of attraction.

REVIEW AND PARADE.

The review of the troops attracted about the entire population to Union Square. The band, of which Prof. Berger lately said, "They will either fight or play," led the column of seven companies fully accoutered. Col. Soper delivered a few commands, and then Lieut. Col. Fisher put the battalion through a series of intricate maneuvers, concluding with the manual of arms. Every movement was executed

with the precision and finish noticeable in veteran regulars in the United States. The troops have profited by their training at the hands of capable tacticians. All are proud of the military branch of the Government. The officers at the head of the companies were Capts. Good, Camara, Lieut. Asch, Capts. Gunn, Ziegler, and Wilder.

The line of march was up Punchbowl street to Beretania, thence to Fort, to King, to Nuuanu, and back to the garrison on King. The streets were almost impassable during the parade, thousands lining the sidewalks.

At the headquarters of the American League the celebrants once more centered. The grand flag raised in the morning was given by the Provisional Government and the assembled multitude that cordial salute denied it from a certain quarter. "The Star Spangled Banner" was again heard, and cheer after cheer almost rent the air. Each succeeding explosion of patriotism was more hearty than the one before.

STATE RECEPTION.

The council hall and, in fact, the entire executive building and grounds, had been decorated for the reception by President and Mrs. Dole between the hours of 11 and 12. Carpets were laid in the great hallways and in the legislative chamber. There were flowers everywhere. Paper lanterns were pendent from trees and festooned about the place. There was an entire absence of ceremony and formality. All were welcomed, and after being received the guests scattered about and a social, free from restraint, lasted a couple of hours. The President was attended by his staff officers, Col. Soper, Lieut. Col. Fisher, and Majrs. McLeod and Potter. The latter presented the guests. In the immediate receiving party were President Dole and wife, the cabinet members and their ladies, and the judges of the supreme and circuit courts with their ladies. Mrs. Dole was assisted by Mrs. C. L. Carter, Mrs. Iaukea, and the Misses Hopper, Lowry, Park, Perry, Von Holt, Mossman, Gillman, Judd, Wing, Forbes, Jones, Hartwell, Mott-Smith, Wilder, Young, Glade, Atkinson, Paty, McGrew, Hassenger, Sorenson, Hatch, Tyler, Afong, and Howland. Ball dresses were not shown, but many exquisite costumes were worn. The callers numbered about 750. Over 250 registered. Many natives called, one with an immense bouquet for the President. The German consul was present, and a number of officers from the American men-of-war attended in civilian dress. The book for names was in an out-of-the-way place, and there was such a crush during the first half of the hour that comparatively few placed their names. During the reception the band played on the veranda.

At noon the national salute of 21 guns was fired in short order by a detail from the artillery company.

ILLUMINATIONS.

It was agreed on all sides that Honolulu was never before so brilliantly illuminated as last night. Further, it was asserted freely that never before had so many people appeared on the streets in the evening. The committee on decorations was extensively assisted by the military companies, the fire companies, business men, and citizens generally. There were flags everywhere. Such buildings as the headquarters of the Annexation Club, the American League, and the fire houses were resplendent in bunting and paper lanterns. Across Union Lane from No. 2 fire house the word "Annexation" in evergreen letters three feet high greeted all. At Union Square a pole in the center bore lines of merchantmen signals in four directions. The speakers' stand was literally covered with bunting, with the word "Aloha" in big red letters with a white background in the crowning piece. Some of the best artistic effects were produced at the Judiciary building, where lines of light made a pleasing whole.

An enormous amount of labor was expended on the Executive building and grounds. The illumination began at the pinnacle of the flagstaff, and the brilliancy increased and broadened to the limits of the great square, rich in tropical trees and shrubs and flowers. Above 1,000 waxen candles were used here, and nearly as many incandescent electric lights were placed through the efforts of Mr. Cassidy and his well-organized corps of wiremen. There was a line of incandescents inclosed with Japanese and Chinese lanterns extending from the corner of Richards and King a square up King. A couple of miles of light found place in front of and above the Executive building. Several sketches were made of the illuminations. A trip around the city developed many private residences appropriately decorated.

The fireworks, which were used lavishly, consisted of rockets, roman candles, and crackers and bombs. These were set off on the grounds of the Executive and Judiciary buildings, and the displays were greatly admired. The decoration of the Government buildings was the offering of the soldiers themselves, and were highly creditable in every way.

EVENING PARADE.

The evening demonstration, abandoned by the general arrangement committee, was taken up by the enthusiastic Portuguese contingent and most successfully carried out. These patriotic citizens came down from the slopes of Punchbowl about 300 strong, just in time for the speechmaking. Their own band led the procession and played unusually well. The marchers bore torches and transparencies. The sentiment first shown was "Progresso, uniao, liberado." Other inscriptions were: "Lily, make room for your anti," "Liberty or death," "America is our goal," "No monarchy in ours," "Liberty and union," "P. G., and Portuguese," "We're the 400." At the end of the column was a fireworks wagon, which left a trail of explosives and colored lights.

MASS MEETING.

The attendance at the mass meeting was variously estimated at from 7,000 to 10,000. It included throngs of natives, and the seats reserved for ladies were all occupied. Enthusiasm was unbounded, the speakers being constantly interrupted by cheering and marks of approval. The proceedings were enlivened by the discharge of fireworks at intervals, and music from the band. A spontaneous outburst was given of three cheers for President Dole.

Hon. J. B. Atherton was chairman. In a brief address he spoke of the meeting of November 28 to protest against the action of Mr. Cleveland. The opinions they expressed are fixed. The year just ended had been one of trial. The Provisional Government administered and sustained by the most trust worthy men of Hawaii has stood firm and it is now, with strength, means, and backing, on a solid footing. It will live and prosper until admitted into the great American Union.

Collector-General J. B. Castle said: There was but little to be added to what had already been uttered. What was to be said should be heard in no uncertain tones. It should be such expression as would reverberate through the ages of the Hawaiian future and live as a legacy to our children. A year ago there was struck a blow which drove the last nail into the coffin of monarchy. Those associated in the Government had been steadfast and faithful. They believed their hopes would witness fruition before the year 1897. "All roads lead to Rome," was an ancient and significant saying. Our watchword is "All roads lead to Washington." We believe Hawaii will come into the Union. We have here a Government that is sound and strong, and in which the people have confidence. He was certain it was satisfactory, and it, or its immediate successors, were good enough for those who desired annexation.

There have been objections to the celebration of this day. Comments tinged with disapproval have emanated in some instances from our own ranks. The day was a most memorable one and the speaker would be in favor of making it a holiday for all time. Those who thought otherwise were either imbued with lack of confidence or even cowardice. It was a day worthy of celebration for many reasons. For one thing, it commemorated the unsuccessful seizure of the islands nearly one hundred years ago by the English, who were forced to restore them by the action of Napoleon. The 17th was the birthday anniversary of Kamehameha III, the King who desired the annexation of the islands to the United States.

Said Judge HARTWELL: "Wherever is found a community enjoying possession of higher sentiments, there is civil liberty. The day of kings is past but the rule of law is never ending." Judge Hartwell entered upon a legal analysis of the Hawaiian Government. "Until the advent of Kalakaua there had been no actual constitutional government. For the first time, then, a monarch was sworn to enforce and observe a constitution; for the first time absolute kingly authority was abolished. In Liliuokalani the country found a sovereign who disesteemed and ignored the constitution. What did the English do when their King John rebelled? They forced him at Runnymede to obligate himself by signing Magna Charta. On the 17th of January, 1893, the monarch of this country abrogated constitutional government by violating and defying the constitution. From that instant Hawaiian constitutional government ceased to exist. The proceeding that followed was a conservative and legitimate one. Citizens took upon themselves the functions of government. The ultimate end sought is annexation to the United States. The Government is protecting citizens and property and quietly and fairly conducting the affairs of state. We have a stable government. That is the only Government, and it will continue to be the recognized, honored, and efficient power on the islands.

President of Punahou College, Prof. F. A. Hosmer, said that Prince Bismarck, at a banquet, offered a toast to the fatherland Great Britain and the Republic of the West. The French and Portuguese governments further afford fine examples of republican forms of government. Out here on an island on the mid-Pacific, people with the incentive of patriotism have been brave enough to resist absolutism. Prof. Alexander's history is authority for the notorious fact that Hawaii has not for twenty years had a stable government. We have it now and we will have annexation.

Their inventors will cease to be backward. Every man here will have an opportunity. The islands are rich in material resources. We have Pearl locks and other grand harbors. There is prosperity in store for all. We have been extremely fortunate in having men here who have accepted public office as a public trust. They are able and self-sacrificing gentlemen, worthy of our trust and confidence, and entitled to our support.

H. T. Waterhouse made a few timely and effective remarks in the native tongue. The effort was received with every mark of cordiality and favor. This translation was furnished by Rev. Sereno Bishop: [Pointing to the motto "Aloha."] "That is our foundation, to live in love to each other. The light has broken upon us; we have lived in darkness—let us now embrace the light. The doors of the former palace were open to-day for the poor and needy to enter, and that movement will enlarge the opportunities of the poor. Then go forward and secure liberty and prosperity.

Attorney-General W. O. Smith said, in speaking for the Government, that if any one, feeling should animate our hearts it should be a union of gratitude and pride. I am proud of the conduct of the people and of their support of the Government. The natives, many of them, not clearly understanding the situation, have evinced confidence in us. Their behavior merits the greatest commendation. The Government has had to contend with many difficulties; the people have been patient; there has been no exercise of the ballot; self-interest has been subordinated to public interest; men have been brave, courageous, and forbearing. It has been no easy task to act as wet nurse to an infant. The child has had the measles and the colic, and it has even been threatened with a spanking; but it is now a lusty little one, able to walk. We are working for one great destiny—stability of government. We will secure it in annexation. Let there be a continuance of the noble subordination of self-interests, and we shall march on to victory.

Judge Robertson said he was thankful for the opportunity to lift his voice as an Annexationist. He was in the United States when the Queen committed her fatal error. He recognized the effects of the happenings when accounts were wired across the continent. He knew that the sentiments which were then uppermost were the same sentiments which forced Kalakaua to dismount his high horse in 1881 and drew Bob Wilcox from his gasoline tank in 1889. He had been amused at the complaint of an English man of war's man upon being called a boy. "Old men for council, young men for war." The services of the "boys" were in demand a few weeks ago when it looked as if "our great and good friend" Grover Cleveland, would force us to fight. He was with the boys. The speaker had not been an ardent Annexationist until about one year ago. Having been born here he was proud of the autonomy of Hawaii. Now he was convinced that a higher state of citizenship would be the possession of all who went into the American Union with Hawaii. As Robert Lincoln said, every man is the equal of every other man in the United States. Some of the Royalists are saying that Lilioukalani will be given back her throne. There was no such thing as her throne. She had forfeited it when she abolished constitutional government.

Walter G. Smith said the 17th day of January was a date of note in the political history of the world. On that day in 1792 the people of France condemned a despotic king to death and gained that liberty which, from the dream of the philosopher, had become the possession of the subject. That day marked the inauguration of the republican movement in Europe. It dispelled the belief that a country without a king or a church without a bishop meant chaos and infidelity. The events of that January day had brought men to their senses. They saw that the attributed divinity of a monarch was but the figment of their inherited fears and superstitions. The feudal principle then received a wound that defied all surgery. A century after that day in France came a day in Hawaii when the last independent sovereign on the Western Hemisphere lost her throne and the last recognized dynasty on this side of the globe was expunged from the calendar of princes. Then the 17th of January gained the right to be known as one of the world's democratic holidays. Let it approve the fact that it is a sign set eternal in the heavens of history that kings and queens and potentates shall be no more and that the reign of the people has begun. There is nothing more inspiring in the annals of 1776 than the unwavering front this people preserved in their great emergency.

On one side was the chief of 60,000,000, here an armed body of a paltry thousand; there was the greatest of modern powers with its armies and fleets, here a few lone rocks in the ocean without a fort upon their pinnacles or a gun upon a deck; there was a government whose President declared that our dethroned queen should reign again; there was a little band of men who said that she must pass over their dead bodies first. In our harbor was the broadside of a possible foe, here on shore was a battalion behind its sandbags. The odds were great, but the patriots of Hawaii took them. If the American people had not intervened there might have been a new Thermopylæ. While we look back with pride we must look forward with

courage. There are grave problems yet to solve. We have an antagonistic element at home and a negative moneyed influence abroad conspiring for control. Our enemies are powerful and insidious. They are united to defeat the objects of the January revolution. It is for us to remain steadfast to those objects no matter how they may be assailed. This is our highest duty.

There is but one political goal and watchword for us all, and that is annexation. If this is delayed, and we are left to work out our own salvation, the best thing is to work it out on the American plan by the exercise of Anglo-Saxon pluck, and leave the rest to the Ruler of all nations. Perhaps Providence may have a great political work for this little island community to perform. Perhaps its destiny is to work out a parallel to Greece, to Switzerland, to Haiti. On rocky shores, among fishermen and the poor, occurred events which, after nineteen centuries, sway and control the world. In closing, Mr. Smith said: "Standing here upon ground once consecrated to the pomp of monarchy, face to face with the deroyalized house of Government, knowing no flag so dear as the Stars and Stripes, we appeal to our countrymen to open their gates to us of kindred blood; but we pledge ourselves, if that can not be, to at least be worthy of the service by the work we shall do on this soil for the glory of American principles."

The crowd lingered about the square for an hour after the mass meeting closed, viewing the fireworks and illuminations.

NOTES OF THE DAY.

Mr. Emmeluth fired a salute at his residence early in the morning.

There was a large crowd at Thomas Square in the afternoon to hear the concert.

The judiciary building was decorated by Company F, and the executive building by Company E.

The crowds were very orderly throughout the day and evening. Not a single disturbance occurred.

The Antiques and Horribles made up an interesting circus and especially pleased the young folks. The award of prizes was just and entirely satisfactory.

Bonfires lit up the evening in Ewa.

Corporal Kelby, E Company, had a hand severely injured by a premature explosion of fireworks on the tower of the executive building. He is in the hospital.

A private of E Company made a bomb with a piece of gas pipe. The metal was blown to fragments on the executive building front. Five panes of glass were shattered and some stucco work loosened. The man was only slightly bruised.

A GOOD WORD FOR MR. WILLIS.

The excitement attending the arrival and departure of the *Corwin* having subsided, we hope that our citizens will be fair and just toward Mr. Willis. His position is not one of his own creation. It was made by his master. He did not seek trouble but was ordered to make it. The sins of the principals are often visited upon the heads of the agents. If his temper has not been altogether lovely in making his answers to questions regarding his use of force in restoring the ex-Queen, it must be remembered that he was instructed to perform a difficult job. "Don't use force, but don't let them know that you won't use it." A nobleman said to the artist who was about to paint his portrait: "In painting my portrait paint that of my valet standing behind me, but so that he can not be seen." Instructions are often difficult to execute.

Mr. Willis knows, for he must read some books, that in no modern time has an envoy been sent to express good will toward a government, and at the same time ordered peremptorily to compass, instigate, and procure the destruction of that government. He knows, furthermore, that he never would have been ordered to do so if we had numbered fifty millions of people; that the "high sense of justice" which inspired his instructions was accompanied with an equally high and lively sense of superior strength. Mr. Willis is not responsible for all this. If he stands out in diplomatic history as one of the parties to a queer and novel diplomatic escapade, he must thank his principal for it. His character and ours, as good Christians, are to be tested in the future. It may occur to him that a Christian spirit are not incompatible with true statesmanship. Still, he may feel like the darkey preacher who made this reply to an inquiry: "I reckons I'se broke all de Commandments, but tank de Lord I keeps my religion," and while he may cultivate for private use that which is the greatest of all, charity, he may feel that his public mission here will be to "get even" with us poor Hawaiian worms of the dust. The mothers in Honolulu, who, after the arrival of the *Corwin*, bent over their babes in prayer anxiously inquiring if the guns of the *Philadelphia* and *Adams* were shotted for them, gratefully thank him that he ordered the death angel to touch but not to rest on their pillows. It is now in order that we cultivate charity and forgiveness.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 31.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 19, 1894.

SIR: In recent dispatches I have sent letters between Hon. S. B. Dole, minister of foreign affairs, and myself in regard to my "attitude showing the intention to use force."

I have the honor to transmit herewith the letters of Mr. Dole of January 11 and 18, 1894, and my reply of this and prior date, which will, on my part, end correspondence on the subject.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Inclosures.

1. Letter of Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.
2. Letter of Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.
3. Letter of Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole, January 15, 1894.
4. Letter of Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis, January 18, 1894.

[Inclosure 1, in No. 31.]

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, January 11, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated January 1 instant, in which you refer to my communication to you dated December 27 as "containing statements which I am fully prepared to show are not warranted by the facts, seriously affecting the President of the United States and the representatives of the United States in this country, and that these charges and statements, if accepted as the official views of your Government, demand prompt answer and equally prompt action on the part of the Government of the United States to the end that the condition of affairs therein described should be removed by the removal of the alleged causes."

You also refer to the intervening correspondence between us, stating that my above-mentioned communication, "being for the first time the official information that the warlike preparations described by you were caused by and intended for the diplomatic and military representatives of the United States."

You further state that, believing that upon further consideration I would realize the great injustice of my statements, you, on the 29th ultimo, wrote, suggesting the withdrawal of my communication of the 27th ultimo and your reply, and that no copies be given to the public or made a record by either Government; and on the 31st stated to Mr. Damon that your note to me "was prompted by no improper or unfriendly spirit, but was intended to continue the amicable relations heretofore existing."

You further state that, in my letter of December 29, there is no "withdrawal or modification of the statements complained of, but, on the contrary, an expression of readiness, implying ability, to furnish the specifications requested."

You also acknowledge the receipt of my note to you, dated January 1, stating that it was not my intention to withdraw any of my letters, which note you state is unsigned by me. The omission of the signature was unintentional.

You conclude by stating that "I have now to ask that you furnish me, at your earliest convenience, with the desired specifications, as I wish to make immediate answer."

I will comply with your request. Before doing so, however, I desire to say, in reply to your communication of the 1st instant, that I have made no "charges" against the President of the United States or its representatives. On the contrary, in order that there might be no misapprehension concerning the matter, I specifically stated, in my communication to you of the 27th ultimo, that I do not claim or intimate that this unfortunate situation has been intentionally created by you or by the Government which you represent. I still disclaim any intention of charging you or your Government with intent to produce the results and conditions described in my communication of December 27.

The object of my communication to you was to formally bring to your attention certain facts and conditions existing in this country; what, in my opinion, were

the causes of the same, and to obtain from you such information and assurances as would tend to allay the prevailing excitement and apprehension.

Concerning your statement above referred to, that my communication of December 27 contains statements which you are fully prepared to show are not warranted by the facts, I would say that it would give me great pleasure to become convinced that the alleged conditions and facts referred to by me did not in truth exist. The matters hereinafter stated constitute in part the basis for my belief in the existence of the conditions referred to and the causes producing the same; but I shall be glad to receive from you any evidence tending to remove from my mind the belief that they or any of them did exist, and assuring you that upon becoming convinced that I am under misapprehension concerning any of such alleged facts, the allegations concerning the same will be immediately withdrawn.

Concerning your statement that my letter of December 29 contains "no withdrawal or modifications of the statements complained of," you will pardon me if I say that I was not aware that any complaint had been made concerning any statement made by me, your reply having been primarily directed to eliciting more specific information concerning certain points.

Referring to the suggestion contained in your note of the 29th and your interview with Mr. Damon, that I withdraw my communication of December 27, I would say that to do so would have been in the nature of an admission that the statements therein contained were incorrect, which, unfortunately, in the absence of the information which you say you are prepared to present and with certain other evidence before me, it was impossible for me to do so.

Allow me to assure you that it is with deep gratification that I received your assurance that your communication to me of the 29th December was prompted by no improper motive or unfriendly spirit, but was intended to continue the amicable relations heretofore existing, and to further assure you that this and all other communications from this Government are written in the same spirit, and I trust that no statement presenting the claims and views of this Government concerning any matter of law or fact may by reason of its directness and distinctness be construed as otherwise than of a similar character.

In compliance with your request for certain specifications concerning my letter of December 27, I reply thereto as follows:

First. You inquire as to the meaning of the word "attitude" as used in my letter.

I reply that the word was used by me in its ordinarily accepted sense, meaning the bearing, the posture as indicating purpose, of those referred to.

You further say: "Will you point out where and when and how the representatives of the United States assumed any attitude toward the supporters of the Provisional Government, or that Government itself, other than one essentially and designedly expressive of peace?"

In reply I would say that the attitude of a person is to be ascertained only by inferences drawn from the known words and acts of such person, and the conditions and circumstances under which they take place.

Some of the words and actions of the United States and its representatives in this connection and the conditions and circumstances attendant thereupon, from which its intentions and attitude toward the Provisional Government must be inferred, are as follows:

(1) A treaty of annexation had been negotiated between the Provisional Government and the United States Government and presented to the Senate for ratification. This treaty was withdrawn by President Cleveland immediately upon his entering office without prior notice to this Government or its representatives of his intention so to do, or of his reasons for such action.

(2) Immediately thereafter the President appointed Hon. James H. Blount a special commissioner to Hawaii to investigate the condition of affairs at Hawaii.

The knowledge of such appointment was withheld from the representatives of this Government at Washington. The press having announced the appointment, the Hawaiian representatives applied to the State Department for information concerning the same. The Secretary of State refused to state the objects of the mission or even to admit that a commissioner had been appointed.

(3) On the 19th day of June, 1893, Mr. Thurston, Hawaiian minister at Washington, addressed a communication to Mr. Gresham, Secretary of State, in which the following language is used, viz:

"I am directed by my Government to represent to you that, while the Hawaiian Government has full confidence in the good faith of the United States towards Hawaii in and concerning its treatment of the relations between the two countries, it seems proper that it should be informed as to the effect the present uncertainty as to the ultimate course to be pursued has upon the situation in Hawaii.

"The long continued delay and uncertainty keeps the entire community in a feverish state of mind, by reason of which business is seriously affected; capital is rendered timid, thereby hampering all enterprises which are conducting their business

on credit; the Government credit and ability to borrow is prejudiced; the expenses of the Government are largely increased by the necessity of maintaining a considerable armed force for the protection of public order, and the enemies of the Government are encouraged to conspire against law and order, all of which is highly prejudicial and injurious not only to the Hawaiians, but to the very large amount of American capital invested in Hawaii and the mutual trade now being conducted between the two countries.

"It is important for the Hawaiian Government to know the intention of the United States Government concerning annexation at as early a date as possible, as if annexation is not to take place the methods of treating local conditions in Hawaii must be radically different from those to be pursued if annexation is to take place.

"It is also important that whatever the intentions of the United States Government may be concerning the subject-matter, the Hawaiian Government be informed what such intentions are before the same are made public, in order that it may consider the situation with full knowledge of all its aspects and decide upon such course of action as may be necessary to preserve order and protect the interests of the people of Hawaii.

"For the reasons above stated I respectfully request that a decision may be arrived at and communicated as speedily as is consistent with the interests of the United States."

No reply has ever been made to such communication.

(4) Upon the arrival of Mr. Blount in this country he did not communicate nor in any matter intimate to the Hawaiian Government that his investigations were to be directed toward the right of existence of the Government to whom he was accredited. All of his investigations and examinations were private, and such persons only were examined as he chose to call.

(5) An examination of his report, since published, shows that there are statements made by approximately 60 Royalists and 20 supporters of the Provisional Government.

That he has obtained no statements from the 4 members of the cabinet voted out three days before the revolutionary attempt of the Queen, although he has obtained exhaustive statements from their Royalist successors.

That he has examined only 2 of the 13 members of the committee of safety; one of the original 4 members of the executive council of the Provisional Government; 3 of the original 14 members of the advisory council; 2 of the 8 speakers who addressed the mass meeting called by the committee of safety on the day prior to the establishment of the Provisional Government, and but 1 of the 8 field and staff officers, and none of the 17 line officers in command of the forces of the Provisional Government and none of the 5 commissioners sent to Washington, although all of such men omitted to be examined were eye witnesses and active participants in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the Provisional Government, and are men of character and standing in the community, while a number of those examined on the Royalist side are irresponsible characters.

(6) Upon the 15th day of May, 1893, Mr. Blount, without first communicating to this Government what his instructions were, or his intention so to do, published his official instructions in a Honolulu newspaper in the form of an address "To the people of the Hawaiian Islands," and concluded with the following words:

"While I shall refrain from interference between conflicting forces of whatever nationality for supremacy, I will protect American citizens not participating in such conflict."

(7) Although Mr. Blount's report is official in character, vitally affects this Government, and is distinctly hostile to it in tone and conclusions, no request to this Government for explanation of the charges therein made was received nor opportunity to reply thereto or notice of its contents given prior to its publication. The first information concerning the contents of such report was obtained by this Government through published extracts in the American papers dated November 20, last, no official copy thereof being furnished the Hawaiian minister at Washington until November 25, and none received by this Government at Honolulu until December 22, last, such copies having been furnished only after several applications therefor at the State Department.

(8) On November 7 you, having arrived in Honolulu, presented your credentials to this Government as American minister, with the usual declarations of friendship and regard and were duly received and acknowledged. Simultaneously therewith, Admiral Skerrett was suddenly and unexpectedly removed and Rear-Admiral Irwin appointed to the command of the American naval forces in Honolulu. Such change was almost universally interpreted by the press of the United States as having a bearing upon the contemplated execution of the announced policy of the President concerning Hawaii. The extract hereinafter contained from the New York Herald is a sample of the interpretation placed thereon by the press of your own country favorable to such policy.

I do not claim or intimate that the personnel of the commanding officer of the United States forces is of any concern to this Government, nor suggest that the interpretation placed thereon by the American press is correct, nor that your Government is responsible for such interpretation. This incident is mentioned simply as a part of the *res gestæ* of the case which this Government had before it, and as one of the many things which it was obliged to consider in drawing its inferences as to what the intentions of your Government were.

(9) Upon the 8th of November last the New York Herald published a statement from its Washington correspondent from which I make the following extracts:

"A diplomatic bombshell will burst within the next few days and the report will be heard throughout the entire world.

"The bomb will be thrown by an accredited representative of the United States Government, and he will hurl it against the badly conceived and worse managed Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

"If Minister Willis and Rear-Admiral Irwin arrived in Honolulu on schedule there would be even livelier times in the capital city of the Hawaiian Islands to-day than there is in the metropolis of the United States. * * * Briefly stated, the present administration will do all in its power to restore the condition of affairs which existed in Hawaii at the time Minister Stevens * * * brought about the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani, * * *

"The same force, that of the United States Government, which made the Provisional Government possible has sustained them in power to this day. They could not have made the revolution of which they were the head center a success but for the support given them by the administration in Washington, and there is every reason to believe * * * that the Provisional Government would have gone down long ago but for this same support. * * *

"The fact that a new minister has been sent to Honolulu to succeed Minister Stevens and that Rear-Admiral Irwin has been sent to relieve Commander Skerrett has been accepted in many instances as an inkling of the administration's policy towards Hawaii. * * *

"This means that the Queen will be restored to her throne and the Provisional Government, representing only a small part of the people of Hawaii, will soon be a thing of the past."

I do not intimate that the U. S. Government is responsible for the utterances of the Herald, but cite the above as one of several instances in which information of intended acts on the part of your Government, vital to this Government, has been denied to this Government and first made known to it through the public press.

(10) On November 11 the papers of the United States published a letter from the Secretary of State to the President, dated October 18, 1893.

No previous notice had been given to this Government of the contents of such letter or of the intention to make it public.

In that letter the Secretary, referring to the initiation of this Government, says:

"They relied on no military force of their own, for they had none worthy of the name. The Provisional Government was established by the action of the American minister and the presence of the troops landed from the *Boston*, and its continued existence is due to the belief of the Hawaiians that if they made an effort to overthrow it they would encounter the armed forces of the United States.

"The earnest appeals to the American minister for military protection by the officers of the Provisional Government after it had been recognized show the utter absurdity of the claim that it was established by a successful revolution of the people of the islands.

"These appeals were a confession by the men who made them of their weakness and timidity. Courageous men, conscious of their strength and the justice of their cause, do not act thus. * * *

"Should not the great wrong done to a feeble but independent State by an abuse of the authority of the United States be undone by restoring the legitimate Government? Anything short of that will not, I respectfully submit, satisfy the demands of justice. * * * Our Government was the first to recognize the independence of the islands, and it should be the last to acquire sovereignty over them by force and fraud."

You have intimated in your communication dated December 2 that the foregoing letter, "being a domestic affair, the transaction is not the subject of diplomatic representation," which statement you have reiterated in your communication of January 1.

I must submit, however, that an official communication from the chief of the Department of State to the President, in which he charges this Government and its officers with conspiracy, weakness, timidity, and fraud, and recommends its subversion, which letter is officially furnished to and published by the public press without any information concerning the same being afforded to this Government, is not a "domestic transaction," and is preeminently a proper subject for inquiry on

the part of this Government as to the intentions of your Government concerning the subject matter.

(11) On November 14 Mr. Thurston, Hawaiian minister at Washington, called upon the Secretary of State and inquired if the above letter was authentic, and was assured by Mr. Gresham that it was.

Mr. Thurston then said: "I wish, then, to further ask whether it is the intention of the U. S. Government to carry out the policy therein indicated by force; or, in other words, whether if the Provisional Government declines to accede to the request of the U. S. Government to vacate in favor of the Queen, U. S. troops will be used to enforce the request."

To which Mr. Gresham replied: "I am not at liberty at present to answer that question. It is a matter concerning which I will speak to the President and talk with you more fully this afternoon."

In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Gresham further said to Mr. Thurston:

"I have already answered your first question, to the effect that the letter published (Secretary Gresham to the President) was authentic and a correct statement of the policy of the United States. As to your second question, as to whether force is to be used by the United States to restore the Queen, all that I am at liberty to state is that Mr. Willis has no instructions to do anything which will cause injury to life or property of anyone at the islands. Further than this I am not at liberty to state what his instructions are. You can draw your own inferences from my statement and allay any apprehension which may have been caused by what has been published."

Mr. Thurston farther said to Mr. Gresham:

"Your answer does not convey the information which I requested. What I desire is to obtain information which will guide my Government in their action. If they know that force is to be used by you their course of action will necessarily be different from what it otherwise would be. The definite information from me that you intend to use force may be the means of preventing them from using force and causing bloodshed."

To which Mr. Gresham replied:

"Our relations in the past have been pleasant and I want them to continue to be so in the future, and to be perfectly courteous to you, but I can not at present answer you more fully than I have."

(12) On the 16th of last November there was published in the Honolulu Star an interview with you, with the accompanying statement that the proofs had been revised by you.

The following are extracts therefrom, purporting to be statements made by you:

"You are authorized to say from me that no change in the present situation will take place for several weeks. I brought with me certain instructions. * * * Since my arrival here contingencies have arisen about which neither the United States Government nor myself were aware when I left Washington. * * * I forwarded my dispatches to Washington by to-day's steamer, and until I receive an answer to them no change will take place in the present situation, *nor will any be allowed.*"

"What do you mean by the expression '*nor will any be allowed?*'"

"I mean just this; that until the time comes for me to carry out my instructions, the peace and good order of this community will be kept undisturbed in the interests of humanity. That any attempt made by any person or persons to make trouble will be promptly checked and punished. You may put the matter more plainly and say that even if the Provisional Government discharged the whole of its troops to day, no lawlessness would be allowed for one moment under the present situation of affairs. * * * The whole Hawaiian question is now in abeyance and nothing the newspapers can say or do, will alter the situation one iota; * * * There is not the slightest necessity for any one to stay out of bed nights for fear of trouble of any kind, for none will be permitted."

In the Honolulu Bulletin of November 17, last, there is published what purports to be a letter signed by yourself, in which you state concerning the above-mentioned interview:

"The interview in the Star was submitted to me but I did not scrutinize it carefully. It contains several expressions which are misleading; due, I am sure, not to any intention on the part of the writer."

There is no specification of what the "misleading" portions are, although you have since verbally informed me in substance that you did not intend to use such words and had no intention of exercising authority inconsistent with that of the Government.

(13) On November 29, last, the Hawaiian Star published a statement purporting to be a report of remarks made by you to a delegation of the American League, in which the following words are stated to have been used by you:

"I have my instructions which I can not divulge. * * * But this much I can say:

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 the executive officer. I come to act. When the proper time comes, I shall act. * * * I wish to state, positively, that any outside interference will not be tolerated by the United States."

I am not aware that you have ever disavowed the correctness of this report.

(14) On November 29 last, having that day for the first time received information through the Hawaiian minister at Washington of the contents of Mr. Gresham's letter to the President, and of his statements concerning the same and his refusal to state whether it was the intention of your Government to carry out its policy by force, I called upon you in company with the Attorney-General, stated to you the substance of my information, and asked you what the intentions of your Government were in relation to Mr. Gresham's recommendations. You replied that you were not at liberty to tell us, but would do so as soon as you could.

(15) Immediately thereafter, I addressed a communication to you, revoking the general permission theretofore granted to the United States forces to land for drill, and a further communication formally stating to you the information received by me concerning said letter of Mr. Gresham and asking you the following question:

"I desire to inquire of you whether the published reports of such letter of Secretary Gresham are substantially correct? If they are, I feel that it is due this Government that it should be informed of the intention of your Government in relation to the suggestions contained in the said letter of Mr. Gresham."

On December 2, you replied to such letter stating that "as to the letter of Mr. Gresham I have the honor to call your attention to the fact, as shown by you, that it is a communication from a member of the cabinet to the President of the United States, and being a domestic transaction is not the subject of diplomatic representation. Answering your note further, I must express my sincere regret that it is not in my power at present to inform you of the views or intentions of the United States."

(16) On December 4th last President Cleveland transmitted his annual message to Congress, in which the following language was used concerning Hawaii.

Referring to Mr. Blount's report he said:

"Upon the facts developed it seemed to me the only honorable course for our Government to pursue was to undo the wrong that had been done by those representing us, and to restore, as far as practicable, the status existing at the time of our forcible intervention. With a view of accomplishing this result within the constitutional limits of executive power our present minister at Honolulu has received appropriate instructions to that end."

(17) On December 14 last the U. S. dispatch-boat *Corwin* arrived in Honolulu from San Francisco bringing dispatches to yourself. No mail was allowed to be brought by her, but the press of Honolulu obtained from persons on board of her and published the above extract from the President's message. But for such accidental information no information concerning the same would have been obtained by this Government until the arrival of the *Alameda* on December 22.

Up to the time of the arrival of the *Corwin* the U. S. naval officers in port were in the habit of coming ashore in citizen's dress, the crews received the usual liberty on shore, and no unusual warlike preparations were visible on board.

Immediately after the arrival of the *Corwin* the liberty of the crews was stopped, as was that of most of the officers. Those who came on shore were in service uniform. Rifles were stacked, cartridge belts were filled with ball cartridges, and knapsacks packed for immediate use were conspicuous on the decks of the ships, and were seen there by visiting citizens, who in reply to inquiry as to the meaning of such preparations were informed by the officers that they were ready to land at a moment's notice. When asked if the landing would be to protect or fight us the reply of the officers of the *Philadelphia* was that no one on board knew what orders would be received.

(18) It was known at the time that several of the wives of the U. S. naval officers temporarily in Honolulu were packing up their baggage preparatory for immediate removal in view of possible hostilities.

(19) It was also known that you were in frequent communication with the ex-Queen, and leading royalists were constantly reiterating that you were going to immediately restore the Queen by force.

As a sample of the innumerable assertions of this character is the following, made by Mr. J. O. Carter, the ex-Queen's most trusted counselor and confidant, a gentleman who was then known to be in consultation with you and the ex-Queen and who appears as the attesting witness, to the exclusion of the former members of her cabinet, to her proposition of amnesty hereunder referred to.

Mr. Carter warned his nephew, Mr. C. L. Carter, a supporter of the Provisional Government, that restoration was certain; that force would be used by the United

States for that purpose, and that he ought to consider the rights of his family and not risk his life in opposing the inevitable.

This information was from one of the sources from which numerous prophecies of future action on the part of the United States had emanated, with almost invariable correctness.

(20) It was the almost well-nigh universal belief in the city that you were about to attempt to land the naval forces of the United States to enforce the execution of the President's policy.

In anticipation thereof for a number of days the wharves were lined with crowds of people, among them prominent Royalists, waiting to see the United States troops land to restore the Queen.

(21) On December 18, Mr. H. F. Glade, consul for Germany, called upon you and, in substance, asked if you could not speak out and relieve the public from the state of extreme tension they were in, which was becoming unbearable; to which you replied, in substance, that you were aware of the conditions and were making every effort to bring the matter to a speedy determination and would act within forty-eight hours.

(22) On December 16, it being reported that the *Corwin* was at an early date to return to San Francisco, the attorney-general called upon you stating that there would be no regular mail for nearly three weeks and asked permission to forward Hawaiian Government dispatches by her, which permission you refused, stating that your instructions would not permit it.

(23) On December 18, Maj. Wodehouse, the British minister, and Mr. Fujii, the Japanese diplomatic representative, both asked permission to land troops from their respective warships for the purpose of protecting their respective legations, which permission was granted by this Government.

(24) In view of the existing conditions, Mr. Fujii, the diplomatic representative, sent word to a number of prominent American supporters of the Provisional Government offering the use of the Japanese legation as a refuge for their families in case of hostilities.

(25) On December 18 last, I addressed to you a communication containing the following words:

"I am informed that you are in communication with Liliuokalani, the ex-Queen, with a view of reestablishing the monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands, and of supporting her pretensions to the sovereignty. Will you inform me if this report is true, or if you are acting in any way hostile to this Government. * * * You will pardon me for pressing you for an immediate answer."

(26) On December 19 you called upon and made a verbal address to me furnishing me with a manuscript copy of your remarks from which I make the following extracts:

"The President regrets, as I do, that any secrecy should have surrounded the interchange of views between our two Governments. I may say this, however, that the secrecy thus far observed has been in the interest and for the safety of all your people.

"Upon the facts embodied in Mr. Blount's reports the President has arrived at certain conclusions and determined upon a certain course of action with which it becomes my duty to acquaint you.

"The Provisional Government was not established by the Hawaiian people or with their consent or acquiescence, nor has it since existed with their consent. * * * (Other reasons are set forth for the conclusions reached.)

"In view of these conclusions I was instructed by the President to take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the Queen of this determination, and of his views as to the responsibility of our Government. * * * I was instructed at the same time to inform the Queen that, when reinstated, that the President expected that she would pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her.

"In obedience to the commands of the President, I have secured the Queen's agreement to this course. * * * It becomes my duty further to advise you, sir, the Executive of the Provisional Government and your ministers, of the President's determination of the question which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that you are expected to promptly relinquish to her her constitutional authority. And now Mr. President and gentlemen of the Provisional Government, with a deep and solemn sense of the gravity of the situation * * * in the name and by the authority of the United States of America I submit to you the question 'Are you willing to abide by the decision of the President?'"

(27) Upon the 23d of December, I replied to the foregoing communication in the negative.

Up to the time of sending you my communication of December 27, no further communication had been received by me from you and no assurance had been

received that force was not to be used nor what your further intentions were concerning this Government.

(28) During your nearly two months' residence in this city you and your family have declined the customary social courtesies usually extended to those occupying your official position, on the specified ground that it was not deemed best under existing circumstances to accept such civilities.

I do not for a moment intimate that such a course is improper or that it is a subject for criticism. It is simply referred to by me as an existing fact bearing upon your relations to this Government and germane in considering the question of your attitude thereto. It would not have been referred to by me except in response to your inquiry.

In the absence of specific definite information as to the intentions of your Government, the foregoing are some of the facts from which this Government has been obliged to infer what such intentions were, and which, considered as a whole, constitute the "attitude" toward this Government.

It may be that the proper logical deduction and inference from the foregoing facts is that the attitude of the United States and its representative toward the Provisional Government is and has been "one essentially and designedly expressive of peace." It will give us the greatest pleasure to receive assurances to that effect, but I submit that under the circumstances and in the absence of such assurances, they are capable of another construction, to a sufficient extent at least, to warrant the question which I have asked you in my communication of December 27.

Your second request for information is as follows:

"You assert that at the time of my arrival in this country the forces of this Government were organized and amply sufficient to suppress any internal disorder. Will you inform me what connection this statement has or is designed to have with the Government of the United States or with the future action of its representative?"

I reply that there are two reasons for the said statement. First, that already stated in my letter of December, that "in consequence of your attitude, the enemies of the Government, believing in your intentions to restore the monarchy by force, have become emboldened," etc.; and, second, that by reason of my inability to ascertain whether your Government proposed to use force in support of its policy of restoration, I was obliged to act as though it did so intend; as a result of which this Government has been obliged to increase its forces, and has been, and now is, subjected to the necessity of increased watchfulness and large additional expense, which, but for such attitude, would have been unnecessary.

The effect which I had hoped this communication might have upon the future action of the representative of the United States was that he might give such assurances that such additional watchfulness and expense might be avoided.

Your third request is for the time, place, and subject matter of the "language" used by yourself in public and in communication to this Government. The answer to this is covered by my reply to your first inquiry.

Your fourth inquiry is as to what particular words in the published letter from Secretary Gresham and in the President's message, and which message of the President I referred to. I reply that certain of the words of the Secretary and the President which I deem pertinent to the subject matter have already been quoted in my reply to your first inquiry, although there are other obviously bearing on the same subject.

I have already replied to you that I referred to the President's first message in my letter dated the 27th, having actually been written on the 26th of December, and forwarded to you before I had knowledge of the contents of the second message.

Your fifth inquiry is as to the time and contents of your communications which were "ambiguous."

I have enumerated them in my reply to your first inquiry.

The ambiguity consists in the reiterated statement that you proposed to do some act and carry out certain instructions which all the surrounding circumstances indicated were inimical to this Government, without stating what that act nor what those instructions were; and, while presenting and speaking assurances of friendship and amity, without the consent of this Government negotiating with its enemies for its subversion and declining to state what your intentions were.

Such utterances and actions were so inconsistent, one with the other, with international rules of comity, and the past relations and international policy of the two governments, as to be not only ambiguous but incomprehensible to this Government.

Your sixth inquiry is as to when, where, and to whom you declared that you intended to do some act when the proper time arrived. The reply to your first inquiry covers this also.

Your seventh inquiry is as to the time and manner when the Government has sought the assurance that force would not be used. The answer is contained in my reply to your first inquiry.

You finally ask my "careful consideration" of the following statement contained in my letter:

"Your action has unfortunately aroused the passions of all parties and made it probable that disturbances may be created at any moment," and say that you "refuse to believe that upon reexamination you (I) will feel at liberty to affix your (my) official signature to such an extraordinary declaration."

In reply I beg to state that I have resided in this country for nearly fifty years and had intimate personal knowledge of the conditions prevailing during the riot of 1874 and the revolutions of 1887, 1889, and 1893, and with all deliberation I state of my own knowledge that during such period there has never been a time when this country has been subjected to such strain and excitement as during the eight days following the arrival of the *Corwin*. The business of the entire community was practically suspended and its time and energy devoted to an excited and absorbing consideration of the political situation and to military preparations to meet unknown contingencies; which state of things has since been fortunately allayed by advices from America furnishing, in reports of the President's special Hawaiian message to Congress and his instructions to your excellency, information which made a satisfactory and favorable response to the inquiry of my letter to you of December 27.

I also state with equal deliberation that such condition was produced and maintained by reason of your actions and declarations and the actions and declarations of your Government and the circumstances and uncertainties attendant thereupon, as detailed in my letter of December 27, and herein.

I make this statement in no spirit of unfriendliness to you or your Government but as an historical fact which, if not already known to you, should, in the interests of both countries, be made known to you.

In conclusion, I beg to refer to the statement in your communication of January 1, wherein you state that it is a source of "sincere and profound regret" that my letter "brings, for the first time, the official information that the war-like preparations described by you were caused by and intended for the diplomatic and military representatives of the United States."

In reply, I would say that such regret on your part at receiving such information can not exceed the sincerity and profoundness of my own regret that such a condition should exist.

Such regret on my part is only equaled by inability to understand how it has come about that a Government and a community which is to-day more closely connected with the United States by ties of commerce, friendship, and blood, than any other lying beyond its borders, which values your friendship above that of all other nations, which fully admits and appreciates the many and deep obligations which it is under to your Government and people, which has done you and your country no wrong, has been forced into a position where, in defense of their very right to exist, they have been obliged to take up arms to meet the possible hostility of that country whose flag they revere and whose principles of liberty they love.

I can not but believe that it has arisen through a misunderstanding of facts on the part of your Government and a mutual misapprehension of motives and intentions which may, I sincerely hope, at an early day, be cleared away.

Allow me, in closing, to thank you, Mr. Minister, for your frequent expressions of personal regard, and for the evident sincerity of purpose displayed by you under recent trying circumstances, and to assure you of my deep appreciation thereof.

I have the honor to assure you, that, with highest consideration,

I am, your excellency's obedient servant,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His excellency, ALBERT S. WILLIS,
U. S. Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, ———, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 11th instant, which was in reply to mine of the 1st.

The only question of practical importance arising out of the present correspondence was whether the United States war vessels were at the time your letter was written objectionable to your Government. Certain language which seemed to convey that idea was, in a subsequent note of January 18, withdrawn, thus, as I am pleased to know, leaving their peaceful and friendly purpose without question.

In addition to the above there were statements which were, as I thought, unjust, in that the sole responsibility for the recent disturbed condition of this community was attributed to me, the diplomatic agent of the United States.

In your last communication you expressly disclaim any intention of charging me or my Government "with intent to produce the results or conditions described in the communication of December 27." Your first letter contains a similar assurance, coupled with the statement that your "Government is reluctant to believe that this condition of affairs was contemplated or expected by yourself or by the President of the United States."

In view of the above, a reply to your last communication may not be necessary, nor would one be made except from the desire of my Government to have the good will and friendship of the people for whom you speak, which result will, in my opinion, be advanced by an explanation of several matters therein referred to.

I am the more encouraged to this course because of your assurance that upon becoming convinced that you are "under misapprehension concerning any such alleged facts the allegations concerning the same will be immediately withdrawn."

With the hope that I may be able to convince you of such misapprehension, I will now briefly consider the "specifications" furnished by you which refer to my "attitude," "language" and "public communications" since arriving here, and which in your judgment show that I "intended to use force."

Your last communication embraces many topics that are not only irrelevant to the above inquiry, but are not proper for me to discuss. Among these are (1) the withdrawal of the treaty of annexation; (2) the appointment of Mr. Blount; (4) his official conduct while here; (5) the class of witnesses whom he examined; (6) the publication in a "Honolulu newspaper," of his official instructions "without your previous knowledge," and (7) the publication of his reports to the State Department without an opportunity on the part of your Government to "reply thereto."

The above paragraphs, referring to matters occurring before my arrival, I do not feel at liberty to discuss further than to say that they were not at the time given the unfriendly construction now imputed to them, nor do they, except in a very remote degree, bear upon your statements as to my "purpose to use force."

The following five paragraphs, embracing matters occurring in the United States, some of them now for the first time brought to my knowledge and with none of which had I any connection, have so slight a reference to my "attitude" showing an "intention to use force" that I will, with due respect to you, confine myself to a brief epitome of their contents.

Paragraph 3 recites a communication of the 19th of last June from Hon. L. A. Thurston, Hawaiian minister at Washington, to Secretary Gresham, to which no answer was received.

Paragraph 8 refers to the appointment of Admiral Irwin as successor to Admiral Skerrett.

Paragraph 9 is an extract from a letter of November 8, sent to the New York Herald by its Washington correspondent, giving his interpretation of the above change.

Paragraph 10 gives copious extracts from Secretary Gresham's letter published in the press of the United States on November 11, outlining the views of the State Department, which letter reached here on November 24.

Paragraph 11 contains extracts from a dispatch of Hon. L. A. Thurston to your Government which, as appears from your note of the 18th instant, was received here Friday, November 24, simultaneously with the letter of Mr. Gresham referred to in your paragraph 10.

This dispatch shows that three days after the publication of Mr. Gresham's letter Mr. Thurston called upon him and inquired as to its authenticity and as to the "intention of the United States Government to carry out the policy therein indicated by force."

After speaking to the President on the subject, Mr. Gresham replied as follows:

"I have already answered your first question to the effect that the letter published [Secretary Gresham to the President] was authentic and a correct statement of the policy of the United States. As to your second question, as to whether force is to be used by the United States to restore the Queen, all that I am at liberty to state is that Mr. Willis has no instructions to do anything which will cause injury to life or property of anyone at the islands. * * * You can draw your own inferences from my statement, and allay any apprehension which may have been caused by what has been published."

Waiving for the present, for reasons stated, any further consideration of the eleven foregoing paragraphs, I come now to number 12, which quotes certain expressions from an interview in a local paper of the 16th of last November. As this does involve my "attitude," I have this to say:

The subject-matter of that interview and the circumstances out of which it arose were known to you at the time.

In the forenoon of 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 Executive building. The Government did not credit

these rumors, but there were many people who had apprehensions upon the subject, in consequence of which, as he informed me, the regular guard had been increased and one of the volunteer companies would be ordered under arms for the night. I asked him, "Who constitute the volunteer companies?" His reply was, "They consist mainly of the citizens, many of them being the young men employed in the banks and business houses of the city."

I then said: "It seems hard to have these young men called from their homes under such circumstances, as their families will necessarily be under great anxiety during their absence." I further remarked: "The Japanese consul-general, the English minister, and other foreign representatives have already called to say that their people are apprehensive of mob violence, and had asked me as the only representative whose Government has war vessels now in port to protect their people. The friends of the Queen, also, are apprehensive as to her safety. I do not wish to interfere in any way with your domestic affairs, except with your approval. If you do not object, however, I will publicly announce that the United States will cooperate to prevent mob violence. I will also state that there will be no communication to your Government from the President of the United States for several weeks."

Mr. Damon replied, thanking me for the offer, and saying that he could see no objection to it whatever, that such an announcement would go very far toward allaying excitement and relieving general anxiety.

In reply to the question whether the order calling out the volunteer troops could not be rescinded he said that he would go immediately to the executive building, but was afraid it was too late to make any change for that night.

The following evening I met Mr. Damon at a dinner given by Capt. Barker on board the U. S. flagship *Philadelphia*, when he expressed his hearty appreciation of my action, and said that the effect of the interview, which you quote, had been to greatly relieve the apprehensions of the community as to mob violence.

On the following morning you called at this legation, and being informed of the preceding facts and that, as stated in your letter, I "had no intention of exercising authority inconsistent with that of your Government," you expressed your satisfaction and approval of what had occurred. The representatives of the foreign governments and many prominent citizens expressed themselves to the same effect.

The action taken was meant and understood at the time as in the interest of peace, humanity, and good order, and will, after this explanation, no longer, I hope, be considered an evidence of hostility.

Paragraph (13) contains extracts from remarks published in a local paper of the 17th of last November, purporting to have been made by me to a "delegation of the American League," and which you accept as correct.

In the same issue of that paper, its editor, commenting upon these "remarks," says: "They contained two statements which must give encouragement to those to whom the future of Hawaii as a civilized state is a cherished and Christian object. We group these declarations together so that they may stand out with the prominence which is their due.

"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, and this—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."

"Surely," continues this editor, "the time can not be far off when the American flag shall wave over these Pacific islands and do so under proper conditions."

By a singular coincidence the "two statements" above cited were the only portions of the alleged "address" that are omitted in your quotation. I respectfully submit that as an entirety the "address" admits only of the friendly construction given by this editor.

Without reference, however, to such construction or to the question of the correctness of the published "address," I state now that nothing was said on that occasion which was intended or which could be construed into an unfriendly sentiment towards you or your Government.

Paragraphs (14) and (15) refer to your personal call at the legation in company with the attorney-general on Friday, November 24, and inquiry as to "what the intentions of my Government were" and to your letter of November 29, asking "whether the published reports of the letter of Secretary Gresham are substantially correct;" and stating "if they are, I feel that it is due this Government that it should be informed of the intention of your Government."

My duty, as I understood it, did not permit me to discuss with you, the letter of Mr. Gresham to the President, nor could I, under the state of facts, be questioned as to the existence or nature of the "intentions" of my Government. As a matter of fact, it was, at that time, doubtful whether my Government had any "intentions," hostile or otherwise, towards your Government.

This inability to comply with your requests should not have been construed as an

evidence of "hostile intent" for the further reason that the information upon both points submitted to me, had already on November 14, been given to your minister at Washington and through him, on November 24, to your Government.

If there was nothing in the subject of your inquiries to warrant the belief that the United States "intended to use force," was there anything unfriendly in my manner of receiving or responding thereto?

As to the written communication, the language used will answer for itself. The oral interview is reported to the United Press by its correspondent here, whose accuracy you will attest. In a letter from Honolulu of December 5 he says:

"On the 24th ultimo the *Warrimoo* brought from Victoria our earliest knowledge of Secretary Gresham's letter. * * * Immediately after the news by the *Warrimoo* was received President Dole and Attorney-General Smith waited upon Minister Willis. They asked to know his instructions. He courteously declined to communicate them, but renewed to them a previous assurance that he would take absolutely no action until the return of the *Alameda* on December 21. He further assured them that they would be the first to know of any course of action decided upon by him. He evinced a genuine sympathy for the Government if not for their cause. Minister Willis then listened appreciatively to a representation by the attorney-general to the effect that their struggles for a good and constitutional government had been protracted for fifteen years."

You further, in paragraph (15), refer to your communication of November 29, "revoking the general permission theretofore granted to the U. S. forces to land for drill." You assigned no reason for such action, and I know of none. You were, however, promptly notified that such privilege would not thereafter be exercised, and to this day no armed soldier of our Government has been landed here for that or any other purpose.

Indeed, as appears from a letter of Admiral Irwin of November 29, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of your letter above referred to, he had "already given orders that our troops were not to be landed for drill or any other purpose," as in his opinion the landing of troops for drill would have a tendency to increase the disquiet already existing.

Your paragraph (16) is a brief extract from the message of President Cleveland of December 4, which was received here on the *Corwin* December 14.

Under our Constitution, as you are well aware, Congress alone has the "power to declare war." As the President distinctly announced that he would only act "within the constitutional limits of Executive power," he precluded the idea of using force and reaffirmed his declaration of November 14, delivered through Secretary Gresham, not "to do anything which would cause injury to life or property of anyone at the islands."

Paragraph (17) describes, upon the authority of certain "visiting citizens," the preparations on board our war vessels after the arrival of the *Corwin*, which seemed to imply that our forces "were ready to land at a moment's notice." "Rifles were stacked, cartridge belts were filled with ball cartridges, and knapsacks packed for immediate use." "The liberty of the crews was stopped as was that of most of the officers. Those who came on shore were in service uniform," etc.

If those "visiting citizens" had made inquiry of the officers in command their apprehensions would have been promptly allayed by the information that what they saw on that Friday they could have seen on any third Friday in the month, it being the usual "squadron routine drill," viz: "Boat drill, fire party, arm and away," requiring the "packing of knapsacks" and other preparations which you detail.

I append two letters of Rear-Admiral Irwin of the 13th and 15th instant, giving "notes from entry in log book U. S. Flagship *Philadelphia*" and "extract from Squadron Routine Drills," showing the above facts, and further that, in his own words:

(1) "No different preparations for landing have ever been made since I assumed command of this squadron than those made by my predecessor, Rear-Admiral Skerrett, * * * which were intended to suppress riot and to protect the lives and property of American and English residents."

(2) As to the stoppage of shore leave he explains: "I did, as a matter of precaution, suspend liberty to the crews until I could ascertain whether it would be prudent to permit them to land without danger of collision. After coming ashore and having satisfied myself on that point, which I did in less than an hour, the order was revoked by telephone."

(3) "On the 18th of December, as the excitement on shore was very great, and as quite a mob had gathered at our usual landing, I gave orders for our officers to wear their uniforms on shore, which is the usual precaution taken in foreign countries in times of great public excitement. It is proper to add that I had been informed by Capt. Rooke, of the British cruiser *Champion*, that he had given a similar order."

(4) "The great guns of the *Philadelphia* and *Adams* have never been loaded since their last target practice at sea. The usual harbor drills have been kept up, as

required by regulations, the exception being that our men have not been landed for the purpose of drill since my assumption of command."

(5) "The reply quoted as made by the officers of the *Philadelphia* 'that no one on board knew what orders would be received,' should convince any reasonable person that no order had been given."

The admiral says in conclusion: "As you are aware, I have studiously avoided doing anything that would have a tendency to increase the excitement prevailing in Honolulu, and I now distinctly state that the naval force under my command is in no way responsible for the feeling now existing."

Your letter referring to the preceding facts makes this frank and just admission: "Up to the time of the arrival of the *Corwin* * * * no unusual warlike preparations were visible on board." The only warlike preparations seem, therefore, to have been confined to one day—December 15—and these as just shown by Admiral Irwin were not subject to an unfriendly construction.

In this connection it may not be improper to mention the conduct of our naval forces during the trying circumstances succeeding the 24th of last November. The many rumors as to their purpose of landing and attacking your people, the feelings of resentment naturally resulting from the honest belief by a large part of the community that such was their intention, the opprobrious epithets that were freely employed, brought such a dangerous and critical condition that for a time, as Admiral Irwin states, it became necessary for all our officers going ashore to wear their service uniform as a protection against insult and attack. During the whole of this unfortunate and regrettable situation the demeanor of both officers and men was one of forbearance and self-control.

Your paragraph (18) sets forth that "it was known at this time that several of the wives of the U. S. naval officers, temporarily in Honolulu, were packing up their baggage preparatory for immediate removal in view of possible hostilities."

It is true that on the day of the *Corwin's* arrival, December 14, three ladies, wives of naval officers, in the absence of their husbands on board ship, made preparations to leave. Within a few hours their apprehensions were allayed and they decided to remain where they were. If, however, these ladies had left the city upon the 24th of last November it would not, even at that early date, have been an evidence of any hostile purpose nor "in view of possible hostilities toward your Government," but an act of ordinary prudence and protection against the contingency of mob violence. Their fears, under the circumstances, were, it must be admitted, not unreasonable.

The wives of the officers to whom you refer and others, with their children, numbering nearly a score, having no anticipation of danger, had selected as their residence a most central and exposed location, within a few hundred yards of the executive building, and of easy access from every direction. Their husbands were daily absent on shipboard and if danger threatened were compelled to be absent. Their diplomatic representative could not exercise the usual privilege of landing troops for their protection, because that act, in the unfortunate condition of affairs, would, he feared, have been construed as a hostile invasion, of which the lawless element might have taken advantage.

Paragraph (19) states: "It was also known that you were in frequent communication with the ex-Queen." I desire to state that the only communications of a political character which I have had with the Queen were limited to three occasions. As to the first of these, on November 14, I have no reason to believe you were informed. The other two, on the 16th and 18th of December last, were the following day reported by me in person to your Government and their subject-matter fully explained. The sole purpose of these negotiations were, as you know, to secure proper guarantees from the Queen as to life and property of all connected with the overthrow of the monarchy. These having been secured, I then, under the instructions of the President of the United States, presented his decision, setting forth the reasons therefor and submitting it to your Government for its voluntary action.

With regard to Mr. J. O. Carter's comments on the situation and conversation with his nephew, I have this to say. Mr. Carter was invited by me to the last interviews with the Queen, December 16 and 18. He knew nothing until then of the interview of November 14. As a native Hawaiian, of American parentage, whose character for integrity and intelligence was acknowledged in the community, I considered him a proper person to be present. His counsel to his nephew was, to use his own language, "based entirely upon Secretary Gresham's published letter and current newspaper comments. * * * It was not a warning in the sense the letter of Minister Dole conveys."

In paragraph (20) you state: "It was the almost well nigh universal belief in the city that you were about to attempt to land the naval forces of the United States to enforce the execution of the President's policy."

My answer is that my Government, one month prior to the time referred to, had given you information negating the idea of using force and had authorized the

publication of such information "to allay any such apprehension." Furthermore, as frankly admitted by you in this correspondence, "your Government did not itself entertain this apprehension."

As to the "crowds of people among them, many prominent Royalists" at the wharves "for several days," you will recall the fact as set forth in your subsequent paragraph (23) that the British minister and the Japanese consul-general at this time, December 18, "asked permission to land troops." As much publicity had been given these facts in the daily press, I respectfully suggest that the crowd was most probably assembled out of harmless curiosity to witness the anticipated landing of the English and Japanese troops and not that of the United States "to enforce the execution of the President's policy."

Touching the statement in paragraph (22) that your Government was refused permission to forward "Hawaiian Government dispatches" by the dispatch boat *Corwin* it is only necessary to remind you that the naval officers of the United States and the public generally were denied such privilege and that no inference of unfriendly feeling should therefore have been drawn. Moreover, at the time your letter was written, you were aware of the fact that for the accommodation of your Government the *Corwin* had been delayed over half a week.

As to the requests referred to in paragraph (23) of the British minister and Japanese consul general, for permission to land troops, they were, I am informed, precautionary measures against possible mob violence. This permission is still outstanding and is not now and was not then, in my judgment, proper evidence of a hostile purpose on the part of our Government.

In reply to paragraph (24) and also to a clause in your letter of the 27th, I have the honor to state upon the authority of a letter now in my possession from the diplomatic agent of Japan that it is a mistake in supposing that his offer of protection was confined to "prominent American supporters of the Provisional Government," or was based upon the fear of "American invasion." Mr. Fujii says in his letter: "Many of my neighbors were nervous and excited, being afraid of some sudden acts of lawless people, and I deemed it proper to say to them that in case of immediate need [his residence being in a somewhat distant part of the city] my consulate was always at their service as a good friend and neighbor."

My answer to paragraph (25) is set forth in my reply to paragraph (19), which shows that all the communications with the Queen were fully, and, I trust, satisfactorily explained to your Government.

In paragraph (26) you quote from my address of December 19, submitting the views of the President upon the Hawaiian question. I respectfully suggest that there is in this address no intimation as to the use of force and that even had there been no prior information to you upon the subject, there is enough in its tone and terms to show that, as stated in the opening words of the address itself, "the President's action is now and has been from the beginning, absolutely free from resentment and entirely consistent with the long-established friendship and treaty ties which have so closely bound together our respective Governments."

Your paragraph (27) states "Upon the 23d December I replied to the foregoing communication in the negative. Up to the time of sending you my communication of December 27 no further communication had been received by me from you, and no assurance had been received that force was not to be used, nor what your further instructions were concerning this Government."

Let me call your attention to the fact that at the time your answer was delivered I notified you that I would forward it to Washington, and that nothing would be done by me until further instructed. To this your reply was: "That will be very satisfactory to our people."

The *Corwin*, which, as hereinbefore stated, had been delayed for the purpose of receiving your answer, left at 4 a. m. Sunday, December 24. The next day being Christmas no communication could be sent to you, but on the following day, December 26, I acknowledged, in writing, the receipt of your answer to President Cleveland's decision, notifying you that it had been sent to Washington. This communication was delivered at the executive building before 3 p. m. of date above named, December 26. On the following day, December 27, at 4 p. m., I received the letter out of which this correspondence has arisen.

Your paragraph (28) states: "During your nearly two months' residence in this city you and your family have declined the customary social courtesies usually extended to those occupying your official position, on the specified ground that it was not deemed best, under existing circumstances, to accept such civilities."

In reply permit me to say that the course of conduct referred to was prompted by the friendliest motive, had no official significance, was adopted, not toward the Provisional Government alone, and was intended to leave all persons, after the disclosure of the views of my Government, free and unembarrassed to determine for themselves the relations they desired to hold to me and to my family. The only

official courtesy extended up to the date of your present communication was a concert by the Government band on the night of our arrival, which was accepted.

Thus, without unnecessary comment, I have considered and endeavored to explain those portions of your correspondence which bore upon the question of the "purpose to use force" and the responsibilities arising therefrom.

While duly respecting the doctrine of noninterference by the representative of another government with your domestic affairs, I shall rejoice to know that anything I have done or said, now or heretofore, has tended to a better understanding of recent events in your history and of motives and intentions as to which there may be, as you state, "mutual misapprehension."

Thanking you for the courteous and appreciated terms which you have been pleased to express and which are cordially reciprocated, and trusting that there may be a speedy, honorable, and satisfactory adjustment of all pending questions, I have the honor, with renewed assurances of high consideration to be, sir,

Yours, most respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Hon. SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 15, 1894.

SIR: In the fourteenth paragraph of your communication of January 11, 1894, is the following statement:

"On November 29 last, having that day for the first time received information through the Hawaiian minister at Washington of the contents of Mr. Gresham's letter to the President and of his statements concerning the same and his refusal to state whether it was the intention of your Government to carry out its policy by force, I called upon you, in company with the Attorney-General."

I desire to inquire whether the date above mentioned is not a clerical mistake, as your call upon me was on the 24th, not the 29th, of November, and it was the 24th, as I am informed, that you received the information above referred to from your minister at Washington. Am I correct in this?

I wish also in this official way to call your attention to three extracts from your letters, of which the two first have already been mentioned to you.

In your letter of December 27 you say:

"The Government offices have been placed and still continue in a condition of defense and preparation for siege and the community has been put into a state of mind bordering on terrorism."

In your letter of January 11, page 42, you say:

"As a result of which this Government has been, and now is, subjected to the necessity of increased watchfulness and large additional expense, which, but for such attitude, would have been unnecessary."

In the same communication, toward the close, you say:

"I can not but believe that it—the necessity of 'taking up arms to meet the possible hostility' of the United States—has arisen through a misunderstanding of facts on the part of your Government, and a mutual misapprehension of motives and intentions, which may, I sincerely hope, at an early day be cleared away."

Asking your attention to the above, I am, sir,

With sincere respect, very truly, yours,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary,
United States of America.

Hon. S. B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 18, 1894.

SIR: A communication, dated January 15, 1894, received by me on the 16th, calls my attention to a probable mistake of dates in my letter to you of January 11, 1894, in connection with my allusion to a call made by the attorney-general and myself on you to ask for information concerning the intentions of the United States Government in relation to the recommendations of Mr. Gresham's letter to the President. My letter stated that this call was made November 29, and that on that day I had received information of the contents of the Gresham letter. I now find, in accordance with your suggestion, that our call was made some days before November 29, probably on November 24, the former date being the day upon which I sent you a written communication on the same subject.

You further call my attention to an extract of the same letter, page 42, which you quote as follows:

"As a result of which this Government has been and now is subject to the necessity of increased watchfulness and large additional expense, which but for such attitude would have been unnecessary." I find that you have left out a line belonging to this part of my letter, which should read as follows:

"As a result of which this Government has been obliged to increase its forces and has been and now is subjected to the necessity of increased watchfulness and large additional expense, which but for such attitude would have been unnecessary." As I have already verbally assured your excellency, when you kindly called my attention informally to the words importing the present tense into this sentence, such a meaning was not intended and is inconsistent with other expressions of my letter. I then requested you to erase the words "and now is" and promised to make the same correction in my copy of the letter, which has been done.

You further call my attention to another extract from my letter of December 27, 1893, but you make no comment on these extracts. Being ignorant of your reasons for calling my attention to these passages, I am unable to consider them, and ask that you will at your convenience state such reasons.

I have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient servant,
 SANFORD B. DOLE,
 Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency ALBERT S. WILLIS,
 U. S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Honolulu.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 32.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
 Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, February 2, 1894.

SIR: In my dispatch No. 10, of December 9, 1893, transmitting an interview with Col. C. B. Wilson, former marshal of the Kingdom, reference is made by him to a list of special and supplementary advisers whom he had selected, and among whom were many of the most prominent and influential citizens. It was not claimed by Mr. Wilson, as far as I am informed, that the selection by him was with the knowledge or consent of these gentlemen, some of whom in the daily press, and others to me in person, have so stated. Among these are Hon. Richard F. Bickerton, first associate justice of the supreme court, Hon. W. Austin Whiting, first judge circuit court, and Hon. F. A. Schaefer, who explicitly disavow any knowledge of the said list, and state that the use of their names was entirely unauthorized and unwarranted. The same disavowal is made by Hon. A. G. M. Robertson, Hon. Paul Neumann, Messrs. James H. Boyd, Henry Smith, Thomas R. Lucas, W. M. Cunningham, and others. It is doubtful whether any of those whose names are on these lists were informed of the fact.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 33.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
 Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 20, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of January 12, 1894, sent to W. A. Cooper, U. S. dispatch agent at San Francisco, and by him forwarded, which reached here to-day.

Permit me to express my thanks for your words of approval.

I will, as directed, endeavor to keep the Department fully informed of the course of events and will, until further notice, consider that my

special instructions have been fully complied with, the Hawaiian question being, as you now inform me, submitted to the Congress.

I have further to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 6 of December 23, 1893, in regard to Department cipher, and your dispatch No. 7 of December 30, 1893, inclosing copies of documents in relation to Hawaiian affairs.

I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 34.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, February 3, 1894.

Refers to salary.

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MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

Copies of additional dispatches from the minister at Hawaii, and inclosures accompanying the same.

MARCH 7, 1894.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

The CONGRESS:

I transmit herewith copies of certain dispatches lately received from our minister at Hawaii, together with copies of the inclosures which accompanied such dispatches.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
March 7, 1894.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 7, 1894.

The PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of State has the honor to lay before the President copies of dispatches, numbered 35, 36, and 37, received from our minister to Hawaii.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

No. 35.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, February 10, 1894.

Hon. W. Q. GRESHAM,
Secretary of State:

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches numbered 8 and 9.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

No. 36.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, February 14, 1894.

HON. W. Q. GRESHAM,

Secretary of State:

SIR: The past month has been unusually quiet. The action of Congress is awaited with great interest, as indicating the future policy of the United States towards this country.

Several days ago a number of the Government soldiers were affected in a peculiar way, which gave rise to a rumor of poisoning. There seems, however, to have been little cause for such suspicion.

To-day at 6 o'clock p. m. the Chinese have called a meeting to consider certain proposed changes in the law affecting them. Upon this slender basis a rumor is current of a Chinese uprising. This is, in my judgment, utterly without foundation. The absence of frequent communication with the outside world, and the feeling of unrest and excitement naturally incident to the surroundings, make it an easy matter to originate these sensational reports.

By a vote of the executive council the salary of the President has been fixed at \$12,000 per annum. This action must, however, be ratified by the advisory council. Under the act, a printed copy of which I inclose, the office of minister of foreign affairs is separated from that of the office of president. Hon. F. M. Hatch, late Vice-President, will, it is understood, be chosen minister of foreign affairs, becoming thereby also a member of the executive council. In this connection may be mentioned the published report that Mr. Dole, in his retirement from the foreign office, will devote himself to the work of preparing a new constitution.

At a mass meeting held last night, Mr. D. B. Smith, a merchant of this city, was nominated to fill the vacancy in the advisory council created by the resignation of Mr. Hatch. This nomination is subject to the approval of the councils.

A spirited contest is now in progress, looking to the introduction of the "representative system" into the councils of the Provisional Government. In this direction a resolution was passed by the meeting last night, favoring the enactment of a law "increasing the membership of the advisory council from 14 to 24," the new members to "be selected by the suffrages of loyal citizens in a manner to be hereafter provided."

The reasons set forth in the resolutions for such legislation are (1) "The advisory council as at present constituted is not representative of either the varied interests of the islands or the mass of the supporters of the Provisional Government and the policy of annexation of Hawaii to the United States;" (2) "The legislative department of the Government is dangerously compact as well as too small for its constituency;" (3) "The composition of the advisory council has been made objectionable by the action of retiring members in practically selecting their own successors;" (4) "The personnel of the advisory council has been considerably changed since it came into existence;" and (5) "In making changes the mass of the supporters of the Provisional Government have had no voice."

The above resolution and preamble looking to the enlargement of the council, according to the report of the newspaper favoring it, "was adopted with less than a dozen negative votes."

I send you herewith the reports and editorial comments of the two newspapers which agree upon the question of annexation, but differ as to the propriety and necessity of the proposed changes.

The Chinese question has given rise to considerable discussion in the press and in the councils. The meeting of the Chinese, heretofore referred to, as one of their representatives informed me, is for the purpose of expressing their views upon the new legislation now pending.

With sentiments of high esteem, I am, sir, your obedient servant,
ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 36.]

BY AUTHORITY.

ACT 63—AN ACT relating to the office of minister of foreign affairs.

Be it enacted by the Executive and Advisory Councils of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands:

SECTION 1. The office of minister of foreign affairs is hereby separated from that of the office of President.

Hereafter the department of foreign affairs shall be presided over by an officer called the minister of foreign affairs who shall be chosen by the executive and advisory councils of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

The minister of foreign affairs so chosen shall be a member of the executive council of the Government.

SEC. 2. This act shall take effect from the date of its publication.

Approved this 8th day of February, A. D. 1894.

SANFORD B. DOLE,
President of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.
J. A. KING,
Minister of the Interior.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 36.]

[Advertiser report of mass meeting, February 13, 1894.]

D. B. SMITH IS AGAIN NOMINATED—THE AMERICAN LEAGUE TAKES POSSESSION OF THE ANNEXATION CLUB—THE CLUB IS EASILY PULLED ALONG BY THE NOSE—THE TAIL WAGS THE DOG AND ALL GOES AS MERRY AS A MARRIAGE BELL—NO ONE ELSE IS ALLOWED IN NOMINATION EXCEPT THE LEAGUE'S CANDIDATE.

D. B. Smith, the chosen candidate of the American League for the vacancy in the councils, was railroaded through the Annexation Club meeting last evening in very quick order. The American League was out in force, and would not allow anyone except their own members to have a word to say on any subject.

The crowd was very orderly until the meeting opened. The league was present almost in toto, and they formed a solid circle around the chairman's table. As soon as the meeting opened, Mr. W. H. Hoogs placed in nomination Mr. F. W. McChesney as a candidate. This was seconded by four or five voices. T. B. Murray, the president of the league, took possession of the floor and read the following resolution:

"Whereas the American League of this city is a respectable and representative body composed of several hundred men pledged to support the Provisional Government and the policy of annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States; and

"Whereas the American League is without a spokesman or representative in the councils of this Government; and

"Whereas it is just and proper that such a section of the loyal citizenship should have a voice in the conduct of the Provisional Government; and

"Whereas it has been generally conceded and so stated by at least one cabinet minister that the American League should designate the successor to Mr. F. M. Hatch, who is about to retire from the advisory council; and

"Whereas the American League has named Mr. D. B. Smith for this place: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That this mass meeting hereby indorses Mr. D. B. Smith for the advisory council, and shall, through its secretary and president, so inform the executive and advisory councils."

Great applause followed this resolution, every league man in the hall shouting vociferously. As soon as he could, T. B. Severin moved that nominations close. He was promptly ruled out of order by the chairman.

Mr. Hatch then announced that Mr. McChesney had been placed in nomination, and asked the pleasure of the meeting in regard to his name. Those in favor of his candidacy were asked to raise their hands. Not many were raised. When the adverse opinion was called for, the league, as if moved by a single lever worked by an invisible engine, lifted their hands and voices at the same time. Mr. Hatch then declared that Mr. McChesney was not nominated.

T. B. Severin then placed in nomination D. B. Smith. His name was received with prolonged cheers, and was seconded by the whole league. Three howls were called for on the nomination, the clockwork was again put in motion and the league, as one man, signified its approval of Mr. Smith. J. B. Atherton then moved that the nominations be closed, which was carried, and D. B. Smith had been sent through the meeting like water through a tin horn.

After a loud cry of "three cheers for Smith," the latter was called on for a speech. He made the following:

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: As this is my first experience on the platform in the capacity of a speaker, you will not expect a speech from me of any length. I want to say this: I am heart and soul in favor of annexation to the United States, our mother country, where our prosperity, progress, and civilization come from, and I will and have always done everything in my power to further it since the 14th of January last. We have not got it, but we will, just as certain as the sun rises and sets. These words are not mine, but were spoken to me by the grandest American statesman that ever put foot on these coral sands—Minister John L. Stevens—and I heartily indorse his words. That is as far as I got. I fully appreciate the honor you have done me in signifying the wish to have me represent you in the council."

T. B. Murray then moved that his resolution be adopted as the sense of the meeting. Again the machinery worked and the pendulum-like hands rose and fell.

James Nott, jr., then read the following resolution:

"Whereas the advisory council, as at present constituted, is not representative of either the varied interests of the islands or the mass of the supporters of the Provisional Government, and the policy of annexation of Hawaii to the United States; and

"Whereas the legislative department of the Government is dangerously compact, as well as too small for its constituency; and

"Whereas the composition of the advisory council has been made objectionable by the action of retiring members in practically selecting their own successors; and

"Whereas the personnel of the advisory council has been considerably changed since the body came into existence; and

"Whereas in making changes the mass of the supporters of the Provisional Government have had no voice: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this mass meeting of annexationists and supporters of the Provisional Government hereby petitions the councils to enact a law increasing the membership of the advisory council from 14 to 24.

Resolved, That the 10 men to fill the new places be selected by the suffrages of loyal citizens in a manner to be hereafter provided.

Resolved, That the councils are hereby petitioned to elect to membership the 10 men to be chosen by loyal citizens.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the executive and advisory councils."

The chairman said that this resolution was not included in the business for which the meeting had been called.

Mr. T. F. Lansing protested, as a member of the Annexation Club, against allowing such a resolution, which was totally out of order, being adopted, and also said he wished to remonstrate against the American League taking possession of the meeting as they had done. He was interrupted by the league and the machinery, as with one voice, drowned his remarks. Some one in the crowd recommended appealing from the chair's ruling. When Mr. Hatch called for hands the clock struck again and up went all hands, overruling Mr. Hatch's decision, and cheers were again given. Mr. Hoogs demanded a roll call, and was promptly squelched by the machinery, and after it had run down the chair announced that its decision was overruled. The resolution was then adopted by another turn of the wheels.

Speeches were then called for, and Mr. Hatch responded. He said, in part:

"There is one good sign of the times, and that is that the Annexation Club can call a meeting and have it largely attended. There are always enough who turn out to show that the annexation movement is the strong movement and will be carried on to victory. [Applause and cheers.] Our friends on the other side are very fond of spreading the report that there is dissension in our party [cries of No, No]; and I am glad to have an opportunity to say a few words on the subject. There is no split. We are all working with one object, and that is to keep good government here until annexation is an established fact. This is not a one-man government.

Every man has a right to express his views on any question. In closing I want to congratulate you on the neatness and dispatch with which you have carried your point."

Mr. W. G. Smith was then called upon. He said.

"This is an occasion of rejoicing, that we have met in so orderly a manner. We have secured the boon that we have a long time been waiting for. I mean representative government. I presume that the councils will be responsive to the sense of this meeting. It is an open meeting of the Annexation Club, and I resent the imputation that it has been attempted to confine this meeting to the representatives of any one league. There have been many objections to the enlargement of the councils, the principal one being that the time was not opportune. This is the great cry of the conservatives. It was the same in 1887, when it was proposed to dethrone Kalakaua, when we had an American President in Washington, who was favorable to annexation. Instead of this they did not think that the 'time was opportune,' and they waited until 1893, when they had to put up with Cleveland, Gresham, and Blount. I plead for the radical course in a revolutionary movement. As Bismarck said, 'Some eggs must be broken to make an omelette,' and I advocate breaking all the royalist eggs that we can find. As I said, I have heard many times that it was not advisable to increase the size of the advisory council. This is the conservative idea. At the last day, when the heavens split and the earth quakes, some Honolulu conservative will lift up his head and cry in a weak voice: 'Don't toot now, Gabriel; it isn't opportune.' I hope it will be impressed on all our friends who dissent from us that in this country and this era the radical movement must and shall and will have its way." [Cheers and applause.]

The meeting then adjourned.

The drill shed was not vacated for some time. D. B. Smith was congratulated by all his friends. Many stood around and talked over the result of the meeting, and then went down town and talked it over again.

[Advertiser editorial comments.]

Mr. Hatch made a very happy speech at the close of the meeting last night. He drew attention to the fact that annexation was the live movement in this country, and that the alleged dissensions between the different wings of the Annexation party only ruffle the surface, without going to the essence. There could be no more striking proof of the fundamental unanimity which exists in the Annexation party to-day than the good nature which prevailed at last night's meeting, and the enthusiasm which expressed itself upon every mention of the common cause.

THEY WILL CONSIDER IT.

The programme for an election to be held by the Annexation Club this week has fallen through. This is owing to the fact that last night's mass meeting forgot that it was summoned simply as a preliminary nominating convention, and proceeded to fix upon a single candidate. This course was due apparently to an error of Mr. Hatch.

Of course a nomination made in this way can not be regarded as though it were the result of a regular election. It would be absurd to expect anything of the sort. Mr. D. B. Smith will go before the councils in connection with other nominations as the candidate of the American League, and as such will receive consideration.

THE HAND OF ESAU.

The mass meetings of the Annexation Club have generally been rather serious affairs; last night's, however, afforded for once a humorous diversion.

The Star claims that the American League is not a secret organization. Last night certainly it was not. It marched up in a body, took possession of the meeting, issued a declaration of its own rights, and, in the name of the Annexation Club, loudly chanted its own praises. Everything was done, as Mr. Hatch observed, with "neatness and dispatch" and with great good humor.

The action thus taken is, of course, simply the action of the American League. The course taken was laid out in advance by that body; the resolutions passed were drafted and adopted in its meeting of the night before. Everything was cut and dried, and the work was done by men who were acting, not in the interest of the Annexation Club, but in that of an altogether different organization. The forms were observed, and that was all. The voice was the voice of Jacob, but the hand was the hand of Esau.

IS IT SECRET OR NOT?

Last night's Star devotes a column of its valuable space to what is apparently an attempt to prove that the American League is not a secret organization. At the same time it argues that secrecy is all right, because there was a secret league here in 1887.

This double defense reminds one of the Irishman who exonerated himself from a charge of breaking his neighbor's wheelbarrow as follows: 1. I never borrowed your wheelbarrow. 2. It was broken when I borrowed it. 3. It was whole when I returned it.

If it is true that the American League is not a secret organization then all objections to it on this score fall to the ground. But if it is not secret, let it publish the list of its members and admit reporters to its deliberations.

The comparison instituted by the Star between the American League and the League of 1887 is a rather unlucky one. The League of 1887 was secret because its aims were revolutionary. Those of the American League, on the other hand, are peaceful and lawful. The first league was organized to overthrow the Government; the second to support it. Secrecy was as appropriate in the one case as openness would be in the other.

WHAT IS THE PLEDGE?

The Advertiser is informed that before D. B. Smith became the American League's candidate, he was required to take a "cast-iron" pledge of some kind, and that one reason the other candidates withdrew was because they declined to bind themselves in any such manner. We will not venture any remarks as to the precise character of this pledge, since, in spite of correction from a very high quarter, we are still of opinion that the proceedings of the American League are secret. We can not, therefore, pretend to know exactly what this oath may have been.

What was the pledge? That public will want to know. They have a right to know. The councils too, may be desirous of satisfying a natural curiosity on this question before they proceed to hold their election. The "representative principle," that is, the principle that secret leagues shall be represented, is perhaps not yet so firmly established as to exclude the lawful Government of the country from asserting their right to a voice in its affairs.

What is the pledge?

[Inclosure in No. 36.—From the Star, February 13, 1894. Report of meeting.]

D. B. SMITH THE WINNER.—LEAGUE CHOICE RATIFIED BY THE MASS MEETING.—GREAT GATHERING AT THE DRILL SHED.—VOTED FOR AN ENLARGED COUNCIL.—SPEECHES MADE.—D. B. SMITH FIRST, THE REST NOWHERE.

That is the result, so far as the electors are concerned, of the contest for the seat in the advisory council that is to become vacant, owing to the promotion of Mr. F. M. Hatch to the foreign portfolio. The voice of the people was heard again in the historic drill shed last night. The people went on record in the regulation American manner. They resented the attempt at clique domination, and in clear tones declared for rule by the masses.

The Annexationists were out early for the expected fray. The programme was for a nominating convention as preliminary to an election projected to be held during the week. By the action of the mass meeting of the Annexation Club the necessity for an election is removed entirely. There was only one nominee. The name of F. W. McChesney was proposed, but a very large majority voted down the motion to place him in nomination.

There was a most enthusiastic indorsement by the meeting of the proposal to enlarge the advisory council by electing 10 more members.

A little conservative combination attempted to control the meeting, but were simply "snowed under." Members of the American League who were also members of the Annexation Club, took an active part in the proceedings, working like beavers for their candidate, Mr. D. B. Smith, and for the larger council.

President Hatch was in the chair and Secretary Jones kept account of the proceedings. It was about 7:45 when the meeting was rapped to order. The call was read. The remark that nominations were in order was not entirely out of the President's mouth when W. H. Hoogs, who was but a couple of feet from the desk, shouted: "I nominate F. W. McChesney." T. B. Murray then offered resolutions indorsing the American League candidate. Mr. Hatch stated the motion before the meeting as: "Shall Mr. McChesney be placed in nomination?" It was voted that Mr. McChes-

ney should not be placed in nomination. The negative majority was very large. D. B. Smith was placed in nomination by T. B. Severin. This was received with great cheers, then with three more. The nominations were then closed on motion of J. B. Atherton. Mr. Murray then called for his resolution, which reads as follows:

"Whereas the American League, of this city, is a respectable and representative body composed of several hundred men pledged to support the Provisional Government and the policy of annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, and

"Whereas the American League is without a spokesman or representative in the councils of this Government, and

"Whereas it is just and proper that such a section of the loyal citizenship should have a voice in the conduct of the Provisional Government, and

"Whereas it has been generally conceded and so stated by at least one cabinet minister that the American League should designate the successor to Mr. F. M. Hatch, who is about to retire from the advisory council, and

"Whereas the American League has named D. B. Smith for the place, therefore be it

"Resolved, That this mass meeting hereby endorses D. B. Smith for the advisory council, and shall, through the secretary and president, so inform the executive and advisory councils."

This resolution was adopted almost unanimously.

There were calls for D. B. Smith. Mounting the table, he said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: As this is my first experience on the platform in the capacity of a speaker, you will not expect a speech from me of any length. I want to say this: I am, heart and soul, in favor of annexation to the United States, our mother country, where our prosperity, progress, and civilization come from, and I will, and have, always done everything in my power to further it since the 14th of January last. That was before the revolution. "We have not got it, but we will, just as certain as the sun rises and sets." These words are not mine, but were spoken to me by the grandest American statesman that ever put foot on these coral sands, Minister John L. Stevens, and I heartily indorse his words. That is as far as I got. I fully appreciate the honor you have done me in signifying the wish to have me represent you in the council, and when I learn that my services there are not satisfactory I will step down and out.

These resolutions were offered by James Nott, jr.:

"Whereas the advisory council as at present constituted is not representative of either the varied interests of the islands or the mass of the supporters of the Provisional Government and the policy of annexation of Hawaii to the United States; and

"Whereas the legislative department of the Government is dangerously compact, as well as too small for its constituency, and

"Whereas the composition of the advisory council has been made objectionable by the action of retiring members, in practically selecting their own successors; and

"Whereas the personnel of the advisory council has been considerably changed since it came into existence; and

"Whereas in making changes the mass of the supporters of the Provisional Government have had no voice: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That this mass meeting of annexationists and supporters of the Provisional Government hereby petition the councils to enact a law increasing the membership of the advisory council from 14 to 24.

"Resolved, That the ten men to fill the new places be selected by the suffrages of loyal citizens in a manner to be hereafter provided.

"Resolved, That the councils are hereby petitioned to elect to membership the ten men to be chosen by loyal citizens.

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the executive and advisory councils."

Cheering for the resolutions was loud and long.

President Hatch, referring to the call for the meeting, ruled the resolutions out of order. W. G. Smith appealed from the decision of the chair, and the chair was overruled. T. F. Lansing said he protested against the manner in which the meeting was being conducted. W. H. Hoogs demanded a roll call. The meeting went on with business and the resolution to enlarge the council was adopted with less than a dozen negative votes.

The president suggested that adjournment may be in order, as no other business was brought forward. Mr. Hatch was called upon to speak. His popularity was evidenced by his cordial reception. He said:

"There is one good sign of the times, gentlemen; the Annexation Club never calls a meeting which is not well attended. [Applause.] There are always enough of the members of this club who turn out on every opportunity which is given them

to strike right home on this question, that this movement is the live movement, and it is the movement which will be carried through by the people of this community. [Applause.] Now our friends on the other side are fond of spreading reports both here and abroad, very largely abroad, that we are split up by dissensions in our ranks. [Cries of 'No!' 'No!' 'No!']

"Gentlemen, nothing of that kind exists and this is a very good opportunity to brand all statements of that kind which have been so industriously spread broadcast by certain people in this community, in order to discredit the standing of this party and this movement abroad, that the fact is not so, and I am glad to have this opportunity to express my ideas upon that point. Gentlemen, we are all working for a common object, there is no split or division between us, and that one object is the maintenance of a good stable government here until we obtain annexation to the United States. [Applause.] I think there will be no difficulty in carrying out that programme. This is not the government of one man or one individual; every man in this community has a right to express his views and will be heard. I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the neatness and dispatch with which the business of the evening has been carried. [Laughter and applause.]"

Walter G. Smith was called upon. He said:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: It is certainly an occasion of rejoicing that we have met here in so orderly a manner, and, as Mr. Hatch has so aptly said, have conducted our deliberations with neatness and dispatch. I think we have secured the one boon which we have been waiting for and working for so long a time, and that is the introduction of the representative system into the councils of the Provisional Government. [Applause.] I assume that the councils will be responsive to the wish of this majority. This has been an open meeting, not called by the American League, but called by the Annexation Club, to which all annexationists are welcome, and I resent the imputation that there has been anything done to keep annexationists away, or to confine these proceedings within the limits of a single league. This has been a thoroughly and fairly and completely representative meeting, and I believe that its wishes will be respected by every man in the councils.

"There have been some objections raised from time to time to this enlargement of the councils. We have all heard them. We have heard, for instance, that the time is not opportune. That is a very favorite expression of the conservative element. You heard in 1887 that the time was not opportune to dethrone Kalakaua and declare a republic, in spite of the fact that you soon after had an American President and Secretary of State in favor of annexation. Our conservative friends thought it opportune to drop that great cause then and thus leave annexation to the tender mercies of Cleveland, Gresham, and Blount.

"We heard again from a great many that it was not opportune to have the revolution of 1893. But, gentlemen, not all the conservatives thought that. I credit them with it, but all the radicals thought that it was opportune and the revolution you had. We heard later on that it was not opportune to take off the name of the ex-Queen from the salary list and to deprive her of her guard, but our conservative friends were outvoted again, and the heavens didn't fall and the earth didn't quake. [Laughter and applause.] The radicals had their way, and what was done was properly done, and no harm has come to us since.

"I am pleading now, gentlemen, for the radical course in a revolutionary era. I never heard of any other course succeeding at such a time. As Bismarck says, when an omelet has to be made some eggs must be broken, and we propose to break every royalist and anti-American egg we find. (Applause.) We have continually heard that this, that, and the other thing was not opportune, and all day long up to the time this meeting came together I have heard it was not opportune to increase the advisory council to twenty-four, and I have sometimes thought, hearing that word used so often in the last few months, that, to paraphrase a great American orator, on that last dread day when the heavens roll up like a scroll and the angel of resurrection with one foot on the sea and another foot on the land shall raise that tremendous trumpet to his lips there will be the spirit of some Honolulu conservative to cry up out of the dust, "Don't toot now, Gabriel. Don't toot yet. It is not opportune." (Great laughter and applause.)

"I tell you, gentlemen, it is opportune to do the right thing and the decisive thing always in a revolutionary era, and I believe that is the thing we have done to-night. The conservatism that stands in the way of political progress I am sure must go. The conservative of that disposition is like the conservative horse that won't budge out of his burning stable and could not be led out of it, because he has always been there and it was not opportune to go at that time.

"I have nothing more to say except I hope it will be impressed upon all our friends who dissent from some of our views that in this country, under these conditions, in this era, the radical, which is the progressive and decisive element, will and must and should have its way. I thank you, gentlemen." [Great applause and three cheers for the speaker.]

The meeting lasted less than an hour. Quite a crowd remained in the drill shed for some time. There were knots of men on the streets till quite late. D. B. Smith, as the successful candidate, is still receiving congratulations to-day.

[From the Star, February 14, 1894.— Editorial comments on meeting.]

THE ACT OF ANNEXATIONISTS.

Under the headline, "The American League takes possession of the Annexation Club," the Advertiser implies that the action of the mass meeting last night was that of a foreign body invading the unprotected camp of the legitimate party garrison. A poor excuse for the defeat of the conservative group is probably better than none, hence we can not blame the morning paper for saying what it has; but when the public comes to understand that all but about 5 per cent of the members of the American League present are members of the Annexation Club; that the gentleman who presided at the meeting is president of the club; that the gentleman who presented the resolution indorsing Mr. Smith and the one who spoke for the enlargement of the advisory council are both members of the governing body of the Annexation Club; and that there were nearly as many radicals at the turnout who do not belong to the American League as there were of those who do, it will be seen how far short the Advertiser has come of summing up the actual meaning and describing the real personnel of the great rally.

What was seen last night was not the machination of a secret league, but the outpouring of the radical majority in the Annexation party—of the men who believe that the time has come to change the old order. The reason why the sentiment was so strong in one direction is because the sentiment of four-fifths of the Annexation party is that way—the party which has, in turn, made the revolution in spite of conservative objections, which cut the ex-Queen from the Provisional salary list, which has enforced royalist removals, and which challenged Cleveland last December to match the prowess of his troops with those of the Provisional Government. It was this element which proclaimed its numbers and principles last night, and if it controlled the situation it was not by machine trickery, but by the power of a clear majority of the loyal supporters of the present régime.

It does not become the Advertiser to accuse the American League of machine methods, particularly since its bland acquiescence in the results of the packed conservative meeting in the Fishel block a few days ago. Then the action of a hundred gentlemen in the name of the Annexation party, and by means of a prearranged programme, was cordially indorsed. It is only when a successful appeal is made from that small junta to the wider discretion of the party as a whole that the Advertiser raises the whites of its eyes and the palms of its hands over a wicked "prearrangement"—a deadly assault upon the liberty of club action.

We therefore say: Publish the names of the secret league.—(Holomua.)

"If it is true that the American League is not a secret organization then all objections to it on this score fall to the ground. But if it is not secret let it publish the list of its members and admit reporters to its deliberations."—(Advertiser.)

Why publish the list any more than that of the Annexation Club, which, if we remember aright, was kept away from Mr. Blount and Mr. Nordhoff, who wanted copies of it? When it becomes the usage to hand over the master roll of any organization, either military or civil, to the enemy then the league will probably accede to the wishes of the Holomua and the Advertiser in that respect. Until then our eager contemporaries should gird their souls with patience.

Mr. Smith will go before the councils as the nominee of both the American League and the Annexation Club. He has behind him the annexation majority on this island. The credentials he will carry are as good as those of any official in the executive building, high or low. He can not be rejected without a serious affront to the representative principle and to party unity.

AS TO THE BALLOT.

"The Star does not believe that anybody outside of the Annexationists should ever be allowed to vote or to have a voice in the affairs of the country. We presume that the Star would find it perfectly legitimate if the Democratic party should refuse to grant the Republicans a vote because the Republicans are not in favor of the Democratic government."—(Holomua.)

Well, when the Republicans had the Southern and anti-Union wing of the Democracy to deal with after 1865, they forbade it a vote until after it had taken the iron-clad oath and become thoroughly reconstructed. Men who refused to accept the new order of things, as did Jeff Davis, Robert Toombs, and a few hundred others, were thenceforth men without a country and were denied all electoral participation

in the concerns of the American nation or of the town, county, and State in which they lived. It is the rule also in the United States, subject to some local modification in the Indian Territory, that aborigines shall not vote. It is not necessary to be so severe in the latter regard towards the aboriginal race of Hawaii, but as to disloyal citizens of any kind, men who would overthrow the Government by force if they could and establish a monarchy in its place, it would be absurd and un-American to give them equal voice with loyal people in the voting booths.

Before the adherents of Mrs. Dominis can vote in Hawaii for anything really decisive, there should be a long reconstruction period.

"The programme for an election to be held by the Annexation Club this week has fallen through. This is owing to the fact that last night's mass meeting forgot that it was summoned simply as a preliminary nominating convention and proceeded to fix upon a single candidate. This course was due apparently to an error of Mr. Hatch."—(Advertiser.)

If Mr. Hatch was in error in letting the Annexation Club, in mass meeting assembled, overrule the action of its own board of officers, then the oftener he makes such errors the better it will be for the party. No doubt the Advertiser would like to have had him hold that the club has no rights which its executive committee is bound to respect; but as the chief of that committee, and as a man of sense and fairness, Mr. Hatch knew better than to make any such ruling.

Mr. Damon was "present and voting" with the progressive element last night, a fact which speaks well for his political prescience and sagacity. Being a friend of the annexation of Hawaii to America, he has quickly seen the fitness of adopting those American ideas which have expressed themselves in the demand for a representative council. Under annexation these ideas must have full swing in Hawaii, and Mr. Damon sees no reason why we should not all get used to them now.

Mr. F. W. McChesney called at the Star office this morning and stated that the use of his name at the mass meeting last night as a candidate for the prospective council vacancy was unauthorized by him, and that he supports and will continue to support the candidacy of D. B. Smith.

If the Cocoanut Club has any more resolutions on hand it had better feed them to the office cat.

"The old order changeth."

[From the Advertiser, February 13, 1894.]

THE COCOANUT CLUB.

It demands representation in the advisory council.

The following resolutions were adopted at an adjourned meeting of the Cocoanut Club, held at Waikiki on Saturday, the 9th instant:

"Resolved, That the cocoanut industry of these islands has great value, and should receive recognition from the Provisional Government.

"Resolved, That this club, in order to secure political preference, shall hereafter be conducted as a secret club, and be known as the 'Cocoanut League.'

"Resolved, That this club is entitled to representation in the advisory council, and that that council will prove recreant to its high trust if it refuses to grant it.

"Resolved, That the Cocoanut League protests against the existence of any other league.

"Resolved, That this league knows where the milk in the cocoanut is to be found."

THE PLOT THICKENS.

We publish this morning a set of resolutions by which it appears that the Cocoanut Club demands representation in the councils.

And who, pray, is the Cocoanut Club? What is it composed of, and what is it for? We never saw a list of its members nor read an account of its transactions. According to its own statement it knows where the milk in the cocoanut is to be found, and it does not take a very shrewd guesser to opine that about all the society was ever organized for was to extract the milk.

It is about time that this impertinent folly should cease. The Cocoanut Club, indeed! The next thing we shall have a series of resolutions and demands from the Roast Pig Hui.

ANOTHER CLUB HEARD FROM.—THE SISTERS, COUSINS, AND AUNTS SOCIETY PASS RESOLUTIONS.

Editor Star: At a regular back-office meeting of the Sisters, Cousins, and Aunts Society the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously passed, a full representation of the office-holders belonging to the society being present and voting:

"Whereas the control of the Provisional Government and the selection of its leg-

islative members having been heretofore left to the Sisters, Cousins, and Aunts Society; and

"Whereas the members of that society are engaged in the same line of business and therefore know what the country needs; and

"Whereas government by a secret back-office caucous of this society has resulted in great benefits to the sisters, cousins, and aunts and therefore to Hawaii; and

"Whereas if there is going to be a permanent form of government we, of that compact, are able to build it without help from those who call themselves the masses, but are really the masses: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That we view with alarm and disfavor the attempt of anybody not related to us or in our line of business to become a member of the advisory council.

"Resolved, That we attend the mass meeting of the Annexation Party and elect a sister, a cousin, or an aunt, if we have to bust a trace."

The Coconut Club and the Schnetzen-Verein were not alone in the business meeting last night. The Sisters, Cousins, and Aunts Society also held a meeting and passed appropriate resolutions. These appear elsewhere.—(From the Star, February 13.)

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 37.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, February 15, 1894.

SIR: At the regular meeting this afternoon of the Government councils, Hon. F. M. Hatch read the report of the judiciary committee on the petition for the enlargement of the advisory council, recommending, as reported in the newspapers, "that there be chosen delegates to sit with the councils and prepare a constitution for a permanent form of government." The report was adopted and a committee appointed by the President to prepare an act for the holding of the constitutional convention.

At the same meeting Mr. Hatch was elected and took his seat as minister of foreign affairs.

The mass meeting of the Chinese last night was very largely attended. The newspapers report the attendance at 3,000. Vigorous resolutions against the proposed legislation of the Government were passed. I send newspaper clippings in regard to the above subjects.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Extract from the Star, February 15, 1894.]

NOW FOR A NEW DEAL—A PLAN OF PERMANENT GOVERNMENT BROACHED—HATCH FOR MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS—THREE ADVISORY NOMINATIONS MADE TO-DAY.

The members attending this afternoon's regular meeting at the councils were: President Dole; Ministers Smith, Damon, and King; Messrs. Wilder, Hatch, Allen, Waterhouse, Ena, Brown, Tenney, Nott, Morgan, Bolte, and Emmeluth.

Mr. Brown presented a petition from 150 Chinese merchants and trades, praying that the councils refrain from enacting into a law the pending anti-Chinese bill. Referred to the judiciary committee.

Mr. Smith read the resolutions adopted at the Chinese mass meeting last evening. These resolutions were in yellow coverings, bound with red ribbons. The second set was in Chinese and English.

Secretary Rodgers read the resolutions adopted at the Annexation Club mass meeting Tuesday evening. The first was the indorsement of D. B. Smith for the advisory council. The second was the petition for the enlargement of the council.

Mr. Smith said that the cabinet proposed to make some answer to the resolution, which he believed intimated that the Provisional Government was not favorable to

the policy of annexation of the islands to the United States. Both resolutions were placed on file.

A note from the board of officers of the Annexation Club recommended Mr. Hatch for the office of minister of foreign affairs. The executive council has replied that in view of former correspondence, the selection of a member of the executive council should not be interfered with by the public.

A note from the American League mentioned the action of that organization in nominating D. B. Smith for the advisory council.

The Schuetzen Club, in a set of resolutions which were read by Mr. Smith, urges that the Government undertake public improvements, to the end that loyal citizens now idle may receive employment. Mr. Smith said there had been consideration of this letter, in the way of canvassing on improvements needed and money available. Resolutions referred to the executive council.

There was a big surprise when Mr. Hatch read a report of the judiciary committee on the petition for enlargement of the advisory council. It was set forth that even greater numbers might not give the representation which seems to be so greatly desired. In view of this, and perhaps the fact that more councilmen elected at a mass meeting might become unsatisfactory, and the certainty that a semblance of perpetuity in office was dangerous, the committee recommends that there be chosen delegates to sit with the councils and prepare a constitution for a permanent form of government. The report was adopted.

President Dole named as the committee to prepare an act for a constitutional convention. Messrs. Hatch, Bolte, Wilder, Nott, and W. O. Smith.

Mr. Smith moved that the councils proceed to the election of a minister of foreign affairs.

Mr. Hatch said that he wanted to tell the councils that he was not a candidate for this place in the sense of seeking it. If he was elected and installed it must be with the understanding that he had leave to resign when prior private engagements demanded his time. He could only accept the office temporarily.

Mr. Waterhouse nominated Mr. Hatch for the place. Messrs. Tenney and Waterhouse were appointed tellers and the ballot spread. All the ballots were for Mr. Hatch, and there was applause when the result was announced. Messrs. Brown and Eua conducted the new minister to a seat at a table beside Messrs. Smith, Damon, and King.

Mr. Wilder moved that the election of a successor to Mr. Hatch as an advisory councilman be postponed for a week.

Mr. Emmeluth, ascertaining from the chair that nominations were in order, entered Fritz Wilhelm who was described as a "man who had been earnest in the cause so long as his health permitted."

Mr. Damon named D. B. Smith as an active worker for annexation and good government.

Mr. Allen offered Mark Robinson, an Hawaiian, as a candidate, saying that it would not be out of place to have another Hawaiian in the council.

The nominations were closed and the election postponed for one week.

VOICE OF THE CHINESE COLONY DECLARES ITSELF IN A BIG MASS MEETING—POSITIVE EXPRESSIONS—WHAT THEY HAVE DONE FOR THE COUNTRY—THEIR RIGHTS—RESOLUTIONS.

In no city of a State or Territory of the American Union could the Chinese have made such a demonstration as was held at the theater of the colony last night. Here the Pakes have been first tolerated, then encouraged, until they assume an attitude plainly defiant and close bordering on the dominant and dictatorial. From the weak and lowly field hand of the time of 1851 and the wage scale of \$3 a month they have, by an unparalleled and alarming evolution, reached the station of an assertive element in the policy of the nation. The spectacle has not its counterpart elsewhere on the globe.

The Chinese theater here is a larger and better building than the colony of some 40,000 Asiatics in the city of San Francisco can boast. Last night the playhouse was jammed. It contained not less than 2,500 men, perhaps 500 more. Every particle of space was occupied. All Chinese business places, except the restaurants, closed at 4 o'clock. During the next two hours and a half Chinamen flocked to the theater from every direction. Hundreds of them rode in hacks. The tram cars were crowded and the rest walked in the heavy rain. The storm kept away many living at a distance. A weight was borne by the big gallery that it never had before. The throng extended well out into the street. As a mass meeting the event was in every way a success. The place is illy ventilated and scores were compelled to stand. The proceedings throughout riveted the attention of all. There were

frequent outbursts of applause and positive expressions from the audience. Half a hundred of the leading Chinese had seats on the stage. A number of natives and a few whites were present. A squad of police was in attendance. It is said that nearly all the 800 vagrants of Chinatown were on hand.

The tenor of the meeting may be judged by the fact that the use of a man-of-war was more than hinted at. The statement the Chinese paid more taxes than any other class was made, also the claim that but for them Honolulu trade would die, and that they had only to unite and stand firm to gain their ends.

Kam Chim, editor of one of the Chinese newspapers, called the meeting to order. He named Lau Chung, of the Wing Wo Tai Company, as president. No one else was mentioned. Lau Chung designated Chang Kim and Chang Den Sing as secretaries. Next Lau Chung announced the objects of the meeting at length and read and commented upon the license bill which has been placed before the councils by Attorney-General Smith. They were gathered, Chung said, to ascertain the views of the colony upon the proposed legislation. Chung had the act written on a sheet of paper about as large as a page of this paper and occupied about a quarter of an hour in placing it before the meeting.

Ing Chan, of the Tong On Jan Company, was presented as the first speaker, and was greeted with great cheering. He made a salaam and launched out into an impassioned tale of the wrongs of his race. When he asked: "Shall we put up with it?" a storm of noes came from all over the house. After suggesting that they communicate to the councils, he said: "If they will not listen to us, let us instruct our representative to communicate with the Chinese minister at Washington and ask him to write the home Government about our troubles." Chan said that up to ten years ago the Chinese on the islands had been treated as men and as the equals of all. They are law-abiding, but their treatment is getting worse all the time. They do not meddle with the politics. They are now over 25,000 strong, and in varied occupations do good for the country; and, like one big family, must unite their forces. The white people are dissatisfied and want to impose laws that other countries would not think of passing.

The next speaker was Wong Wah Toy of the Wing Wo Tai Company, who said they were assembled to see if all were of one mind respecting the situation. Through their energy and industry they have made land more valuable. They have been oppressed long enough. The Government wants to tie their hands still more. Shall we allow it? [No, no, from the audience.] "These foreigners do not remember their own scripture, which says 'Do unto others as you would they should do unto you.' They claim to be an enlightened people, but I say they are not if they act in this way. Unity is what we want and must have—unity in mind and action. If we unite we will gain our point. [Cheers.] We must unite, but in a peaceful way. There must be no talk yet of a man of war settling our troubles for us. That may come later."

"I have been in the country for fifteen years," said Ching Ling Him, a clerk for the Hawaiian Hardware Company, who says he hopes to become a merchant. "We are not a better nor a worse class than any other. [Cheers.] If this bill passes no man can do any business except the one allowed him by law. The Chinese pay most of the taxes, and were it not for us the white merchants of Honolulu would be ruined. I can not be a rich man if this law passes, and we are treated worse than dogs. We do not steal. Why do they want to make such laws against it? All we must do is to stick together and we will come out all right."

Chung Kim, a lawyer's clerk, who brought his speech from C. W. Ashford's office, said that the meeting was occasioned by the purpose of the Government to place Chinese under the ban and favor Portuguese. The Chinese have been extremely patient. They have borne oppression which would from almost any other race have provoked revolution. The Government seems to have formed the opinion that no injustice heaped upon the Chinese will be opposed or resented. That is a mistake. Even a worm will turn when trodden upon, and so it may be with the despised Chinese should the oppression be carried too far. Are we not all members of one great family? Is there any reason why one of God's creatures should be trampled upon by his brothers?

By what right do our white skinned brothers lord it over us and to say that we shall do business and trade and live and breathe only by their consent? Is it only because our skins are brown and theirs are white? The Government is glad enough to collect taxes from the Chinese, but when it comes to finding a class upon whom the spite of all cranks shall be expended, they at once light upon the patient and long suffering Chinaman. The Geary Act in the United States is bad enough, but this act proposed to be imposed upon us is even worse than that. The Hawaiian constitution declares that the Government is established for the equal benefit of all men and all classes, but if the Chinese license act shall pass it will show that the Government intends to deny to us the equal benefit of the laws.

W. C. Achi, a practicing attorney, who calls himself a Chinaman without a quene, and who addressed the gathering as "countrymen of my father," spoke in the native tongue at length. "You have no representation in the councils to speak for you," wailed Mr. Achi, "but you have the right to make your wishes known to the councils by resolutions. If this law passes a laborer who may save his money can not engage in business. The law will put a rope around your necks; it will injure all the Chinese, rich and poor, high and low, strong and weak. To turn in our favor the tide that is setting against us we must take some intelligent action. [Very good.] The supreme court would decide that this law was wholly unconstitutional."

Another clerk of a lawyer was now heard. This was N. Monwar, of Paul Neumann's office. He believed that the good men at the head of the Government would refrain from passing an unjust law. Like Achi, he mentioned the supreme court, saying that it had protected the Chinese against the law of 1888.

Lee Chu, a carpenter, is a radical. Said he: "We are descended from great fathers. Why should we be treated differently from others? I say that if we do not do our best to overcome this law we will show that we have no blood in us."

A number of other addresses were made and this committee of thirteen was selected to place the resolutions given below: C. Winam, Wong Wah Foy, Yun Quom, Chu Gem, Chang Kim, Ho Ton, Lau Chock, Chang Chick, N. Monwar, N. Chan, Chu Wing, I. Kat Poo, Lau Chang. The resolutions read:

"Whereas there is now pending before the legislative body of the Provisional Government an act obliging Chinese residents of these islands to obtain a special license, not called for in the case of any other nationality, as a prerequisite to conducting business in this country; and

"Whereas such legislation is directed against the Chinese as a class, in violation of constitutional provisions and of the principles of equity and justice supposed to inhere in all civilized governments; and would, if enacted into law, prove an irritating oppression to a numerous and law abiding class of residents who pay a large proportion of the taxes collected by the Government, and who are entitled to the protection of the laws, on terms of equality with other residents of these islands; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Chinese residents of Honolulu, in mass meeting assembled, on the evening of Wednesday, the 14th day of February, 1894, do solemnly protest against the injustice, degradation, and insult threatened to be imposed upon us and our race by the legislation so, as aforesaid, pending and proposed to be enacted into law;

Resolved, That we respectfully assert our right, under the principles of enlightened justice and the provisions of the Hawaiian constitution, to dwell in Hawaii and be accorded the protection of the law upon terms of equality with those of other nationalities here sojourning.

Resolved, That the Chinese in Hawaii have been guilty of no act or course of action which should in justice subject them to the humiliation of being singled out as objects of legislative caprice, oppression, or hatred, such as the act herein protested against will, if passed into law, embody and express.

Resolved, That while we ask for nothing more than equality with other residents of equally good behavior, we shall be satisfied with and shall support and respect nothing that accords to our race a lesser degree of consideration and justice than residents of other nationalities enjoy.

Resolved, That the chairman of this meeting do appoint a committee of 13 Chinese residents of this city to present these resolutions to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs at their earliest opportunity, and to urge upon his excellency the sentiments herein expressed."

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

Certain further information relating to the Hawaiian Islands.

JANUARY 13, 1894.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

To the Congress:

I transmit herewith copies of all dispatches from our minister at Hawaii relating in any way to political affairs in that country, except such as have been heretofore laid before the Congress.

I also transmit a copy of the last instructions sent to our minister, dated January 12, 1894, being the only instructions to him not already sent to the Congress.

In transmitting certain correspondence with my message, dated December 18, 1893, I withheld a dispatch from our present minister, numbered 3, and dated November 16, 1893, and also a dispatch from our former minister, numbered 70, and dated October 8, 1892. Inasmuch as the contents of the dispatch of November 16, 1893, are referred to in the dispatches of a more recent date now sent to Congress, and inasmuch as there seems no longer to be sufficient reason for withholding said dispatch, a copy of the same is herewith submitted. The dispatch, numbered 70, and dated October 8, 1892, above referred to, is still withheld for the reason that such a course still appears to be justifiable and proper.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *January 13, 1894.*

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 3.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, November 16, 1893.

SIR: In the forenoon of Monday the 13th instant, by prearrangement, the Queen, accompanied by the royal chamberlain, Mr. Robertson, called at the legation. No one was present at the half-hour interview which followed, her chamberlain having been taken to another room and Consul-General Mills, who had invited her to come, remaining in the front of the house to prevent interruption.

After a formal greeting, the Queen was informed that the President of the United States had important communications to make to her and she was asked whether she was willing to receive them alone and in confidence, assuring her that this was for her own interest and safety. She answered in the affirmative.

I then made known to her the President's sincere regret that, through the unauthorized intervention of the United States, she had been obliged to surrender her sovereignty, and his hope that, with her consent and cooperation, the wrong done to her and to her people might be redressed. To this, she bowed her acknowledgments.

I then said to her, "The President expects and believes that when reinstated you will show forgiveness and magnanimity; that you will wish to be the Queen of all the people, both native and foreign born; that you will make haste to secure their love and loyalty and to establish peace, friendship, and good government." To this she made no reply. After waiting a moment, I continued: "The President not only tenders you his sympathy but wishes to help you. Before fully making known to you his purposes, I desire to know whether you are willing to answer certain questions which it is my duty to ask?" She answered, "I am willing." I then asked her, "Should you be restored to the throne, would you grant full amnesty as to life and property to all those persons who have been or who are now in the Provisional Government, or who have been instrumental in the overthrow of your government?" She hesitated a moment and then slowly and calmly answered: "There are certain laws of my Government by which I shall abide. My decision would be, as the law directs, that such persons should be beheaded and their property confiscated to the Government." I then said, repeating very distinctly her words, "It is your feeling that these people should be beheaded and their property confiscated?" She replied, "It is." I then said to her, "Do you fully understand the meaning of every word which I have said to you, and of every word which you have said to me, and, if so, do you still have the same opinion?" Her answer was, "I have understood and mean all I have said, but I might leave the decision of this to my ministers." To this I replied, "Suppose it was necessary to make a decision before you appointed any ministers, and that you were asked to issue a royal proclamation of general amnesty, would you do it?" She answered, "I have no legal right to do that, and I would not do it." Pausing a moment she continued, "These people were the cause of the revolution and constitution of 1887. There will never be any peace while they are here. They must be sent out of the country, or punished, and their property confiscated." I then said, "I have no further communication to make to you now, and will have none until I hear from my Government, which will probably be three or four weeks."

Nothing was said for several minutes, when I asked her whether she was willing to give me the names of four of her most trusted friends, as I might, within a day or two, consider it my duty to hold a consultation with them in her presence. She assented, and gave these names: J. O. Carter, John Richardson, Joseph Nawahi, and E. C. Macfarlane.

I then inquired whether she had any fears for her safety at her present residence, Washington Square. She replied that she did have some fears, that while she had trusty friends that guarded her house every night, they were armed only with clubs, and that men shabbily dressed had been often seen prowling about the adjoining premises—a schoolhouse with large yard. I informed her that I was authorized by the President to offer her protection either on one of our war ships

or at the legation and desired her to accept the offer at once. She declined, saying she believed it was best for her at present to remain at her own residence. I then said to her that at any moment, night or day, this offer of our Government was open to her acceptance.

The interview thereupon, after some personal remarks, was brought to a close.

Upon reflection, I concluded not to hold any consultation at present with the Queen's friends, as they have no official position, and furthermore, because I feared, if known to so many, her declarations might become public, to her great detriment, if not danger, and to the interruption of the plans of our Government.

Mr. J. O. Carter is a brother of Mr. H. A. P. Carter, the former Hawaiian minister to the United States, and is conceded to be a man of high character, integrity, and intelligence. He is about 55 years old. He has had no public experience. Mr. Macfarlane, like Mr. Carter, is of white parentage, is an unmarried man, about 42 years old, and is engaged in the commission business. John Richardson is a young man of about 35 years old. He is a cousin of Samuel Parker, the half-caste, who was a member of the Queen's cabinet at the time of the last revolution. He is a resident of Maui, being designated in the directory of 1889 as "attorney at law, stock-raiser, and proprietor Bismark livery stable." Richardson is "half-caste." Joseph Nawaki is a full-blooded native, practices law (as he told me) in the native courts, and has a moderate English education. He has served twenty years in the legislature, but displays very little knowledge of the structure and philosophy of the Government which he so long represented. He is 51 years old, and is president of the native Hawaiian political club.

Upon being asked to name three of the most prominent native leaders, he gave the names of John E. Bush, R. W. Wilcox, and modestly added, "I am a leader." John E. Bush is a man of considerable ability, but his reputation is very bad. R. W. Wilcox is the notorious half-breed who engineered the revolution of 1889. Of all these men Carter and Macfarlane are the only two to whom the ministerial bureaus could be safely entrusted. In conversation with Sam Parker, and also with Joseph Nawahi, it was plainly evident that the Queen's implied condemnation of the constitution of 1887 was fully indorsed by them.

From these and other facts which have been developed I feel satisfied that there will be a concerted movement in the event of restoration for the overthrow of that constitution which would mean the overthrow of constitutional and limited government and the absolute dominion of the Queen.

The law referred to by the Queen is Chapter VI, section 9 of the Penal Code, as follows:

Whoever shall commit the crime of treason shall suffer the punishment of death and all his property shall be confiscated to the Government.

There are, under this law, no degrees of treason. Plotting alone carries with it the death sentence.

I need hardly add, in conclusion, that the tension of feeling is so great that the promptest action is necessary to prevent disastrous consequences.

I send a cipher telegram asking that Mr. Blount's report be withheld for the present, and I send with it a telegram, not in cipher, as follows:

Views of the first party so extreme as to require further instructions.

I am, etc.

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 6.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Honolulu, November 19, 1893.

SIR: It will be remembered that in connection with the presentation on the 19th of July, 1893, of a cane to Mr. Claus Spreckels, there was an unwarrantable use of the name of Hon. James H. Blount, late envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Honolulu.

On yesterday, November 18, Hon. Sanford B. Dole, minister of foreign affairs, transmitted a letter dated July 24, 1893, addressed by him to Mr. Charles Crichton, calling his (Crichton's) attention to the improper and unauthorized use of Mr. Blount's name and asking an apology therefor. He also inclosed Mr. Crichton's answer to the effect that Mr. Blount—

had no knowledge of the preparation of the said cane nor of the presentation thereof to Col. Spreckels, and it was not the intention of the donors of the same to intimate in any way that he (Mr. Blount) was interested or in any way concerned in or cognizant of the said presentation.

I can further assure your excellency, continues Mr. Crichton, that if Mr. Blount deems that any act of discourtesy to him has been committed that nothing was further from our intentions, and at the time we had no idea that such an inference could be drawn from the occurrence, more than could be drawn from Mr. Johnston's list.

I will file these letters in the Department and presume that the matter will end here.

With high regard, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 7.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Honolulu, December 1, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith a printed statement presented by Hon. S. M. Damon, minister of finance, showing the financial condition of the Provisional Government for week ending November 29, 1893.

With high regard, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure.]

TUESDAY, *November 23.*

The executive and advisory councils met at 1:30 this afternoon, President Dole in the chair. The members present were: Ministers King, Damon, and Smith, and Councilors Hatch, Ena, Brown, Waterhouse, Emmeluth, Tenney, Wilder, Young, Allen, Morgan, and Mendonca. Minister of Finance Damon then presented his weekly report, as follows:

Finance statement for week ending November 23, 1893.

Current account balance.....	\$136,481.84
Loan fund account balance.....	368.89
Total treasury balance.....	\$136,850.73

Finance statement for week ending November 23, 1893—Continued.

RECEIPTS.

Interior department.....	\$2,988.00	
Customs.....	7,271.25	
Fines, penalties, and costs.....	36.70	
Revenue stamps.....	336.50	
Water.....	375.00	
Post-office.....	600.00	
Taxes.....	2,452.80	
Crown lands.....	850.00	
		<u>\$14,913.25</u>
		151,763.98

EXPENDITURES.

Finance department, salaries, incidentals, etc.....	\$74.25	
Interest.....	3,583.00	
Attorney-general's department.....	50.00	
Road tax—to special deposit.....	256.00	
School tax—to special deposit.....	258.00	
		<u>\$4,221.25</u>
Current account balance.....	147,173.84	
Loan fund account balance.....	368.89	
		<u>147,542.73</u>
Total treasury balance above date.....		151,763.98
		<u>2,653,200.00</u>
Outstanding bonds.....		40,000.00
Treasury notes.....		705,416.95
Due postal savings bank and Postmaster-General's notes.....		<u>3,398,616.95</u>
Less loan fund balance.....		368.89
Net indebtedness.....		3,398,248.06

Postal Savings Bank memorandum.

Notices this date of withdrawals maturing in November and December, 1893, and January and February, 1894.....	\$31,474.00
Cash on hand, Postal Savings Bank this day.....	29,381.15

Expenses Provisional Government memorandum.

Expenses Provisional Government this date.....	\$159,954.21
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This amount covers all expenses, including military and items not appropriated by the last legislature.

Memorandum cash in treasury outstanding.

Certificates.....	\$284,000.00
Certificates, withdrawn from circulation, and deposited for safe-keeping.....	28,000.00
Cash in treasury to redeem certificates.....	284,000.00
Certificates in treasury to redeem certificates.....	284,000.00
Cash in treasury to redeem certificates.....	284,000.00
	<u>29,381.15</u>
Cash on hand, Postal Savings Bank.....	51,624.03
Road board fund in treasury.....	38,143.48
School board fund in treasury.....	147,542.73
Available cash, as above.....	<u>266,691.39</u>

This was received and placed on file.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Confidential.]

No. 8.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, December 5, 1893.

SIR: On November 24 the British war ship *Champion* arrived, Capt. Rooke commanding. He has about 250 men. On reaching here a telegraphic order was handed him, which will detain him until the difficulties here are settled.

On Saturday, December 2, the Japanese cruiser *Naniwa Kau*, Capt. Mosi commanding, arrived. She will also remain here until a settlement.

On Friday, November 24, your letter appeared in the Honolulu papers and created a great sensation. Crowds were gathered at all points on the streets discussing the news, but, although the excitement was so intense, I am glad to report that there was not a single breach of the peace. A public meeting was called, for the following night, of all friends of the Provisional Government. The meeting was held, the annexation papers stating that there were 1,600 present and the royalist papers putting the number at between 700 and 800. The speakers were Mr. Hatch, vice-president of the Provisional Government; Z. S. Spaulding, a large sugar planter, who was, many years ago, U. S. consul here; Mr. W. R. Castle, a member of the advisory council; Hon. A. F. Judd, chief justice of the supreme court, and Mr. W. G. Smith. Mr. Smith is the editor of the *Hawaiian Star*, which holds very advanced views upon annexation and other political questions. I inclose an account of the meeting from the *Hawaiian Gazette*. The meeting quietly dispersed at 8:30 and there was no disorder of any kind.

On yesterday a protest against the use of force by the United States against their persons or property was presented to me by several gentlemen who, like the other 146 signers, still claim allegiance to our Government. One of the gentlemen, the secretary of the American League, claims to represent 150 members of that body. I inclose a printed copy of the protest. It may become necessary, hereafter, to reply to this protest, as many of its signers are officially connected with the Provisional Government.

On the morning of November 29 I received a letter from Hon. Sanford B. Dole, minister of foreign affairs, which letter I inclose, rescinding the privilege heretofore given to Admiral Skerrett, of landing his troops for drilling purposes. On Friday morning, December 1, I acknowledged the receipt of his letter and informed him that I had transmitted a copy of it to Admiral Irwin for his information and guidance.

In the afternoon of November 29 I received a second communication from Minister Dole, inquiring as to the authenticity of your letter to the President and the intentions of our Government in connection therewith. I inclose a copy of Mr. Dole's letter and of my answer. I should have stated that, on the morning when information of your letter was received, President Dole and Attorney-General Smith called upon me, to know what the United States intended to do. I explained to them my inability at present to comply with their request.

Since then active preparations for defense have been going on. The former palace, now known as the executive building, has been fortified by bags of sand, both in front and around the various porticos. Guns and pistols have been placed in the hands of all who are willing to take them, whether American, foreigners, or natives, and herein lies one of the greatest dangers. Many of those who have received

these weapons, like children with a new toy, are eager to use them; lacking in intelligence and self-restraint and having no property interests at stake, they are liable at any moment to break into mob violence. The Portuguese consul-general, a most intelligent and capable man, called here last night to express his great fears that many of his people would become involved in trouble and disaster, as they had been supplied with arms, and, against his protest, mustered into the volunteer service.

There are over 10,000 Portuguese on the islands of whom one-fourth are in Honolulu. There are over 1,000 in this city of military age. The nationality, however, which, in my judgment, is destined to give most anxiety here is the Japanese, and this because of their aspiration for suffrage. Mr. Irwin, a brother of Admiral Irwin, arrived here yesterday from Japan. He has for many years been the minister of this country at Japan, and negotiated most of the contracts now pending. He is here, he tells me, to protect these contracts. He reports the Emperor of Japan as unwilling to interfere with these islands because of the large interests of our Government. When the contract period is over, the Emperor thinks the Japanese should be accorded the right of suffrage, but admits the propriety of a high educational and property qualification. As there are now 22,000 Japanese here every intelligent observer concedes that this question of suffrage will soon be a very important one.

As to the Queen's safety I do not have any fear at present. There is a telephone in my sleeping room and I have authorized her people to call me up at any hour of the night or day. She also has the privilege, as stated in previous dispatches, of coming here or of going on one of our war vessels.

Aside from my communication with her, in regard to her safety, I have had nothing to say to the Queen or to her representatives since the interview reported in dispatch No. 3 of November 14. There have been various newspaper hints as to the fact of the interview, but none as to the subject-matter thereof. I have made further inquiries as to the Queen's understanding of the English tongue, and find that she is perfectly familiar with it, having been a classmate of Chief-Justice Judd and other prominent citizens.

I received your cipher telegram. My telegram to you was purposely indefinite and obscure, for reasons which you doubtless now understand. I send a cipher telegram to-day by the steamer *Oceanic* covering several of the points above set forth.

After a careful study of my instructions and of all the surroundings I felt it to be my duty to take no further step until I heard from you and the President.

With sentiments of profound regard, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

A GREAT MEETING.

The drill shed filled with enthusiastic men.—An immense throng turns out.—The people's voice is raised in indignant protest against Cleveland and Gresham.—Prominent men thrill a vast audience with their patriotic utterances, and show the fallacy of restoring monarchy.—Text of the speeches in full.

Enthusiasm, cheers, indignation at Gresham's late action, American patriotism, and men with their feelings strung up to the highest pitch of excitement, were the features of Saturday evening's mass meeting. Over 1,200 men were present, and not a dissenting voice among them; men who were not only ready and willing, but anxious to express their sentiments on the question now so near the hearts of all good Americans.

An immense crowd was expected and an immense crowd came. By 7:30 o'clock the hall was crowded and from that time till 8:30 many others came in. When the meeting was over the surging crowd of humanity quietly melted away, each one talking to his companion, whether friend or stranger, about the situation.

On one side of the hall a platform had been erected for the use of speakers. On it were seated Vice-President F. M. Hatch, Col. Z. S. Spalding, W. R. Castle, Chief Justice A. F. Judd, P. C. Jones, W. C. Wilder, and W. G. Smith.

F. M. Hatch, president of the Annexation Club, was the first speaker, and he opened the meeting with a rousing speech. He said:

FELLOW CITIZENS: You have been invited to meet to-night to consider our present political situation. We are confronted by the declaration of Secretary Gresham that royalty must be restored and our Government destroyed. A kind Providence has given us this opportunity to be heard before final action will be taken upon this issue. At present we are proceeding merely upon the newspaper reports which have been received here and which certainly we have a right to discuss. We do not know what action will be taken by the President or by Congress. Certainly any action taken by the Congress of the United States of America can not be resisted by anybody in this community. Let us not be misunderstood or misrepresented by a hostile press; we do not meet here to-night to defy the power of the United States, that would be absurd, gentlemen, nor to vilify those at present in charge of the Government of the United States. [Cries of "Hear! Hear!" and applause.]

But we meet with the hope that our words will be heard by Congress before action is taken by that body. There are certain features in the letter of Mr. Gresham to the President which show that he is proceeding upon a false assumption. Let us hope that the distinguished Secretary has been misinformed up to this date. It is certainly our prerogative to point out the false assumptions and to challenge them. Now, chief among those false assumptions is the one which seems to underlie the whole letter, that there has been submitted to the arbitration of the President of the United States the question whether or not we had a right to establish a government in this country. Gentlemen, I challenge that assumption. [Great applause, cheers, and cries of "you're right."] The assumption is false in every respect. [Cheers and applause.]

Let me briefly point out why. Two parties can make a contract, but it requires the consent of three to make a valid arbitration—that of the two parties in interest and the arbitrator. The parties must clearly define the subject-matter of the arbitration. It is absurd to contend that there could be any arbitration by inference or imputation. First, has there been any issue framed; has the Provisional Government submitted to the decision of anybody its right to exist? [Cries of "No!" "No!"] Not one word or one act can be produced in support of that contention. Gentlemen, from the nature of things, a government which started in revolution, though now the government *de jure* as well as *de facto*, could not submit the question of the legality of its existence to any arbitration because its right lay in its might. Having satisfied our consciences as to the justness of our cause we depend upon our might, and are answerable to no other power. [Applause.]

I brand as false the claim that we have put in issue the question whether or not we were proceeding legally or not in overturning a corrupt and rotten monarchy. [Great applause, cheers, and cries of "Hear!" "Hear!"] Second, has the President of the United States, up to this point, pretended to have been acting in a judicial capacity? I say his acts do not justify that assumption. An arbitrator or judge would not interfere with the existing status of the parties. The President of the United States immediately upon gaining his seat lowered the American flag and thereby changed the status of the parties. [Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!"] That was not the act of a judge, gentlemen. Again, has he notified anybody that he was proceeding with a judicial investigation? Has he given any notice that a hearing would be had on such a date? Has he notified anybody the witnesses were being examined? Has he given anybody an opportunity to cross-examine those witnesses or to confront them? Has he given anybody on our side an opportunity to cross-examine those witnesses or to confront them? Has he given anybody on our side the opportunity to be heard? [Cries of "no, no; he never has!"]

Now, we do not need the legal knowledge of that distinguished judge, who is now Secretary of State, to know that no arbitration could stand for a moment in law, however insignificant the matter, which was conducted *ex parte*, without an opportunity to be heard; without an inspection of the evidence which has been produced, or opportunity to cross-examine the witnesses. How was the late arbitration conducted in Paris? Did a number of gentlemen get together on the Bering Sea question and in private decide upon that matter? Did they send a private agent off to Bering Sea to look about and scratch the back of the seals [laughter], interview the neighbors and make a report? [Laughter, cheers, and applause.]

Gentlemen, it can hardly be contended that the Provisional Government and we representing the supporters of that Government have submitted our right to

exist to Col. James H. Blount, of Georgia. [Applause.] The President of the United States had the undoubted right, so far as we were concerned, to examine into the status here, the situation of the country, as bearing upon the question whether or not he should continue the negotiations of union pending when he took his seat as President. That was ostensibly the object for which Col. Blount was sent to these shores. We insist that up to this point there has been no judicial investigation in which both parties have been given the opportunity to be heard. [Applause.] And again, as showing conclusively the utter absurdity of the position that this has been an arbitration, could an arbitration of such a nature be possible when the Government of the United States had a treaty pending before it—between it and the power which it is charged was submitting its right to exist to the decision of one man? [Cries of "No, no?"]

We were a power *de facto* then; we were recognized by certain great powers of the world, which made us a power *de jure*, and we were a power having treaty relations with the United States of America. [Applause.] A treaty had been negotiated which bound the Executives of the two nations at the moment President Cleveland took his seat. That treaty awaited ratification to make it final, but it nevertheless was a treaty binding the Executive. Now, gentlemen, I challenge the right of the Chief Executive of that great nation, of his own mere motion, to undo the act of any of his predecessors. [Great applause.] Congress may do it; Congress has the full power; but Grover Cleveland has no more right, legally or morally, to undo the act of Benjamin Harrison than he had to undo any act of Abraham Lincoln. [Great applause and cheers.]

But waiving all those considerations, there remains this fundamental one, that no court of arbitration would have the right to ignore the great question at issue; that is, whether or not Liliuokalani had violated the constitution; had thrown it to the dogs, and had put herself beyond the pale and protection of the law. To ignore all that and decide this great issue upon the petty technicality as to whether or not Mr. Stevens recognized the power of this community five minutes too soon or not, was not in the power of a judge. [Great applause, and cries of "You're right."] I repeat, there has been no submission to arbitration. Let us, therefore, challenge all false assumptions, gentlemen, and let that challenge go on record. Let us hold the President to the true issue, and then if the legally constituted power of the United States, the power which has the right under the Constitution to declare war, overpowers us, we will go down with our colors flying, and with no misrepresentation possible. Let it be known to the world that if that event takes place it will be because the United States has exercised its power, but not its right. Let us hope that the showing we can make will have the effect upon Congress in shaping its course, and that it will also have its effect upon the distinguished Secretary of State and the Chief Executive of the American Nation. [Great applause.]

No. 203.

W. R. CASTLE.

W. R. Castle was the next speaker. His speech follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: We come here to-night to voice our indignant protest. [Cheers, and cries of "Hear! Hear!"] It is well, upon great occasions, for people to assemble and express their united voice, as this meeting to-night will speak. Great occasions demand great meetings like this. The history of the world gives us many memorable instances. The history of Hawaii has shown us that when a great occasion demanded, a public assembly was called, and the voice of that assembly has been listened to. When the arrogance of the monarch, Kalakaua, became too great, the mass meeting of 1887 met, and its voice was heard, and the Monarch yielded.

That monarch proved false. His successor has followed in the same footsteps. The people have been patient; we have waited, we have hoped for better things; but when the attempt was made to sweep our rights from under our feet, to take away the liberties of the subject, the result was the mass meeting of January 16, 1893, and the voice of that meeting, as expressed, resulted in the downfall of the monarchy and in the establishment of the Provisional Government. [Cheers.] The Provisional Government, gentlemen, represents you, and no one else. [Applause.] As it was said by one of the leading men of the United States recently, a few people went on the ships in Boston harbor and threw some tea overboard. Had the question been submitted to the people of the colonies at that time: "Shall the colonies separate from Great Britain?" a great majority of the people of the united colonies would have said no. They were afraid to step in the dark.

I believe the same is true here. We know that the native population of Hawaii was afraid of what seems to them one step in the dark; but the time will come when they will thank God that there were people willing to risk their lives, their property, their all to establish in Hawaii true liberty. [Great applause and cheers.]

Fellow citizens, Hawaii tends towards one goal and only one; that is, union with its mother across the water. [Great applause.]

If to day the progress of Hawaii is arrested, is delayed, it is simply delay for a short time. We shall go on, and the time will come, and most of us here will see that time, when Hawaii will rest secure in the bosom of its great and good mother. [Cries of "Hear!" cheers and applause.] In olden times there was a man whose wisdom led him to declare that the world was round; that the world went round the sun; that the stars revolved in their courses, and he was met by the mighty power of the Roman Catholic Church, which declared that he was wrong. Gentlemen, did that make any difference with the facts; did that make any delay in the revolving of the spheres? Can Secretary Gresham stop the onward progress of Hawaii? [Cries of "Never!" and applause.] You sent a commission to Washington to ask that Hawaii might be admitted to the Union.

What was the response of the great heart of that people when we went there? The people welcomed us with a thrill throughout the country from one end to the other. [Applause.] And we went on and were welcomed in Washington. But our enemies, of course, have been alert—they have filled the ears of the present administration in Washington with falsehood; they have stuffed the ears of Secretary Gresham, perhaps of the President, with lies as to what is taking place here. Do they know the facts? We are bound to believe that Secretary Gresham and the President of the United States are trying to execute justice; are trying to do what is right. Whether they are doing it, we know, not they. [Cries of "Hear! Hear!" and applause.] They do not know what the facts are, but we do know, and now it is proposed to take away from us the liberty which we have gained. [Cries of "No! No! They never will do it."]

It is proposed to restore the tottering throne, the monarchy of Hawaii. [Cries or "They can't do it! Never!"] Who proposed to do that? The people of the United States? [Cries of "No! No!"] It is proposed by Secretary Gresham; it is proposed by the President; but the people have spoken. What has been their voice? The people of the United States have, with one accord, voiced our sentiments in favor of liberty. Gentlemen, after the remarks of the president of the Annexation Club it is perhaps unnecessary to dilate any further on the constitutionality of the proposed proceeding of the President of the United States.

In all my reading I fail to find anywhere that the President of the United States is authorized to begin a war, and this proposition to restore the Queen to the throne of Hawaii, if carried out, will be an act of war. Then let us stand firm in our right, and if such a step is taken let him be impeached before the Senate of his country. [Cheers and applause.] Let me call your attention to just one specimen of truthfulness in that report. Mr. Gresham tells the President that the people of Hawaii dare not rise to overthrow the present Government, because they will meet the armed forces of the United States. The President of the United States sent out here his commissioner, his "paramount commissioner" [laughter], and the first act of that commissioner was to take down the American flag. Then he stood by to see us tumble.

Well, gentlemen, we didn't tumble worth a cent. [Laughter.] That taking down of the flag was an invitation, and it was so understood by the people of this country, to overturn the best government this country ever had. [Cries of "Hear, hear!" and "It didn't do it!"] The paramount commissioner waited to see the result, and no such result following, thereupon issued his proclamation, and again invited the people to overthrow this Government. Was not the fact of the flag being taken down known to Secretary Gresham? Has not the proclamation that Commissioner Blount issued in Honolulu, inviting rebellion, inviting the overthrow of this Government, threatening the dire vengeance of the United States upon any and all Americans who assisted us—has not that been published broadcast from one end of the United States to another? Has not Secretary Gresham read that proclamation until he knows it by heart?

The second invitation by the commissioner of the United States to overturn the Government failed in its object, and now the Secretary of the United States blinded, I believe, by false information, again proposes to overturn the Government established by the people of this country. [Cries of "Never!" "He won't do it!"] He proposes to take that position and assumes that the people of this country will not oppose it. [Cries of "He can't do it!"]

Gentlemen, the time is coming when we will see that glorious flag, that emblem of the truest liberty the world knows, floating over our heads—the flag of this country. [Great applause and cheers, and a voice in the crowd shouted: "What is the matter with putting it up there now and keeping it there?"] Gentlemen, the people of the United States wish to hear our voice, they wish to hear what we have to say upon this subject, and I hope that the next vessel that goes to the coast will bear an unmistakable voice from us to-night. At the request of the president of this association, I will now offer the following resolution, which I hope will be adopted without one dissenting voice:

Resolution.

Resolved, That we have read with surprise and regret the recommendation of the Secretary of State of the United States to the President, to restore the monarchy lately existing in Hawaii.

Resolved, That we condemn the assumption of the Secretary that the right of the Provisional Government to exist was terminated by his refusal to re-submit to the Senate the treaty of Union pending between the two countries; and also his assumption that the Provisional Government had at that very time submitted the question of its continued existence to the arbitration of the President or of any other power.

Resolved, That we support to the best of our ability the Provisional Government, in resisting any attack upon it which may be made contrary to the usage of nations.

Z. S. SPALDING.

Mr. Castle was followed by Col. Z. S. Spalding, the speaker of the evening. His remarks were interrupted many times by cheers and applause. He said:

FELLOW CITIZENS: The State Department at Washington having recently made public some of the ancient history of these islands, in which they did me honor of proving my being "an annexationist" as far back as 1868. [Cries of "Good boy!" and cheers.] I feel that I am entitled to attend this meeting. [Cries of "Hear, hear!"] And I also feel that it was no matter to be ashamed of at that date, when I had the honor of being the representative of the great American Republic at these Islands, it is still less my desire now to repudiate those sentiments or falter in my allegiance to the doctrine so ably upheld by, and so intimately connected with the names of Webster, Seward, and Blaine. [Great applause.]

I have great respect for the honorable gentleman who now holds the portfolio of the State Department at Washington. He and I were two humble units in the great mass of loyal men who helped to save the integrity of the Union in the dark days of the civil war. [Cries of "hear, hear."] I can forgive almost any weakness in the judgment of a man whose heart and hand were on the right side in that bloody strife, but I confess it requires a good deal of charity to overlook the proposition that the same spirit which in 1861 animated the defenders of that Christian civilization and advancement, by means of which the United States have outstripped the world, shall now take a back seat or march to the rear, and leave the work of nearly a century of devoted hearts and willing hands in the enlightenment of this people and the improvement of this country to be destroyed by the ruthless hand of superstition and ignorance. [Cheers and applause.]

It is not my intention to measure swords with the honorable Secretary in the discussion of facts relating to the establishment of the present Government. That it was established and has since been maintained in the interests of the whole country and for the purpose of giving the whole people the benefit of an honest and able administration of its affairs is, in my opinion, beyond dispute. I publicly declare that the newspaper statement attributed to Claus Spreckels, to the effect that "under the management of the Revolutionary Government business on the islands has become depressed * * * and would have continued to diminish as long as the Government had existed," etc., is not borne out by the facts. [Applause.]

If Mr. Spreckels's plantations have not been more remunerative during the past year than for any year since the passage of the McKinley bill it has been on account of the dry weather, and not from any fault of the Provisional Government. [Laughter and applause.] Mr. Jaeger is credited with saying for publication, "the Provisional Government has little to commend it. It could not long endure if left to itself." Such statements would have little effect were the parties uttering them known to the people who read their utterances. [Laughter.] I have lived in this country quite as long as Mr. Jaeger, and I challenge any man to name a cabinet during the last twenty-five years the members of which were the superiors, if indeed the equals, of the men who now hold the various offices under the Provisional Government. [Cheers and applause.]

Now, why are we annexationists? I quite agree with my friend, Mr. Spreckels, that under the conditions he names and fears my business as a sugar-planter would not be benefited by having this country come under the laws and restrictions of the United States regarding Chinese and other labor. [Laughter.] If I owned the whole country, and belonged to the sugar trust, I think it very likely I would not want to be annexed. [Laughter.] But, here again, as I am only a unit, and as I believe the future welfare of the country would be better assured by annexation, I am willing to take my chances under the Stars and Stripes, especially as I believe such union would prove a benefit to the country from which we on these islands have drawn all our support. [Great applause.]

We are here this evening to consider the publication of the views of the Secretary

of State, at Washington, and perhaps decide the question as to whether or not we shall give up the idea of annexation. [Cries of "no, no, never."] If the opinion expressed by the honorable Secretary of State could be considered as the voice of the people of the United States, I should advise that we save our breath to cool our porridge. But from the somewhat forcible opposition expressed by the press and public, I am led to believe that the Secretary found the snow coming down the side of the mountain very rapidly after his letter was made public. [Laughter and applause.] Therefore, I am forced to give my opinion that it would be unwise and unadvisable to give up the fight before the back countries are heard from. [Here a voice in the crowd shouted: "Let us give up our guns hot, and cartridge belts empty." Cheers and applause.]

Here I must beg your indulgence for a personal explanation. Secretary Gresham says in his letter: "Mr. Blount states that while in Honolulu he did not meet a single annexationist who expressed his willingness to submit the question to a vote of the people; he did not talk with one on that subject who did not insist that if the islands were annexed suffrage should be so restricted as to give a complete control to the foreigners or whites, while representative annexationists have repeatedly made similar statements to the undersigned." I had the honor, while in Washington, of an interview with the honorable Secretary, and was asked by him to give my views upon the matter quoted. My reply was, that while I did not consider it proper to submit the terms of a treaty to the people before the treaty was made in Hawaii any more than in the United States, I was, and am perfectly willing to say that under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and especially under such restrictions as the representatives of the United States Government might themselves see fit to make, I would allow every native voter with the ordinary qualifications to vote at any and every election to be held. [Applause.]

I may not have been classed with the "representative annexationists" by the honorable Secretary, but as I had been called upon and had given him my opinion, I object to his wholesale denunciation of "annexationists" under the charge that they would rob the natives of any rights natural to them under the circumstances. [Cries of "Hear, hear!" and "Good boy!"] When the time comes for reestablishment of the right of suffrage in this country the native population may depend upon the annexationists to demand for them the privileges of republican citizenship as fully certainly as granted through the great political party to which the honorable Secretary belongs by the grand old State of Mississippi to its citizens. [Laughter and applause.]

I further object to the position taken by the honorable Secretary in the assumption of the right on the part of the President of the United States to arbitrate between the present Government of these islands and any party whomsoever without being specially invited to such arbitration by this Government. [Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!"] And I heartily concur with the resolution you have passed denouncing the assumption by the Secretary of State at Washington, if we are right in our interpretation of the language ascribed to him, that the Provisional Government of Hawaii, or its powers, terminated with his advice to the President—that the treaty of annexation be not returned to the Senate. [Applause.] The Provisional Government was created (to use the Secretary's own words) "To exist until the terms of the union with the United States have been negotiated and agreed upon." So far, the two Governments have fully "negotiated" the terms of union, but no official agreement has been reached. When either party gives notice to the other of failure to agree, it will be, I think, time enough for the Provisional Government to decide whether such failure is positive and complete, or only temporary, and to act as may seem best for the interests of the people it serves. [Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!" and applause.]

At present I can not accept the opinion expressed by the honorable Secretary of State as the decision or will of the people of that great Republic which for nearly a century has fostered the growth upon these islands of an American sentiment that to-day, in its devotion to the stars and stripes, may challenge the loyalty of even the honorable Secretary himself. [Cheers and applause.] Hawaii is the one spot in all the world outside the strict boundaries of the United States where "Americanism" has grown and flourished even under the blighting influences of an effete monarchy. [Great applause.]

Do you ask how this has been accomplished? I answer, through the kindly influences of that great Republic which has been to these islands a "creator bounteous and benign." By the example and precepts of her missionaries she has let in the light of Christianity where all was dark before. By the sunshine of her favors and the rainfall of her financial benefits to us she has enabled us to change the barren hillsides into productive fields and add largely to the food supply of her people. [Applause.] We, in return, have consumed many of her products, and there has arisen an exchange of commodities between the two countries of mutual benefit. That this would go on under a more perfect union I can not doubt; nor

can I doubt that the interchange would be more generally beneficial than under the monarchical form of government advocated by my friend and naturalized fellow-countryman, who has so strongly expressed himself against this Government.

That the good people of the United States will refuse the admission of Hawaii, under proper regulations, and thus add another star to the galaxy which leads the van in the advance of civilization throughout the world, I can not doubt. [Cheers.] But we must show our right to march in that front rank of civilization, and therefore it behoves us to guard well the structure that has been established, and not to allow its fair fame to be sullied by acts unworthy of the cause in which it was raised. [Cheers and applause.] We believe that the present Government represents the best elements of this country. Let us so show it to the world. [Great applause.]

Mr. HATCH. Gentlemen, I believe that no opportunity should be lost to reiterate the announcement that we have no quarrel with the Hawaiian people, our quarrel is with the Hawaiian monarchy. In this connection I will introduce Chief Justice Judd.

CHIEF-JUSTICE JUDD.

Chief-Justice A. F. Judd followed with the following:

FELLOW CITIZENS: I am glad to be with you this evening. [Cries of "Hear!" "Hear?"] During the last twenty years I have attended but one political meeting before this to-night, and that was in the old Bethel, in 1881. I took a back seat at that time when a few citizens assembled together there to protest against the appointment of Celso Caesar Moreno as minister of foreign affairs of this then kingdom. [Applause.] I come before you and wish to say something because I am a Hawaiian. My father came to this country in 1828. I was born here and received the larger part of my education here. I am a Hawaiian by birth, but an American in blood. [Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!" and applause.] My ancestors date back to 1634, when the first Judd came from England and settled in America. I am proud of that ancestry, and I am proud of the fact that I was born in this country. I love this country. It is my country, and it is the "garden of the gods." [Applause.]

My father devoted his life to this country and I have, thus far, conscientiously to the best interests of the Hawaiian people. [Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!"] And I challenge anyone to say that any act of mine has been knowingly done against the best interests of this country. [Applause.] And if the Queen, the classmate and friend of my early years, had listened to the advice of the justices of the supreme court she would not be where she is over there, but she would still be in the building over yonder. [The palace.] I was loyal to the monarchy and supported the autonomy of this country, and I believed, up to the 14th of January, that it was possible to maintain our independence as a Kingdom. But, gentlemen, I spent from 12 o'clock noon until 4 o'clock in the afternoon in that palace and the events which took place there converted me and made me feel that it was impossible that that state of things could continue any longer. [Applause.]

What was attempted on that day? Was it not to promulgate by force a constitution that would have destroyed the independence of the supreme court? What has been the bulwark of this country? I speak humbly; not for myself, but for my associates and predecessors. Has it not been a court that has sustained the law and the constitution and the rights of the people; an independent judiciary appointed for life, subject only to impeachment? And the constitution that was proposed on the 14th of January, was to make the term of office six years, and the salaries dependent upon such legislature as this last one. Could any white man take the commission under such conditions? Not if his name was Judd. [Applause.] This is not a political meeting. If it were a partisan, political meeting, I should have more respect for the office that I have held for nearly twenty years and stayed away. I was the last person that Col. Blount sought an interview with, and wish to say publicly that not one question did he address to me as to my views with regard to whether the revolution of January 17 was accomplished by the aid of Minister Stevens and the troops of the Boston. That subject he did not touch upon. [Cries of "He didn't want to touch upon it!"]

I believe, gentlemen, that it was that mass meeting held in the old armory that settled the question, was it not? [Applause.] And this mass meeting, gentlemen, settles the question that we shall be true and resolute and support the present Government, which is, as brother Hatch has called it, not only the Government *de facto*, but as it has lasted nearly a year, and received the recognition of all the great powers of the world, it is the Government *de jure*. I have sworn to support it, I intend to support it, and, gentlemen, I will only say one thing more, that we will all have to hang together or hang separately. [Laughter and applause.]

W. G. SMITH.

W. G. Smith, editor of the Star, spoke as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: If I have any apology to night for speaking in this distinguished presence, it is that I am a newcomer to these islands. But I think I may atone for that by standing elbow to elbow to you in any trouble that may come to us [cries of "Hear!" "Hear!" and applause], and in encouraging every man newly arrived on this soil to defend the institutions which you have founded, and help preserve the liberty which you have won. [Applause.] This meeting to-night, in a smaller way, must remind us of those meetings which stirred the blood of Boston and the heart of Philadelphia in the last quarter of the previous century. Then, as now, men were met together to band themselves against a despotism. [Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!" and applause.]

Then, as now, they were met to protest to the mother country that she should not betray and outrage her sons. [Applause.] Then, as now, they were met to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in the cause of liberty. [Applause.] It can not be, fellow-citizens, that any man inheriting a drop of that patriotic blood, with any strain of it in his veins, could want to-day to take the place of old King George and coerce the men of his own flesh, of his own flag, and of his own speech because they are Americans enough not to bow down before a throne. [Great applause and cheers.] I do not believe, fellow-citizens, that any man who has taken that position has a right to Revolutionary sires; but I thank God that there are Americans who have spoken since the infamies of Gresham who have patriot blood and ancestry; and I thank God again that if they get the opportunity to speak in the way they would they will be heard in the earthquake voice of majorities like those of Pennsylvania and New York. [Great applause.]

Fellow-citizens, we are few, but it was said of old that one with God is a majority; and surely that cause which has Christian civilization on its side, which stands for Christianity and morality as well as liberty, will have Almighty aid. [Applause.] I say, gentlemen, we are few. Some of us are Hawaiians of American descent; some of us are Americans by birth, inheritors of Lexington and Concord [cries of "Hear!" "Hear!"]; some of us are Germans, whose sturdy manliness was never known to compromise with an enemy in arms [applause]; some of us are British by birth and inherit, perhaps, the British love of constitutional liberty, not overawed by respect to thrones; some, again, are of Latin blood, and among them centuries of subject life has not quenched the spark of democratic aspiration [applause]; but though we are of many bloods, yet we are of one mind [great applause], and that one mind means loyalty to the Provisional Government no less in its hour of peril than in its hour of apparent triumph. [Great applause.]

If we are dispossessed, I take it that it must be by the armed forces of the United States, illegally and unconstitutionally ordered for a coercive purpose and triumphing over such legal as well as patriotic opposition as our policy may see fit to put in line. Let us have hope and faith that if this outrage comes to us the time will be when the United States, in truer, wiser, and more patriotic hands, will undo the wrong and repair the infamy. [Cries of "Hear, hear!" and applause.] I want to say in closing that it is our duty, forgetting all past dissensions and minor differences, to close in solid ranks about the Provisional Government. [Great applause.] We need to do this for two reasons: One, to suppress all domestic insurrection with a hand of iron, and the other, to compel Mr. Cleveland, if he intends to follow out the course so far outlined, to do it by a violation of the Constitution, which confers the act of war upon Congress alone, and thus expose himself to merited impeachment. [Great applause.]

We can not fire upon the American flag nor upon the men in blue, our brothers and our countrymen, but we can so resist the progress of the American troops as to make their capture of this Government by President Cleveland's orders an infraction of the Constitution. [Great applause.] And that, fellow citizens, I believe we have the power to do, and not only the power to do, but the willingness to do. [Great and continued applause.] Here some one in the crowd called for three cheers for Mr. Smith, which were given with a will.

P. C. JONES.

P. C. Jones was the last speaker. He said:

Grover Cleveland has been heard from. [Laughter.] The American people are being heard from. [Laughter.] The next Congress is yet to be heard from. [Laughter and applause.] I think that Grover Cleveland in completing his plan to restore the monarchy here should have done one more thing, and that is, he should have issued an order that all four of the original members of the executive council of the Provisional Government should be shot on the day of the restoration. (Laughter.)

That in itself would have rounded out the whole scheme and would have afforded a great deal of pleasure to some royalists. [Laughter.]

Our motto you know, is "Liberty or death" [great applause] with, as the fellow said, a very strong preference for the former, [Laughter.] In thinking over the question, fellow-citizens, there is one thing that comes to me very clearly, and that is, our duty at this time to the Provisional Government [cries of "Stick to it!"] is to stand by it and support the executive. They are the men who are bearing the brunt and the burden and the strain of the day. [Applause.] We must help them with our arms, with our hands, with our tongues, with our prayers, and with every instrument that we can serve them with. We should help them. [Cries of "We will."] They are good men and true. I think the time has been taken up with speeches and I must be very brief, fellow-citizens. In 1884 when Grover Cleveland was first chosen President of the United States it was said that he obtained his election by three R's, Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion. You all know the story, and it is unnecessary for me to tell it to you.

To-day, fellow-citizens, Grover Cleveland stands impeached before the American colony of Hawaii by three R's, and I hope that very soon the U. S. Congress will also impeach him unless he retracts. [Cheers and applause.] Now those three R's are the Restoration of a Rotten Royalty. [Laughter and applause.] But, fellow-citizens, we are not alone in condemning this; there are sixty million of our countrymen in our own country backing us up. [Cheers.] And I furthermore believe, fellow-citizens, that God Almighty is with us. [Cheers.] I believe that on the 17th of January He was with us, and I believe He has been with us ever since; and in His own time and in His own way He will let us out into a large place. And so I say let us thank God, and take courage. [Cheers and applause.]

This ended the speeches for the evening. Mr. Hatch again read the resolution, and asked all those in favor of it to signify it. A mighty "aye," that almost shook the building, went up. The contrary minded were then called for, and death-like stillness was the result.

Some one called for three cheers for the Provisional Government, and they were given with a will, and, with a last tiger. The meeting broke up, and one of the most enthusiastic, as well as one of the largest assemblages Honolulu has ever witnessed was over.

[Inclosure 2.]

CITIZENS' PROTEST.

Minister Willis addressed by the people.—He is reminded that interference by his Government will be an act of war.—Full text of the protest.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, December 1, 1893.

His Excellency ALBERT S. WILLIS,

*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the United States of America:*

SIR: The undersigned, American residents of Honolulu, in the Island of Oahu, one of the Hawaiian Islands, respectfully represent to your excellency that they are citizens of the United States of America and have done nothing whereby to forfeit or waive their full legal and constitutional rights as such citizens.

That the undersigned made their residences and homes and acquired and owned property in the Hawaiian Islands, relying on the rights secured and guaranteed by the Hawaiian constitutions of 1852 and of 1865, which rights were confirmed and enlarged by the constitution of 1887.

That on the 14th day of January last the undersigned learned that it was the determination of Liliuokalani, then Hawaiian sovereign, to disregard and annul the rights of life, liberty, and property guaranteed, secured, confirmed and enlarged by the said Hawaiian constitutions, and that she publicly proclaimed her determination to repudiate the obligations imposed upon her by virtue of her oath of office as such sovereign to support and maintain the Constitution of the Hawaiian Islands, and publicly announced her intention to govern this country pursuant to her arbitrary, despotic will, to be proclaimed by a public manifesto which she called a new constitution.

That a meeting of many citizens of Honolulu was held upon the afternoon of said day, which was attended by John F. Colburn, then minister of the interior, and Arthur P. Peterson, then attorney-general, by whom it was then publicly stated that such was the determination and intention of said Liliuokalani, and that, if assisted by the citizens, they would oppose the same.

That on said 14th day of January the then legally constituted authorities of the Hawaiian Islands were undoubtedly and avowedly incapable of controlling the elements of the anarchy which was proclaimed and intended by said Lihoukalani, or of preventing impending mob violence, or of keeping the public peace.

That in consequence and by reason of the premises a committee of public safety was chosen at said meeting and on the following Monday, at a mass meeting of the citizens of Honolulu, the said committee was authorized to take measures requisite for the public safety; that, in conformity therewith, on the 17th day of said January the present Government of the Hawaiian Islands was established and proclaimed, and has since governed and controlled the Hawaiian Islands, having been recognized by all foreign representatives in Honolulu, and having diplomatic and consular representatives abroad, especially in the United States of America, who have been and still are recognized and treated as the only accredited representatives of the said Government.

That a treaty of annexation was negotiated with said Government by and in behalf of the U. S. Government, and that no public notice has been given to the undersigned of any intention on the part of the U. S. Government to break off diplomatic relations with the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, or to do any acts of war or hostility to the said Government.

That no such acts of war or hostility can now be done without endangering the lives and property of the undersigned, and of their families, relatives, and friends in the Hawaiian Islands.

That owing to the insular situation of this country there would be no opportunity for the undersigned to take such steps and do such things as would secure the safety of the lives of themselves, their wives and children, and of their property in case of such acts of war or hostility.

And the undersigned hereby solemnly and respectfully protest to your excellency, and to Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, and to Walter Q. Gresham, Secretary of State, and to Hilary A. Herbert, Secretary of the Navy, and to Rear-Admiral John Irwin, commanding the United States naval forces now in the waters of the Hawaiian Islands, and to all others concerned, that any such acts of war or hostility if taken, attempted, or announced in the time of profound peace now existing between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, or without any full, formal, and timely announcement thereof, will and would cause all concerned in authorizing the same to be held responsible for all the consequences that may ensue therefrom, not only before Almighty God and in the forum of conscience, but by all sanctioned rules and observances of civilized nations in their dealing with each other, and will and would be in violation of the rights of the undersigned, secured and belonging to them as citizens of the United States of America.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants and fellow-citizens.

[Inclosure No. 3.]

Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, November 29, 1893.

SIR: On the 7th of August last permission was given by the Government, through the office of the American legation, to Rear Admiral J. S. Skerrett, commanding U. S. naval force, Pacific Station, at his request to land the crews of the ships under his command for battalion drill when desired.

The Government now wishes to rescind the said privilege in its indefinite character and to return to the former practice under which a request was made at each occasion when the privilege of landing men under arms was desired.

I have the honor to request that this modification of the present arrangement be transmitted through your office to Rear-Admiral Irwin, commanding U. S. naval force, Pacific Station.

With sentiments of the highest consideration and esteem.

I have, etc.,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure No. 4.]

*Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.*DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, November 29, 1893.

SIR: Having received from our minister at Washington, Hon. Lorin A. Thurston, accredited to the Government of the United States of America, information of an official letter from Secretary of State, Hon. Walter Q. Gresham, to President Cleveland, which is of an unfriendly nature toward this Government, recommending hostile action by the President towards us, alleged copies of which letter have been published in the American press, I desire to inquire of you whether the published reports of such letter of Secretary Gresham are substantially correct? If they are, I feel that it is due this Government that it should be informed of the intentions of your Government in relation to the suggestions contained in the said letter of Mr. Gresham.

Accept the assurance of the profound consideration and high esteem with which I have, etc.,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure 5.]

*Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, December 2, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 29th ultimo inquiring as to the authenticity of a letter of Hon. W. Q. Gresham, Secretary of State, upon the Hawaiian question, and stating that if the "published reports of such letter are substantially correct" you "feel that it is due this (your) Government that it should be informed of the intentions of your (my) Government in relation to the suggestions contained in the said letter of Mr. Gresham."

As to the letter of Mr. Gresham, I have the honor to call your attention to the fact, as shown by you, that it is a communication from a member of the Cabinet to the President of the United States, and, being a domestic transaction, is not the subject of diplomatic representation.

Answering your note further I must express my sincere regret that it is not in my power at present to inform you of the views or intentions of the United States. The President earnestly desires a speedy settlement of your troubles, and will, in my opinion, be ready to make known his purposes as soon as he is informed of certain matters recently submitted to him.

With high regard, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 9.]

DECEMBER 5, 1893.

In this dispatch Mr. Willis speaks solely of the difficulty experienced in translating the naval cipher which he is obliged to use and suggests that he be furnished with a simpler code.

[Confidential.]

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 10.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 9, 1893. (Received—.)

SIR: On the morning of December 5 C. B. Wilson, who was the marshal of the Queen at the time of her dethronement, called upon me.

I asked him what business he was now in. He said he was doing nothing; he was "awaiting results." I asked: "What results?" He said: "The restoration of the Queen." I asked him where he got any such information. He said: "Nowhere," but he hoped for it. I then turned the conversation to other subjects.

As he was leaving he drew from his pocket a document and gave it to me, saying that he did not know whether it was proper or not and left.

Upon examining the paper I found that it was a detailed "method of procedure" upon the restoration of the Queen, a copy of which I inclose.

I endeavored to have him call on the same afternoon, but he could not be found. On the following morning Mr. Mills, whom I asked to find him, saw him at about 10 o'clock, and he said he would come immediately to see me and started toward the legation. He did not reach here for half an hour. My opinion is that he consulted several parties before coming here.

Upon reaching the legation an interview followed, a copy of which I inclose.

It will be seen that although claiming to be the author of the document, a claim which is doubtful, he finally admitted that it had been submitted to and approved by the Queen, by her attorney, and by all the members of her former ministry, all of whom had received copies.

An analysis of the list of special advisers, whether native or foreign, is not encouraging to the friends of good government or of American interests. The Americans who for over half a century held a commanding place in the councils of state, are ignored, and other nationalities, English especially, are placed in charge. This is true both of the special list of advisers and of the supplementary list. If these lists had been selected by Wilson himself, no special importance would attach to them, but it would seem from the facts that it is a list which has been approved after consultation with leading royalists and most probably with the approval of the Queen.

With high regard I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 10.]

PROPOSED COURSE OF PROCEDURE.

Immediately on receiving information officially or otherwise that Her Majesty the Queen, with Her Government as of the 17th day of January, 1893, is to be restored to its former prestige as the permanent Government of the Hawaiian Islands, Her Majesty's Cabinet as of said date will at once call a cabinet meeting for the purpose of considering on and preparing a course of action to be pursued under the circumstances, and adopting such course as will be the best means of securing protection to Her Majesty and Her Government, and the security of life and property generally to the residents of the Kingdom, and the perfect maintenance of law and order throughout the Islands, together with such other matters incident to the restoration as Her Majesty's Cabinet may deem necessary and advisable, so that the laws of the Kingdom may and can be constitutionally enforced, and all unnecessary bloodshed and loss of life through possible fanatical opposition be avoided.

Those possible events should be provided for by the discussion of matters of such a complicated nature and of such far-reaching consequences, in a calm and sober way, prior to the event. None but the best results may be looked for, and if carefully and calmly reasoned on the highest success should be the result; while if left to the last moment for discussion and action, hasty conclusions may bring disappointment, failure, and possibly even serious disaster.

After Her Majesty's cabinet have decided upon a plan and course of procedure they shall invite to their counsels, in a body, the following list of tried and trusty

friends of the monarchy and nation, to act with as advisers and assistants on all matters taking place during the restoration of Her Majesty and her Government to the standing from which they were so unjustly forced until the natural order and tranquillity of former times shall be once more established, and Her Majesty's Government be once more recognized as the lawful and regular Government of the Hawaiian people.

These persons named as advisers and assistants will meet with the cabinet for the purpose of considering, suggesting, and amending, if necessary, and finally approving and adopting the plans laid before them by the cabinet for the attainment of the previously-mentioned objects. After final action by the united meeting the cabinet will at once proceed to lay the result before Her Majesty for her approval, the advisers and assistants meanwhile remaining assembled, to await the return of Her Majesty's cabinet after their meeting with Her Majesty. On their return they shall report the result of their conference with Her Majesty to the meeting, and the joint meeting will then consider and approve it. Upon which, having by vote placed the execution of the approved plans in the hands of the executive, the meeting will adjourn subject to call by the cabinet, they in the meantime to place themselves individually in its hands for orders or for counsel as the executive may require or direct.

The preceding propositions are made in the event of the United States Government, through its officials, causing and compelling the Provisional Government to surrender unconditionally and proceeding to the restoration of Her Majesty's Government as it was on the 17th day of January, 1893, possibly coupled with a request or a recommendation to mercy and leniency on behalf of those who took part as principals in the overthrow of the Queen's Government on that date.

In the event of such restoration taking place in order that the details may be properly attended to, and that an assurance may be given that law and order will be maintained, and that the Constitutional Government of Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani be once more established on an assured basis, the following important details must be carried out while at the same time having due regard to all recommendations of leniency made by the United States Government.

(If it does not conflict with their instructions from their home Government, the U. S. commander in chief should be requested by Her Majesty's Government to bring and keep his forces on shore, in quarters to be provided for them, till Her Majesty's Government has been fully reorganized and feels itself in a proper condition to maintain law and order; and also, if not in conflict with his instructions from home, that he be asked by Her Majesty's Government to direct that the place and hour of surrender by the Provisional Government and its forces to him and his forces be at 10 o'clock a. m. on _____, the _____ day of _____, 1893, at Palace Square, where they will deliver up to him the possession of the Government and its buildings and archives, and hand over to him all the arms and munitions of war delivered up to them on the 17th day of January, 1893, by Her Majesty's Government, and all other since obtained by them or which have been in their possession since, and surrender all their officers and men to him as prisoners to be subsequently turned over to Her Majesty's Government, to be dealt with by a court specially appointed for that purpose; also the turning over of Government arms and munitions of war, prisoners, etc., by the United States Government to Her Majesty's Government.)

Detail for Consideration and Adoption.

I. Proclamation by the Queen's Government of their reassumption of the control of the Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

II. Appointment of Commander-in-Chief and staff.

III. Proclamation of Martial Law and the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus.

IV. Calling on all loyal citizens and well-wishers of the Government to register their names for service at _____ office; Enrollment of Volunteers.

V. Surrender of all arms and ammunition in private hands, and the prohibition of all sale and transfer of arms and ammunition other than by direction of the Commander-in-Chief.

VI. Taking possession of all Government Buildings and other places necessary by the Queen's forces and placing guards therein.

VII. Proclamation prohibiting the departure of coasting vessels or other vessels to the other Islands.

VIII. Reappointment of all officials and the filling of vacancies.

IX. Arrest of all persons implicated or concerned in the late overthrow.

X. Custody and care of all prisoners made under authority of the above paragraph and those handed over by the U. S. forces.

XI. Receiving of all arms and munitions of war and other Government property surrendered to U. S. forces by the P. G. forces.

XII. Despatch vessels to the other Islands to proclaim the Queen's Government and make all necessary changes and arrests.

We hereby certify that the above thirteen (13) pages have this day been compared with the original type-written four (4) pages and are an exact copy both in words and punctuation.

Witness our hands this 5 Dec., 1893 at 2.30 p. m.

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
E. E. & M. P., U. S. A.
ELLIS MILLS,
Consul General of the U. S.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 10.]

Q. In the paper you left with me yesterday mention is made of certain parties to be invited to your council. You did not give any list.—A. I have the list in my pocket.

Q. Did you intend to leave it with me the other day?—A. No.

Q. Have you any objection to my reading it?—A. No.

(Reading:) Prince David, Prince Cupid, S. Parker, C. P. Jankia, J. H. Boyd.

Q. Who is J. H. Boyd?—A. Clerk in the Interior Department.

(Reading:) J. Richardson, A. Fernandez—that is Mr. Richardson, of Mani?

A. Yes; Richardson and Fernandez are selected. They would be called upon to be present [having a check \checkmark mark].

Q. Then among those that would be called upon to be present at any meeting would be Richardson and Fernandez?—A. Yes. (Reading:) J. F. Colburn, C. White, Hon. Alex. Robertson.

Q. What does the round mark \oplus mean near the name?—A. That they have been Government officers.

(Reading:) W. R. Holt, P. D. Kellett—he has a round mark.

A. He is a clerk.

(Reading:) W. Aylett, Kaunamo, Kanuokano, C. Maile.

A. He is not an officer—the mark ought to be rubbed out.

(Reading:) P. Woods.

A. He is a Government officer.

(Reading:) C. Nolein (no mark), J. Cummins, J. E. Bush (mark \checkmark), W. R. Wilcox, Joseph Nawahi, C. L. Hopkins (he is marked \checkmark), Bergemann, G. E. Boardman.

A. He was deputy collector of customs.

(Reading:) J. Testa, H. B. Defrees, S. Dwight, J. D. Holt—he has a round mark.

A. He is a Government officer.

(Reading:) H. Poor, J. L. Kaulakou—he has a round mark—Kahaomi, there is no mark, Alapi, H. Smith, Carl Widdeman. The only names that have check (\checkmark) marks opposite them are John Richardson, A. Fernandez, Kellet, Sam'l K. Pira, Kaluomano, C. L. Hopkins, J. E. Bush, J. L. Kaulokou.

A. Those are all I have selected.

Q. I see you have a second list.—A. Yes; that is the foreign list.

(Reading:) J. O. Carter (check), F. A. Schaefer (check), John H. Phillips (check), J. E. Quinn (check), Dr. Geo. Trousseau (check), J. Campbell (check), C. J. McCarty (check), T. R. Lucas (check), R. More (check).

A. Those with checks are my selection.

(Reading:) P. Neumann, McIntyre, W. H. Rommell, C. W. Ashford, R. F. Bickerton. Is that the judge?

A. Yes.

(Reading:) J. W. Robertson, Daniel Logan, Lloyd A. P. Peterson, E. Narvie, Rickard, Fred. Harrison, W. F. Love, Maj. Seward, W. Cunningham, E. S. Cunha, H. A. Widemann, A. P. Cleghorn, W. G. Irwin, J. B. Peterson, T. R. Walker (British vice consul), Marquise, W. A. Whiting, Crowley, L. G. Levey, C. O. Berger, J. Kenyon, Capt. Jno. Ross, Geo. F. Ross, sr., E. B. Thomas, T. B. Walker, J. F. Bowler, F. Wundenburg. These are foreign names that you had picked?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you pick them yourself?—A. I picked them out to propose to the cabinet.

Q. Who prepared this paper?—A. Kenyon, who was my former secretary and clerk, did the typewriting from the copy I furnished him.

Q. Do I understand that you drew up this without consultation with any other person?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any intimation from any person in the world that the Queen would be restored?—A. I had not.

Q. This is your own work entirely?—A. It is.

Q. You are a pretty good lawyer if you drew this up. This is your verbiage?—A. Yes, sir.

- Q. Have you ever studied law?—A. No.
 Q. Did anybody see this?—A. Mr. Peterson.
 Q. Did he aid you?—A. No.
 Q. Who else saw it?—A. Peterson, Paul Neumann, and the Queen saw it.
 Q. When did the Queen see this?—A. The day before your arrival. She saw the original four months ago.
 Q. This has been a long-pending matter, then?—A. Yes.
 Q. Did you have any authority from the Queen to do it?—A. No.
 Q. Did she approve of all this?—A. Yes.
 Q. Who was present?—A. My wife.
 Q. Yourself and your wife were present when you submitted this to the Queen—the original paper, of which this is a copy—and she approved it?—A. Yes.
 Q. What do you mean by saying “to be dealt with by a court especially appointed for that purpose?” Was it a court within or without the law?—A. A court under martial law.
 Q. I see one of your details calls for the “suspension of habeas corpus and trial by martial law?”—A. Yes.
 Q. What is meant in clause 7 by “prohibiting the departure of sailing vessels?”—A. To prevent carrying news to excite the people on the other islands.
 Q. Did you discuss with the Queen as to the time—how long—martial law ought to last?—A. No.
 Q. What do you mean by the “reappointment of officials and filling of vacancies,” in clause 8?—A. The reappointment of those who had been dismissed by the Provisional Government.
 Q. What do you mean by “filling the vacancies?” Take the case of Mr. Dole, would you consider all those offices vacated?—A. Yes.
 Q. Section 9. How about the arrest of “all persons concerned in the late movement”?—A. We propose to arrest all leaders in the revolution.
 Mr. WILLIS. I took this paper. I do not intend that you should draw any inference whatever from that. I am surprised to hear you say you are the sole author of this paper. My idea was that you had been in consultation with others. It seems strange that you should have written this without any knowledge of what the United States meant to do. That you may not misunderstand me I now return the paper. I did not know at the time what its contents were. I wished to inquire from you in regard to the authorship, etc. I would not have taken it had I known its contents.
 Q. You say you gave a copy to Mr. Paul Neumann. Is he now the Queen’s attorney?—A. He is now and always has been. I gave, also, a copy to Mr. Peterson and other members of the cabinet.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 11.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 14, 1893.

SIR: The day set apart by the President’s proclamation as a day of thanksgiving was appropriately observed by the American citizens residing in Honolulu. The customary newspaper notices from the U. S. legation were inserted and services were held in the Central Union and St. Andrew’s churches.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 12.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 14, 1893.

SIR: Your cipher telegram of the 2d instant was delivered to me by Capt. Munger of the revenue cutter *Corwin* this Thursday morning, December 14, at about 6:30 o’clock. I gave it to Admiral Irwin within a half-hour. He and his secretary have been engaged in deciphering

it up to this time, 3 p. m. The steamship *Mariposa* was to leave at 12 m., but the agents voluntarily offered to detain her until 5 p. m., which offer I accepted in the hope that after reading your telegram I might answer it.

In view of the length of time required to translate the naval cipher, I desire to most respectfully renew the suggestion made in my dispatch, No. 9, of December 5, that the State Department cipher or the one which I heretofore inclosed to you be hereafter used.

The excitement consequent upon the unexpected arrival of the *Corwin* is intense throughout the city. The President's message, which was published this morning, has increased the excitement, but I hope no immediate outbreak will occur.

With high regard, very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 13.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 14, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Department dispatch, No. 5, inclosing two copies of the report of the electrical congress held in Chicago August 19, 1893, in the matter of units of electrical measure.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Confidential.]

No. 14.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 18, 1893.

SIR: Your cipher instructions of December 2 were received as translated at 3 p. m. Thursday, the 14th instant. An arrangement was immediately made for an interview with the Queen for Saturday, December 16 at 9 a. m.

Mr. J. O. Carter was invited to be present. Mr. Carter, as stated in my dispatch No. 3, of November 14, is a brother of the late Mr. H. A. P. Carter, who was the Hawaiian minister to the United States. He is the president and manager of the incorporated company of "C. Brewer & Co.," which does a large general mercantile and commission business, and is agent for a number of large sugar plantations. He is conceded by all factions to be a man of great intelligence and strict integrity. He is a native Hawaiian, but of American parentage.

At the appointed hour the Queen and Mr. Carter came, and the interview was, with their consent, reported stenographically by Mr. Mills, our consul-general.

I inclose the report, verified by the Queen and Mr. Carter. I also send a copy of a part of the interview with the Queen, reported in my dispatch No. 3, of November 14, which is also verified by the Queen, marked A.

Mr. Mills' report includes all that was said. It will be observed that no restrictions were placed upon the Queen or upon Mr. Carter, the object being to secure a full and unreserved expression of views. This interview was held at the legation.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

The Queen was informed that the President of the United States had important communications to make to her and she was asked whether she was willing to receive them alone and in confidence, she being assured that this was for her own interest and safety. She answered in the affirmative.

I then made known to her the President's sincere regret that, through the unauthorized intervention of the United States, she had been obliged to surrender her sovereignty, and his hope that, with her consent and cooperation, the wrong done to her and to her people might be redressed. To this she bowed her acknowledgments.

I then said to her: "The President expects and believes that when reinstated you will show forgiveness and magnanimity, that you will wish to be Queen of all the people, both native and foreign born, that you will make haste to secure their love and loyalty, and to establish peace, friendship, and good government." To this she made no reply. After waiting a moment I continued:

DECEMBER 16, 1893.

Mr. WILLIS (addressing the Queen). I sent word yesterday asking you to come this morning and to bring Mr. Carter, whom you had mentioned in a previous interview as one of your friends. His was the first name given to me in the only interview we have had. My idea was to have some one present as your friend, who could hear what I wish to say to day.

(Addressing Mr. Carter, Mr. Willis said:)

Mr. Carter, before having any further conversation it is proper I should make known to you what occurred at the previous interview. On the 13th of November I sent word to the Queen asking if she would come here, as there would be less publicity than if I went to her house. She complied, came here with Mr. Robertson, and a conversation ensued the substance of which I have made known to the President. I will read what I have written as an official report to the President, as leading up to the present interview, and as I read [speaking to the Queen] if there is any portion of the interview as given that you think is incorrect do not hesitate to stop me and make such changes as you desire, although it has been already submitted.

[The report in question was at this point read to the Queen by Mr. Willis. It is appended hereto, marked A.]

Mr. WILLIS. I wish to ask you now, and I ask you to deliberate well before answering, whether the views expressed at that time, as read to you now, have been in any respect modified since that conversation?

The QUEEN. They have not.

Mr. WILLIS. You still adhere to your judgment, as then expressed, that all of those persons should be punished according to the law under the constitution of 1887, which is that they should be punished with capital punishment and their property confiscated?

The QUEEN. I feel that if any change should be made that they must not be permitted to remain in the country, and that their property should be confiscated. That is my view.

Mr. CARTER. You do rescind so much of that interview as pronounced upon them the death penalty?

The QUEEN. I do in that respect.

Mr. CARTER. You feel that their remaining in the country would be a constant source of trouble to you and your people?

The QUEEN. I do. I think I mentioned at the time that should they be permitted to remain, that as they have once committed treason and this being the second offense, that the next time would be dangerous for the community and the people. I think I said that in the other conversation.

Mr. CARTER. In general terms, then, you feel that the continued living in this community of these persons who were guilty of the act of 1887, and the act of the 17th of January, would be dangerous and a constant menace to your people?

The QUEEN. I do. I feel also that if they were sent away they should never be permitted to return—they or their children.

Mr. CARTER. Unless you exercised clemency; or would you pronounce against them definitely now?

The QUEEN. I feel so; that they should be permanently banished, and their children.

Mr. WILLIS. The present Provisional Government while in existence has created certain obligations. Would you consent that all such obligations assumed in the proper course of administration should be assumed and paid by you?

Mr. CARTER. May I make it clearer? The minister wishes to know if the obligations the Provisional Government has entered into under the law, you would be willing that your Government should assume and be responsible for those obligations.

The QUEEN. Yes.

Mr. CARTER. I want to make matters clear. I think they have been careful as a rule to observe statutory provisions, but there have been exigencies that demanded actions that are entirely outside statutory provisions—appropriations made, moneys expended. The question is, how far the new Government should be responsible for such acts.

Mr. WILLIS. That is the question to which I desire an answer. Whether, in the exercise of their discretion, they have even adopted measures that may not be strictly conformable to the statutory law of the land, but if the money has been expended for the benefit of the people in the matter of roads or in any other way, and not put into their private pockets. If these expenditures have been of a public character, and there is no charge of corruption, would they be recognized, whether strictly in conformity with the statutory law or not?

The QUEEN. I think such expenditures are legal. I would recognize them.

Mr. CARTER. There has been a very heavy expenditure for military.

Mr. WILLIS. That is a question I wish explicitly answered. Grant that there has been; would you or would you not consider that an expenditure in the proper course of administration?

The QUEEN. I have thought the matter over; but I felt that the confiscation of the properties belonging to these parties would cover.

Mr. CARTER. You believe that persons should be held in their estates liable for such matters—military, police, and other expenditures of like nature?

The QUEEN. I do.

Mr. CARTER. I want to say a word. I have never said one word to Her Majesty on the subject. These questions are entirely new to me.

Mr. WILLIS. It is entirely proper for you to ask such questions as you have. Any question that brings out the exact views of Her Majesty is entirely proper. I understand [speaking to the Queen] then, in answer to the last question, that you would be willing to give an unqualified agreement that all obligations created by the Provisional Government in the ordinary course of administration should be assumed, but that as to the expenditure for police and military defense you would leave the cost of that to be met out of property confiscated from those who were engaged in the revolution? Is that right?

The QUEEN. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand from you that you would be unwilling to give a pledge that would absolutely prevent the adoption of any measure of proscription or punishment for what has been done in the past, as to those setting up and supporting the Provisional Government. I understand you to be unwilling to give such a pledge?

The QUEEN. I do not understand.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand from the fact that you have affirmed our previous conversation, and from your conversation to-day, that you would not be willing to grant absolute amnesty both as to persons and property to those who have either supported or who have aided in setting up the Provisional Government. That you feel you could not do it?

The QUEEN. I feel I could not do it for the safety of our subjects.

Mr. CARTER. That is, that the continued presence of these people is a continued menace?

Mr. WILLIS. Do you adopt Mr. Carter's words?

The QUEEN. I do.

Mr. CARTER. I would like to make one remark here. Do I understand your Majesty that this matter is one that you may personally decide—that it is not one that you can commit to the ministers that you may appoint?

Mr. WILLIS. I am not instructed to ask such views. It is the views of the Queen herself I wish to ascertain. I have asked you to come here so that there can be no mistake in the matter. I am authorized, directly instructed, and absolutely required to know three things—two of which I have asked, and I am now about to ask the third. It is this: Whether in the event of a restoration it would be a restoration under the existing constitution of the country or under a different constitution?

The QUEEN. I believe it would be better to have a government under a new constitution that would be more suited to the present times and to the future. May I add—

Mr. WILLIS. Anything at all. There is no restriction upon what you may say.

The QUEEN. That it would be one that would give the same privileges to my subjects as to the foreign subjects in my country. That they should receive the same advantages as the foreigners of which they have been deprived since 1887.

Mr. WILLIS. If I understand you the objection you have to the constitution of 1887 is the property qualification in voting for nobles, by which the native population is largely excluded from suffrage.

The QUEEN. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. Is there any other objection to that constitution?

The QUEEN. That is the principal objection. In the constitution I intended to promulgate, I changed the time of the term of the chief justice to six years, because I felt that if it were a life appointment that there are no bounds by which whoever holds the office—there would be no bounds by which he would carry on. There would be no limit to his actions.

Mr. WILLIS. In your remark as to the supreme court, do you limit it to the chief justice or does it include all the supreme court?

The QUEEN. All of them.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean not only the chief justice, but your judgment is that all of the supreme court should be appointed for six years?

The QUEEN. Yes; but if they proved themselves correct in their department they may be appointed over again for another six years.

Mr. WILLIS. How are their salaries to be determined?

The QUEEN. It would not affect the salary.

Mr. WILLIS. The salary would remain as at present?

The QUEEN. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. The reason I ask you was that there has been some rumor that the question of salary was to be left to the legislature.

The QUEEN. I think the legislature would appropriate the sum.

Mr. CARTER. The minister wishes to know whether the salary they entered the office with would be the salary they would continue to receive?

The QUEEN. Yes.

Mr. CARTER. The idea is that they are not to be reduced to submit to the will of the legislature.

Mr. WILLIS. Is it your idea that the salaries they receive at the time of their appointment shall not be subject to change by the legislature or other action during the term of six years?

The QUEEN. Yes. These questions may be submitted to the cabinet.

Mr. CARTER. That is another question. The minister wishes to get at your thought.

Mr. WILLIS. You are the only one now authorized to speak for your Government. In the conversation you have had to-day in the presence of Mr. Carter, you fully comprehend the meaning of all that has been said, and all that you have said, and you adhere to it?

The QUEEN. I do.

Mr. WILLIS. You adhere to it?

The QUEEN. I do.

Mr. WILLIS. When this is written out and you have made such changes as you deem proper, I will ask you to sign it. When signed, it will be submitted to the President. Is there anything further you desire to say at the present time?

The QUEEN. I wish to mention, speaking of the new constitution, that it would require some changes. The new constitution I wish to make up would require more members.

Mr. WILLIS. Of the legislature?

The QUEEN. No; in the cabinet.

Mr. WILLIS. Had you determined in your mind how many should be in the cabinet?

The QUEEN. Six instead of four.

Mr. WILLIS. Have you anything more you wish to say?

The QUEEN. Nothing more.

The within report of an interview held between the Queen and Mr. Willis, the United States minister, on the 16th instant (Mr. J. O. Carter being present at the said interview), has been read in our presence by Consul-General Mills, and agreed to by both of us as being full and correct in every particular.

LILIUOKALANI.
J. O. CARTER.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,
December 18, 1893.

Witness:

ELLIS MILLS.

(Indorsement:) Interview with ex-Queen, Saturday, December 16, 1893. This interview took place at the legation.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Confidential.]

No. 15.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 19, 1893.

SIR: In the forenoon of yesterday (Monday, December 18) Mr. Mills met the Queen and Mr. Carter at the Queen's private residence, "Washington Place," when the report of the interview held at the legation on the preceding Saturday was read over and verified..

After the close of Saturday's interview and the withdrawal of the parties, Mr. Carter returned to inquire whether a supplementary statement by the Queen would be received. He informed me that he had held a conversation with her a few minutes after she left the legation, and he believed that on next Monday (this being Saturday) she would desire another interview. I told him that the object of the President was to ascertain her course of action in the event of restoration; that the United States could not dictate the policy of the Queen, if restored, nor interfere in any way with the domestic affairs of her Kingdom. A certain status or condition of affairs existed on the 17th of January, 1893, which was overthrown by our unlawful intervention. If the President, within constitutional limitations, could remedy this wrong, he was willing to do so, and to this extent only and under these circumstances only he inquired as to the future policy of the Queen. Whatever she determined upon, however, must be her voluntary act.

With this explanation I consented to receive further communications from the Queen.

Accordingly, upon learning that the Saturday interview had been verified, I went to Washington Place, where the interview occurred, a report of which I inclose.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure with No. 15.]

DECEMBER 18, 1893.

MR. CARTER. I am permitted by Her Majesty to say that I have had a conversation with her this morning concerning the first interview you had with her; that I have said to her that I was surprised and pained at the substance of it; that I have felt that the remarks you have made as coming from the President of the United States are entitled to Her Majesty's consideration, and that they are to carry weight as being the expressions of the President, particularly in reference to this first statement, where the President expresses his sincere regret that through "the unauthorized intervention of the United States she had been obliged to surrender her sovereignty, and his hope that, with her consent and coöperation, the wrong done to her and her people might be redressed."

I have explained as clearly as possible the meaning of the words "consent and coöperation;" that he recognizes he alone can not do all that has to be done.

I then referred to this expression as given by you, that the President believes "that when reinstated you will show forgiveness and magnanimity, that you will wish to be Queen of all the people, both native and foreign born, that you will make haste to secure their love and loyalty and to establish peace, friendship and good government."

I have said to her that I have been deeply impressed with that language and I think that perhaps Her Majesty is now more impressed with this language than she was at first, and I say to her that it seems to me good government is impossible without Her Majesty shows a spirit of forgiveness and magnanimity; that this movement against her and her people embraced a large and respectable portion of the foreign element of this community—an element we can not ignore.

I next came to this expression: "Should you be restored to the throne, would you grant full amnesty as to life and property to all those persons who have been or are now in the Provisional Government, or who have been instrumental in the overthrow of your Government?"

I have said to Her Majesty that it seems to me that the position of Mr. Cleveland is full of difficulties and embarrassments; that as President of the United States he is a ruler among the nations of the earth as Her Majesty was and, I hope, is to be, and that she should make the way as clear to him to carry out his wishes to repair the wrong done as she possibly can, not giving way to any personal feelings in the matter; that she must leave out of consideration in the question any idea of revenge. I told her that I took it as the wish of the President that she should grant amnesty as to life and property.

Then I went on to the remark that she makes that she feels unsettled and unsafe with these people in the country. I am bound to repeat what Her Majesty said to me, although it may not be in accord with my own views, that she feels that these people should leave the country, or peace and good government can not prevail. She thinks any third attempt at revolution on the part of these people would be very destructive to life and property; that her people have stood about all they can stand of this interference with what they consider their rights.

I have gone into the matter of the constitution with her, because I know our views are not as fully in accord as I wish they were. I have said to Her Majesty that I think she can safely put her cause into the hands of the President of the United States, and say to him unreservedly, "You dictate my policy and I will follow it."

Is Your Majesty satisfied with the statement I have made? Is it correct?

The QUEEN. Yes.

Mr. CARTER. Is it your wish?

The QUEEN. I must think a moment.

Mr. CARTER. But you said you are not seeking the lives of these people.

The QUEEN. Not their lives. I am willing their lives should be spared.

Mr. CARTER. And their property?

The QUEEN. Their property should be confiscated to the Government, and they should not be permitted to remain in the Kingdom.

Mr. CARTER. Is Your Majesty willing that this should be taken by the minister as your wish to-day, that this matter should be put unreservedly in the hands of President Cleveland with this statement. This is said by me as a friend, and I think you have always found me such. In the conversation had with you this morning I asked you as a friend to you and your people that you give it prayerful consideration. You need not sign it if you do not wish. It is your privilege to do as you please. I wish you would read it over, consider it, and give it to Mr. Willis at as early a moment as possible.

The QUEEN. I should like to talk with some of my friends.

Mr. CARTER (to Mr. Willis). Can she see some one in the matter?

Mr. WILLIS. I do not think it would be safe. I take it for granted that in matters of such great importance she has ascertained the wishes of her native people and the leaders, and that she has been in consultation with them upon these general propositions. Is not that true, Your Majesty? I mean as to the general policy to be pursued?

The QUEEN. I have. I must mention here (speaking to Mr. Carter) that I have never consulted you in this matter before. But I have talked the situation over with some of my subjects, and I consider their judgment is wise and in accordance with law, and have come to the conclusion that the statement I gave in my first interview was what the people wished. I had hoped some day I might have a chance to confer with you, Mr. Carter, in these matters.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand, then, that you said that the first interview I had with you embodies the views of the leaders of your people with whom you have been in consultation in the present crisis?

The QUEEN. They do.

Mr. WILLIS. And you have no withdrawal to that to make this morning?

The QUEEN. Although I have never stated to them what I had decided personally, still I feel that there may be some clemency, and that clemency should be that they should not remain in the country.

Mr. WILLIS. That is the extent of the clemency—that they should be removed from the country instead of being punished, according to the laws of the country, with death.

The QUEEN. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand that there is no withdrawal of your conversation of Saturday with reference to military expenses and police expenses that have been incurred by the Provisional Government. You still insist that those expenses should be met out of property confiscated?

The QUEEN. I feel so.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand that you would not be willing that the constitution as it existed on the 17th of January, 1893, should be established permanently in the Islands, believing, as you stated on Saturday, that it discriminated against your native subjects.

The QUEEN. The constitution I wished to promulgate was an improvement on the constitution of 1887, but since then I have considered further, and think that we ought to have a constitution that would be more suited to the future. I would not like to have the government continue under that constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. In the limitation which you now make as to your clemency, do you include their children or just the parents? Last Saturday you said: "They and their children." Do you still adhere to that judgment?

The QUEEN. I do.

Mr. WILLIS. Both parents and children should be permanently removed from the country and their property confiscated?

The QUEEN. I do, and their property confiscated.

Mr. WILLIS. I desire now to read to you in the express terms the judgment of the President. After citing the fact that Mr. Blount had been sent here to ascertain the facts in connection with this revolution, and after expressing a conclusion based upon Mr. Blount's report, that this revolution resulted largely if not entirely from the improper intervention of our then minister, and of the American troops, and expressing his desire within certain limitations to correct the wrong done, he states as follows:

"On your arrival at Honolulu you will take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the Queen of this determination. * * * You will, however, at the same time inform the Queen that when reinstated the President expects that she will pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, including persons who are or have been officially or otherwise connected with the Provisional Government, depriving them of no right or privilege which they enjoyed before the so called revolution.

"All obligations created by the Provisional Government, in due course of administration, should be assumed."

I read now from a cipher dispatch which has been sent since my communication of the 14th of November, in which it is stated:

"Should the Queen refuse assent to the written conditions, you will inform her at once [which I now do] that the President will cease interference in her behalf, and 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 depend upon the Queen's unqualified agreement that all obligations created by the Provisional Government in the proper course of administration shall be assumed, and upon such pledge by her as shall prevent 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 we by our original interference have incurred responsibilities to the whole Hawaiian community, and it would not be just to put one party at the mercy of the other."

The QUEEN. I want to say in regard to the request of Mr. Cleveland asking for complete amnesty—how shall I know that in future our country will not be troubled again, as it has been in the past?

Mr. WILLIS. That is a question of domestic policy of the country which you have to decide largely for yourself. Do you intend to inquire as to whether the United States would support you if restored?

The QUEEN. I do not expect that. The decision I have given is not from any feeling of disrespect to the President nor from a feeling of animosity toward anyone here, but I feel it is a duty I should assume for the benefit of my people.

Mr. WILLIS. I so understand it—that you are of the opinion that under the state of things which existed at the time of this revolution, and also in 1887, that there could not be permanent peace in the islands. That is a matter that the United States has no right to look into or express an opinion upon.

The foregoing has been read to us by Consul-General Mills, and we pronounce it a full and correct report.

Honolulu, H. I., December 18, 1893.

LILIUOKALANI.
J. O. CARTER.

Witness:
ELLIS MILLS.

(On back:) Interview with ex-Queen in presence of Mr. J. O. Carter. Monday, December 18, 1893. This interview occurred at Washington Place, the ex-Queen's private residence.

After this paper was signed, as above, Mr. Mills said to the Queen, in behalf of Mr. Willis, that the reports of the two interviews of Saturday, December 16, and of to-day (Monday, December 18), as attested by her, would be immediately forwarded to the President, and his answer, when received, should be promptly made known to her.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Confidential.]

No. 16.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 20, 1893.

SIR: On Monday afternoon at 6 p. m., before the report of the Washington Place interview, referred to in my dispatch, No. 15, of December 19, had been written from the stenographic notes, Mr. Carter called at the legation and read to me a note to him, just received from the Queen, in which she unreservedly consented, when restored as the constitutional sovereign, to grant amnesty and assume all obligations of the Provisional Government.

On yesterday (Tuesday) morning at 9 o'clock Mr. Carter brought a letter from the Queen, a copy of which I inclose, and an agreement signed by her, binding herself, if restored, to grant full amnesty, a copy of which I inclose.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure 1 with No 16.]

WASHINGTON PLACE,
Honolulu, December 18, 1893

His Excellency ALBERT WILLIS,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, U. S. A. :

SIR: Since I had the interview with you this morning I have given the most careful and conscientious thought as to my duty, and I now of my own free will give my conclusions.

I must not feel vengeful to any of my people. If I am restored by the United States I must forget myself and remember only my dear people and my country. I must forgive and forget the past, permitting no proscription or punishment of any one, but trusting that all will hereafter work together in peace and friendship for the good and for the glory of our beautiful and once happy land.

Asking you to bear to the President and to the Government he represents a message of gratitude from me and from my people, and promising, with God's grace, to prove worthy of the confidence and friendship of your people,

I am, etc.,

LILIUOKALANI.

[Inclosure 2 with No. 16.]

I, Liliuokalani, in recognition of the high sense of justice which has actuated the President of the United States, and desiring to put aside all feelings of personal hatred or revenge and to do what is best for all the people of these Islands, both native and foreign born, do hereby and herein solemnly declare and pledge myself that, if reinstated as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands, that I will immediately proclaim and declare, unconditionally and without reservation, to every person who directly or indirectly participated in the revolution of January 17, 1893, a full pardon and amnesty for their offenses, with restoration of all rights, privileges, and immunities under the constitution and the laws which have been made in pursuance thereof, and that I will forbid and 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.

I further solemnly agree to accept the restoration under the constitution existing at the time of said revolution and that I will abide by and fully execute that constitution with all the guaranties as to person and property therein contained.

I furthermore solemnly pledge myself and my Government, if restored, to assume all the obligations created by the Provisional Government, in the proper course of

administration, including all expenditures for military or police services, it being my purpose, if restored, to assume the Government precisely as it existed on the day when it was unlawfully overthrown.

Witness my hand this 18th of December, 1893.

LILIUOKALANI.

Attest:

J. O. CARTER.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Confidential.]

No. 17.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Honolulu, December 20, 1893.

SIR: On Monday, December 18, the interview with the Queen at her residence, Washington Place, was held, lasting until 1 p. m.

At 5:30 p. m. of the same day I received a communication from the Provisional Government, through the Hon. S. B. Dole, minister of foreign affairs, referring to my visit to the Queen. He asked to be informed whether I was "acting in any way hostile to this (his) Government," and pressed for "an immediate answer." I inclose a copy of the communication.

As I had two days before notified a member of the cabinet, Hon. W. O. Smith, attorney-general, that I would be ready in forty-eight hours to make known to the Provisional Government the President's decision, and as the tone of the communication—doubtless without intention—was somewhat mandatory, I thought it best not to make any reply to it. Moreover, at that hour I had not received the written pledge and agreement of the Queen, without which I could take no step.

This morning at 9:30 o'clock I received the letter and agreement of the Queen, as set forth in my No. 16 of this date. I immediately addressed a note to the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Dole, informing him that I had a communication from my Government, which I desired to submit in person to the president and ministers of his Government at any hour during the day that it might please him to designate. I inclose a copy of my letter. This note was delivered to the minister of foreign affairs by Mr. Mills, and the hour of 1:30 p. m. was verbally designated for the interview.

At the hour appointed I went to the executive building and met the President and his associate ministers, to whom I submitted the decision of the President of the United States.

A memorandum of what I said upon the occasion was left with them after delivery, a copy of which I inclose.

It may be proper at this time briefly to state my course of action since arriving here on Saturday the 4th day of November last. My baggage containing credentials did not come to hand until 4 o'clock, before which time the offices of the Provisional Government were closed.

On Monday morning following, Mr. Mills, our consul-general, bore a note to the minister of foreign affairs asking that he designate a time for the presentation of Mr. Blount's letter of recall and my letter of credence. Mr. Mills was authorized to say, and did say to him, that I was ready on that day (Monday) to present my credentials. The Provisional Government, however, appointed the following day (Tuesday) at 11 o'clock, at which time I was formally presented.

As our Government had for fifty years held the friendliest relations with the people of these islands—native as well as foreign born—in

addressing the President, who was for the time being the formal representative of these people, I felt no hesitancy in employing the usual terms of friendship, drawing, however, in what I said, a distinction between the Provisional Government as a government and the people of the islands. These statements were not only, as I have said, consistent with the uniform policy and feelings of the United States for half a century, but expressed, as I knew, the personal feelings of the President and of yourself towards the officers of the Provisional Government as men, and the kindly regard and interest felt in the welfare and happiness of all the people who are now under its *de facto* rule.

From that day until last Tuesday at half past one, there has been no expression, direct or indirect, from the representative of the United States towards the Provisional Government, explaining or defining our relations, present or prospective, towards it. The delay in making any announcement of your policy was, as you well understand, because of the direct verbal and written instructions under which I have been acting. Under those instructions my first duty was to guard the life and safety of those who had by the act of our own minister been placed in a position where there was an apparent antagonism between them and our Government. As I understood from the President and from you, the sole connection which our Government had with the settlement of the Hawaiian question was the undoing of what, from an international standpoint, was considered by the President to have been a wrong to a feeble, defenseless, and friendly power. In undoing this wrong I was, however, instructed first of all to see that proper safeguards were thrown around those who had been probably misled as to the position of our Government and the wishes of our people.

My dispatch No. 3, of November 14, set forth my inability to secure satisfactory guarantees from the Queen upon the points indicated. Until that was done you had directed me to take no further steps, but to inform you of the result, which I did by a cipher telegram as well as by the dispatch referred to. Your cipher instruction in reply thereto, dated December 2 and received by me December 14, by the revenue cutter *Corwin*, reiterated the duty which had been already enjoined upon me to secure these guarantees.

I accordingly renewed my efforts in that direction, and finally, on last Tuesday morning at 9 o'clock, as hereinbefore stated, I secured from the Queen the written pledge and agreement which was the prerequisite of my further action.

Having received this pledge, I was then for the first time in a position to make known to the Provisional Government the decision of the President upon the questions that had been submitted to him by the protest of the Queen, which protest had been acknowledged and accepted by the Provisional Government through its President, Mr. Dole, the immediate effect of which was, according to the statement of Mr. Damon, another honored member of the Provisional Government, the Queen's temporary surrender of her throne.

You will observe that in presenting the decision of the President I have used the language employed by yourself in your instructions to me upon the subject. In my opening statement I thought proper to explain what was known to you, and doubtless to the Provisional Government, that the secrecy which had been observed by our Government was in the interest of the peace and safety of this community.

The President's attention had been called by you to the evidence contained in Mr. Blount's report showing the extraordinary complications and dangers surrounding this community, among which were the racial

prejudices, the intense feeling consequent upon the dethronement of the constitutional sovereign, the presence of so many different nationalities—Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Americans, and English—in such large numbers and with such diverse traits and interests, the possibility that the Japanese, now numbering more than one-fifth of the male population of the islands, might take advantage of the condition of affairs to demand suffrage and through it to obtain control of the Government, together with the discontent of the native Hawaiians at the loss of their Government and of the rights secured under it.

In addition to these facts, I was fully apprised by you in your personal conversations of the presence here of many lawless and disorderly characters, owing allegiance to neither party, who would gladly take advantage of the excitement and general derangement of affairs to indulge in rapine and mob violence; and also of the conflict between the active responsible representatives of the Provisional Government and certain men who were not officially connected with it, but who had undertaken to dictate its policy. The danger from this last source I found upon arriving here was much greater than you had supposed. As I stated to you in my dispatch, No. 2, of November 10, the President and ministers of the Provisional Government and a large per cent of those who support them are men of high character and of large material interests in the islands. These men have been inclined to a conservative course toward the Hawaiians.

They had placed in the police and fire departments, and also in many other more important offices, native Hawaiians, thus endeavoring to conciliate the friendship and support of the 40,000 natives of the country. The irresponsible element referred to were pressing for a change of this wise and patriotic policy and insisting that they should be invested with all power, thus intensifying and aggravating the racial feeling already too extreme. Many of these men were open in their threats against the life of the Queen. They have even gone as far in the public prints and elsewhere as to threaten the representatives of the Provisional Government in the event they should listen to the President's supposed policy of peaceful settlement, if it involved the restoration of the Queen.

Besides this danger, which would have been precipitated by any premature announcement of the policy of our Government, there was another danger deserving serious attention.

The native Hawaiians, under the wise advice of their best native leaders supplemented by that of many sympathizing foreigners, have maintained the policy of peace during the settlement of this question. While, however, they have been always known as a peaceful and law-abiding people, the evidence of the most thoughtful men in these islands, including Mr. Damon, the present minister of finance, called attention to the fact that under proper leadership they might collect quite an effective and aggressive following; hence his opinion given to Mr. Blount while here and to me since that a strong force should be retained by the Provisional Government or else trouble might result from a sudden attack on their part.

The history of the Hawaiian people, their well-known devotion to the cause of royalty or chieftainship, their willingness to sacrifice themselves in defense of their supposed rights or in redress of the wrongs imposed upon those whom they revered confirmed the opinion expressed by Mr. Damon as to their manly spirit and courage.

Repeatedly since I reached these islands I have been advised by those in the confidence of the native Hawaiians that it was very diffi-

cult to further restrain them. They were looking with confidence to the United States for an amicable settlement of their grievances, and this had exercised a wholesome influence upon their conduct. Any sudden announcement of an adverse result, or any attempt upon the dignity or life of the Queen, might, in their judgment, precipitate the most serious consequences.

Under this state of affairs, which was known in part, although not fully, to the Provisional Government, the policy of silence, to which you advised, until the time had arrived for definite action, was unquestionably wise and humane. My deliberate judgment is that a different course would have proved disastrous.

No one can estimate to what extent the presence of the different war vessels has prevented demonstrations of marked or other violence.

I need not assure you that I have endeavored faithfully to comply with the views and instructions of the President in regard to the military or naval forces of the United States. The two war ships now here were here when I came. During the month of last August a general license had been granted Admiral Skerrett by the Provisional Government to land and drill his forces whenever he so desired. On the 29th day of November, as has been stated in my dispatch No. 8 of December 5, the Provisional Government addressed me a note revoking this license, which action on behalf of our Government was promptly acquiesced in. No such privilege has been since exercised. So punctilious has been the doctrine of non-intervention that when the band of the *Philadelphia* came ashore one afternoon during a reception of some of the ladies of the navy Admiral Irwin's attention having been called to the fact that it had excited some comment he promptly issued an order that there should be no repetition of this incident.

The Japanese and English legations have been guarded by marines from their respective vessels, but no American soldier has been stationed here, and none will be. No official communication has been conveyed from me to the Provisional Government by any representative of the naval forces of the United States; nor did I, under my instructions, feel at liberty, as I otherwise gladly would have done, to consult with the admiral and high officers in command of our fleet, whose clear and intelligent judgment would have been of great advantage to me in the frequent and delicate questions that have arisen.

In a word, neither directly nor indirectly have I conveyed or countenanced the idea that our Government proposed to interfere by force in the domestic affairs of these islands. My visits to the United States men-of-war have for this reason been limited to two or three social occasions.

There has been, therefore, as little foundation for criticism in this direction as there was for the temporary secrecy observed, as we have seen, as a safeguard against sudden outbreak and mob violence.

Under these circumstances, and guided by your imperative instructions, I submitted the decision of the President as one which was of the greatest gravity and importance. What the answer will be I do not know, but hope to be able to report in a very short time, as President Dole stated that the Provisional Government would take the matter under its immediate advisement.

I have, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure No. 1 with No. 17.]

*Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.*DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 18, 1893.

SIR: I am informed that you are in communication with Liliuokalani, the ex-Queen, with a view of re-establishing the monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands and of supporting her pretensions to the sovereignty. Will you inform me if this report is true or if you are acting in any way hostile to this Government.

I appreciate fully the fact that any such action upon your part in view of your official relations with this Government would seem impossible; but as the information has come to me from such sources that I am compelled to notice it, you will pardon me for pressing you for an immediate answer.

Accept the assurances of distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to be sir,

Your excellency's obedient, humble servant,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure No. 2 with No. 17.]

*Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, December 19, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I have a communication from my Government which I desire to submit to the President and ministers of your Government at any hour to-day which it may please you to designate.

With high regard and sincere respect, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure No. 3 with No. 17.]

*Memorandum.***MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:**

The President of the United States has very much regretted the delay in the consideration of the Hawaiian question, but it has been unavoidable. So much of it as has occurred since my arrival has been due to certain conditions precedent, compliance with which was required before I was authorized to confer with you. The President also regrets, as most assuredly do I, that any seeming secrecy should have surrounded the interchange of views between our two Governments. I may say this, however, that the secrecy thus far observed, has been in the interest and for the safety of all your people.

I need hardly premise that the President's action upon the Hawaiian question has been under the dictates of honor and duty? It is now, and has been from the beginning, absolutely free from prejudice and resentment, and entirely consistent with the long-established friendship and treaty ties which have so closely bound together our respective Governments.

The President deemed it his duty to withdraw from the Senate the treaty of annexation which had been signed by the Secretary of State and the agents of your Government, and to dispatch a trusted representative to Hawaii to impartially investigate the causes of your revolution, and ascertain and report the true situation in these islands. This information was needed, the better to enable the President to discharge a delicate and important duty. Upon the facts embodied in Mr. Blount's reports, the President has arrived at certain conclusions and determined upon a certain course of action with which it becomes my duty to acquaint you.

The Provisional Government was not established by the Hawaiian people or with their consent or acquiescence, nor has it since existed with their consent. The Queen refused to surrender her powers to the Provisional Government until convinced that the minister of the United States had recognized it as the *de facto* authority and would support and defend it with the military force of the United States, and that resistance would precipitate a bloody conflict with that force. She was advised and assured by her ministers and by leaders of the movement for the overthrow of her

Government that if she surrendered under protest her case would afterwards be fairly considered by the President of the United States. The Queen finally yielded to the armed forces of the United States then quartered in Honolulu, relying on the good faith and honor of the President, when informed of what had occurred, to undo the action of the minister and reinstate her and the authority which she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

After a patient examination of Mr. Blount's reports the President is satisfied that the movement against the Queen, if not instigated, was encouraged and supported by the representative of this Government at Honolulu; that he promised in advance to aid her enemies in an effort to overthrow the Hawaiian Government and set up by force a new government in its place, and that he kept this promise by causing a detachment of troops to be landed from the *Boston* on the 16th of January, and by recognizing the Provisional Government the next day when it was too feeble to defend itself and the Constitutional Government was able to successfully maintain its authority against any threatening force other than that of the United States already landed.

The President has therefore determined that he will not send back to the Senate for its action thereon the treaty which he withdrew from that body for further consideration on the 9th day of March last.

In view of these conclusions, I was instructed by the President to take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the Queen of this determination and of his views as to the responsibility of our Government.

The President, however, felt that we, by our original interference, had incurred responsibilities to the whole Hawaiian community, and that it would not be just to put one party at the mercy of the other. I was, therefore, instructed, at the same time, to inform the Queen that when reinstated, that the President expected that she would pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, including persons who are or who have been officially or otherwise connected with the Provisional Government, depriving them of no right or privilege which they enjoyed before the so-called revolution. All obligations created by the Provisional Government in due course of administration should be assumed.

In obedience to the command of the President I have secured the Queen's agreement to this course, and I now read and deliver a writing signed by her and duly attested, a copy of which I will leave with you.

(The agreement was here read.)

It becomes my further duty to advise you, sir, the executive of the Provisional Government and your ministers, of the President's determination of the question, which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that you are expected to promptly relinquish to her her constitutional authority.

And now, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Provisional Government, with a deep and solemn sense of the gravity of the situation and with the earnest hope that your answer will be inspired by that high patriotism which forgets all self-interest, in the name and by the authority of the United States of America, I submit to you the question, "Are you willing to abide by the decision of the President?"

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Confidential.]

No. 18.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, December 23, 1893.—12 midnight.

SIR: President Dole has just delivered in person at this hour (midnight) the answer of the Provisional Government, declining for reasons therein stated to accept the decision of the President of the United States, a copy of which is herewith inclosed.

The revenue cutter *Corwin* is under sailing orders and will leave here in a few minutes for San Francisco. The captain has been instructed to slow up, if necessary, and enter the harbor of San Francisco at night and to deliver in person the dispatches numbered 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 to our dispatch agent at that place.

The object of this is to enable the President to receive these official

communications before any intimation of their character can be telegraphed.

I will on Tuesday acknowledge the receipt of the answer of the Provisional Government, notifying it that the President of the United States will be informed thereof, and that no further steps will be taken by me until I shall have heard from him. I shall deliver a similar communication to the Queen.

The very great excitement prevailing here and the peculiar conditions surrounding this people prompt the above course, which, I trust, will meet with the approbation of the President and of yourself.

I think it proper to acknowledge in this public way the efficient services rendered to the Government of the United States by our consul-general, Mr. Mills, since my arrival at this place.

I have, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure with No. 18.]

Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, December 23, 1893.

SIR: Your excellency's communication of December 19, announcing the conclusion which the President of the United States of America has finally arrived at respecting the application of this Government for a treaty of political union with that country, and referring also to the domestic affairs of these islands, has had the consideration of the Government.

While it is with deep disappointment that we learn that the important proposition which we have submitted to the Government of the United States, and which was at first favorably considered by it, has at length been rejected, we have experienced a sense of relief that we are now favored with the first official information upon the subject that has been received through a period of over nine months.

While we accept the decision of the President of the United States, declining further to consider the annexation proposition, as the final conclusion of the present administration, we do not feel inclined to regard it as the last word of the American Government upon this subject, for the history of the mutual relations of the two countries, of American effort and influence in building up the Christian civilization which has so conspicuously aided in giving this country an honorable place among independent nations, the geographical position of these islands, and the important and, to both countries, profitable reciprocal commercial interests which have long existed, together with our weakness as a sovereign nation, all point with convincing force to political union between the two countries as the necessary logical result from the circumstances mentioned. This conviction is emphasized by the favorable expression of American statesmen over a long period in favor of annexation, conspicuous among whom are the names of W. L. Marcy, William H. Seward, Hamilton Fish, and James G. Blaine, all former Secretaries of State, and especially so by the action of your last administration in negotiating a treaty of annexation with this Government and sending it to the Senate with a view to its ratification.

We shall therefore continue the project of political union with the United States as a conspicuous feature of our foreign policy, confidently hoping that sooner or later it will be crowned with success, to the lasting benefit of both countries.

The additional portion of your communication referring to our domestic affairs with a view of interfering therein, is a new departure in the relations of the two governments. Your information that the President of the United States expects this Government "to promptly relinquish to her (meaning the ex-Queen) her constitutional authority," with the question "are you willing to abide by the decision of the President?" might well be dismissed in a single word, but for the circumstance that your communication contains, as it appears to me, misstatements and erroneous conclusions based thereon, that are so prejudicial to this Government that I can not permit them to pass unchallenged; moreover, the importance and menacing character of this proposition make it appropriate for me to discuss somewhat fully the questions raised by it.

We do not recognize the right of the President of the United States to interfere in our domestic affairs. Such right could be conferred upon him by the act of this

Government, and by that alone, or it could be acquired by conquest. This I understand to be the American doctrine, conspicuously announced from time to time by the authorities of your Government.

President Jackson said in his message to Congress in 1836: "The uniform policy and practice of the United States is to avoid all interference in disputes which merely relate to the internal government of other nations, and eventually to recognize the authority of the prevailing party, without reference to the merits of the original controversy."

This principle of international law has been consistently recognized during the whole past intercourse of the two countries, and was recently reaffirmed in the instructions given by Secretary Gresham to Commissioner Blount on March 11, 1893, and by the latter published in the newspapers in Honolulu in a letter of his own to the Hawaiian public. The words of these instructions which I refer to are as follows: "The United States claim no right to interfere in the political or domestic affairs or in the internal conflicts of the Hawaiian Islands other than as herein stated (referring to the protection of American citizens) or for the purpose of maintaining any treaty or other rights which they possess." The treaties between the two countries confer no right of interference.

Upon what, then, Mr. Minister, does the President of the United States base his right of interference? Your communication is without information upon this point, excepting such as may be contained in the following brief and vague sentences: "She (the ex-Queen) was advised and assured by her ministers and leaders of the movement for the overthrow of her government that if she surrendered under protest her case would afterward be fairly considered by the President of the United States. The Queen finally yielded to the armed forces of the United States, then quartered in Honolulu, relying on the good faith and honor of the President, when informed of what had occurred, to undo the action of the minister and reinstate her and the authority which she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands." Also, "it becomes my further duty to advise you, sir, the Executive of the Provisional Government, and your ministers, of the President's determination of the question which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that you are expected to promptly relinquish to her her constitutional authority."

I understand that the first quotation is referred to in the following words of the second, "which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him" (the President of the United States), and that the President has arrived at his conclusions from Commissioner Blount's report. We have had as yet no opportunity of examining this document, but from extracts published in the papers and for reasons set forth hereafter, we are not disposed to submit the fate of Hawaii to its statements and conclusions. As a matter of fact no member of the executive of the Provisional Government has conferred with the ex-Queen, either verbally or otherwise, from the time the new Government was proclaimed till now, with the exception of one or two notices which were sent to her by myself in regard to her removal from the palace and relating to the guards which the Government first allowed her and perhaps others of a like nature. I infer that a conversation which Mr. Damon, then a member of the advisory council, is reported by Mr. Blount to have had with the ex-Queen on January 17, and which has been quoted in the newspapers, is the basis of this astounding claim of the President of the United States of his authority to adjudicate upon our right as a government to exist.

Mr. Damon, on the occasion mentioned, was allowed to accompany the cabinet of the former Government, who had been in conference with me and my associates, to meet the ex-Queen. He went informally, without instructions and without authority to represent the Government or to assure the ex-Queen "that if she surrendered under protest her case would afterwards be fairly considered by the President of the United States." Our ultimatum had already been given to the members of the ex-cabinet who had been in conference with us. What Mr. Damon said to the ex-Queen he said on his individual responsibility and did not report it to us. Mr. Blount's report of his remarks on that occasion furnish to the Government its first information of the nature of those remarks. Admitting for argument's sake that the Government had authorized such assurances, what was "her case" that was afterwards to "be fairly considered by the President of the United States?"

Was it the question of her right to subvert the Hawaiian constitution and to proclaim a new one to suit herself, or was it her claim to be restored to the sovereignty, or was it her claim against the United States for the alleged unwarrantable acts of Minister Stevens, or was it all these in the alternative; who can say? But if it had been all of these, or any of them, it could not have been more clearly and finally decided by the President of the United States in favor of the Provisional Government than when he recognized it without qualification and received its accredited commissioners, negotiated a treaty of annexation with them, received its accredited envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, and accredited successively two envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to it; the ex-Queen in the mean-

time being represented in Washington by her agent who had full access to the Department of State.

The whole business of the Government with the President of the United States is set forth in the correspondence between the two governments and the acts and statements of the minister of this Government at Washington and the annexation commissioners accredited to it. If we have submitted our right to exist to the United States, the fact will appear in that correspondence and the acts of our minister and commissioners. Such agreement must be shown as the foundation of the right of your Government to interfere, for an arbitrator can be created only by the act of two parties.

The ex-Queen sent her attorney to Washington to plead her claim for a reinstatement in power, or failing that for a money allowance or damages. This attorney was refused passage on the Government dispatch boat, which was sent to San Francisco with the annexation commissioners and their message. The departure of this vessel was less than two days after the new Government was declared, and the refusal was made promptly upon receiving the request therefor either on the day the Government was declared or on the next day. If an intention to submit the question of the reinstatement of the ex-Queen had existed, why should her attorney have been refused passage on this boat? The ex-Queen's letter to President Harrison dated January 18, the day after the new Government was proclaimed, makes no allusion to any understanding between her and the Government for arbitration. Her letter is as follows:

"His Excellency BENJAMIN HARRISON,
President of the United States:

"MY GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: It is with deep regret that I address you on this occasion. Some of my subjects aided by aliens, have renounced their loyalty and revolted against the constitutional Government of my Kingdom. They have attempted to depose me and to establish a provisional government in direct conflict with the organic law of this Kingdom. Upon receiving incontestible proof that his excellency the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, aided and abetted their unlawful movements and caused United States troops to be landed for that purpose, I submitted to force, believing that he would not have acted in that manner unless by the authority of the Government which he represents.

"This action on my part was prompted by three reasons: The futility of a conflict with the United States; the desire to avoid violence, bloodshed and the destruction of life and property, and the certainty which I feel that you and your Government will right whatever wrongs may have been inflicted upon us in the premises.

"In due time a statement of the true facts relating to this matter will be laid before you, and I live in the hope that you will judge uprightly and justly between myself and my enemies. This appeal is not made for myself personally, but for my people, who have hitherto always enjoyed the friendship and protection of the United States.

"My opponents have taken the only vessel which could be obtained here for the purpose, and hearing of their intention to send a delegation of their number to present their side of this conflict before you, I requested the favor of sending by the same vessel an envoy to you, to lay before you my statement, as the facts appear to myself and my loyal subjects.

"This request has been refused, and I now ask you that in justice to myself and to my people that no steps be taken by the Government of the United States until my cause can be heard by you.

"I shall be able to dispatch an envoy about the 2d of February, as that will be the first available opportunity hence, and he will reach you by every possible haste that there may be no delay in the settlement of this matter.

"I pray you, therefore, my good friend, that you will not allow any conclusions to be reached by you until my envoy arrives.

"I beg to assure you of the continuance of my highest consideration.

"LILIUOKALANI R.

"HONOLULU, *January 18, 1893.*"

If any understanding had existed at that time between her and the Government to submit the question of her restoration to the United States, some reference to such an understanding would naturally have appeared in this letter, as every reason would have existed for calling the attention of the President to that fact, especially as she then knew that her attorney would be seriously delayed in reaching Washington. But there is not a word from which such an understanding can be indicated. The Government sent its commissioners to Washington for the sole object of procuring the confirmation of the recognition by Minister Stevens of the new Government and to enter into negotiations for political union with the United States. The protest of the ex-Queen, made on January 17, is equally with the let-

ter devoid of evidence of any mutual understanding for a submission of her claim to the throne to the United States. It is very evidently a protest against the alleged action of Minister Stevens as well as the new Government, and contains a notice of her appeal to the United States.

The document was received exactly as it would have been received if it had come through the mail. The indorsement of its receipt upon the paper was made at the request of the individual who brought it as evidence of its safe delivery. As to the ex-Queen's notice of her appeal to the United States, it was a matter of indifference to us. Such an appeal could not have been prevented, as the mail service was in operation as usual. That such a notice, and our receipt of it without comment, should be made a foundation of a claim that we had submitted our right to exist as a government to the United States had never occurred to us until suggested to us by your Government. The protest is as follows:

"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 the 17th day of January, A. D. 1893.

"LILIUOKALANI, R.

"SAMUEL PARKER,

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"WILLIAM H. CORNWELL,

Minister of Finance.

"JOHN F. COLBURN,

Minister of the Interior.

"A. P. PETERSON,

Attorney-General.

"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. Sanford B. Dole, chairman of executive council of Provisional Government."

You may not be aware, but such is the fact, that at no time until the presentation of the claim of the President of the United States of his right to interfere in the internal affairs of this country, by you on December 19, has this Government been officially informed by the United States Government that any such course was contemplated. And not until the publication of Mr. Gresham's letter to the President of the United States on the Hawaiian question had we any reliable intimation of such a policy. The adherents of the ex-Queen have indeed claimed from time to time that such was the case, but we have never been able to attach serious importance to their rumors to that effect, feeling secure in our perfect diplomatic relations with your country, and relying upon the friendship and fairness of a government whose dealings with us had ever shown full recognition of our independence as a sovereign power, without any tendency to take advantage of the disparity of strength between the two countries.

If your contention that President Cleveland believes that this Government and the ex-Queen have submitted their respective claims to the sovereignty of this country to the adjudication of the United States is correct, then, may I ask, when and where has the President held his court of arbitration? This Government has had no notice of the sitting of such a tribunal and no opportunity of presenting evidence of its claims. If Mr. Blount's investigations were a part of the proceedings of such a court, this Government did not know it and was never informed of it; indeed, as I have mentioned above, we never knew until the publication of Secretary Gresham's letter to President Cleveland a few weeks ago, that the American Executive had a policy of interference under contemplation. Even if we had known that Mr. Blount was authoritatively acting as a commissioner to take evidence upon the question of the restoration of the ex-Queen, the methods adopted by him in making his investigations were, I submit, unsuitable to such an examination or any examination upon which human interests were to be adjudicated.

As I am reliably informed, he selected his witnesses and examined them in secret, freely using leading questions, giving no opportunity for a cross-examination, and often not permitting such explanations by witnesses themselves as they desired to make of evidence which he had drawn from them. Is it hardly necessary for me to suggest that under such a mode of examination some witnesses would be almost helpless in the hands of an astute lawyer, and might be drawn into saying things which would be only half truths, and standing alone would be misleading or even false in effect. Is it likely that an investigation conducted in this manner could result in a fair, full, and truthful statement of the case in point? Surely the destinies of a friendly Government, admitting by way of argument that the right of arbitration exists, may not be disposed of upon an *ex parte* and secret investigation made without the knowledge of such Government or an opportunity by it to be heard or even to know who the witnesses were.

Mr. Blount came here as a stranger and at once entered upon his duties. He devoted himself to the work of collecting information, both by the examination of witnesses and the collection of statistics and other documentary matter, with great energy and industry, giving up, substantially, his whole time to its prosecution. He was here but a few months, and during that time was so occupied with this work that he had little opportunity left for receiving those impressions of the state of affairs which could best have come to him, incidentally, through a wide social intercourse with the people of the country and a personal acquaintance with its various communities and educational and industrial enterprises. He saw the country from his cottage in the center of Honolulu mainly through the eyes of the witnesses whom he examined. Under these circumstances is it probable that the most earnest of men would be able to form a statement that could safely be relied upon as the basis of a decision upon the question of the standing of a government?

In view, therefore, of all the facts in relation to the question of the President's authority to interfere and concerning which the members of the executive were actors and eye-witnesses, I am able to assure your excellency that by no action of this Government, on the 17th day of January last or since that time, has the authority devolved upon the President of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of this country through any conscious act or expression of this Government with such an intention.

You state in your communication—

"After a patient examination of Mr. Blount's reports the President is satisfied that the movement against the Queen if not instigated was encouraged and supported by the representative of this Government at Honolulu; that he promised in advance to aid her enemies in an effort to overthrow the Hawaiian Government and set up by force a new government in its place; that he kept his promise by causing a detachment of troops to be landed from the *Boston* on the 16th of January, 1833, and by recognizing the Provisional Government the next day when it was too feeble to defend itself and the Constitutional Government was able to successfully maintain its authority against any threatening force other than that of the United States already landed."

Without entering into a discussion of the facts I beg to state in reply that I am unable to judge of the correctness of Mr. Blount's report from which the President's conclusions were drawn, as I have had no opportunity of examining such report. But I desire to specifically and emphatically deny the correctness of each and every one of the allegations of fact contained in the above-quoted statement; yet, as the President has arrived at a positive opinion in his own mind in the matter, I will refer to it from his standpoint.

My position, is briefly, this: If the American forces illegally assisted the revolutionists in the establishment of the Provisional Government that Government is not responsible for their wrong-doing. It was purely a private matter for discipline between the United States Government and its own officers. There is, I submit, no precedent in international law for the theory that such action of the American troops has conferred upon the United States authority over the internal affairs of this Government. Should it be true, as you have suggested, that the American Government made itself responsible to the Queen, who, it is alleged lost her throne through such action, that is not a matter for me to discuss, except to submit that if such be the case, it is a matter for the American Government and her to settle between them. This Government, a recognized sovereign power, equal in authority with the United States Government and enjoying diplomatic relations with it, can not be destroyed by it for the sake of discharging its obligations to the ex-Queen.

Upon these grounds, Mr. Minister, in behalf of my Government I respectfully protest against the usurpation of its authority as suggested by the language of your communication.

It is difficult for a stranger like yourself, and much more for the President of the United States, with his pressing responsibilities, his crowding cares and his want of familiarity with the condition and history of this country and the inner life of its

people, to obtain a clear insight into the real state of affairs and to understand the social currents, the race feelings and the customs and traditions which all contribute to the political outlook. We, who have grown up here or who have adopted this country as our home, are conscious of the difficulty of maintaining a stable government here. A community which is made up of five races, of which the larger part but dimly appreciate the significance and value of representative institutions, offers political problems which may well tax the wisdom of the most experienced statesman.

For long years a large and influential part of this community, including many foreigners and native Hawaiians, have observed with deep regret the retrogressive tendencies of the Hawaiian monarchy, and have honorably striven against them, and have sought through legislative work, the newspapers, and by personal appeal and individual influence to support and emphasize the representative features of the monarchy and to create a public sentiment favorable thereto, and thereby to avert the catastrophe that seemed inevitable if such tendencies were not restrained. These efforts have been met by the last two sovereigns in a spirit of aggressive hostility. The struggle became at length a well-defined issue between royal prerogative and the right of representative government, and most bitterly and unscrupulously has it been carried on in the interests of the former. The King's privilege of importing goods for his own use without paying the duties thereon was abused to the extent of admitting large quantities of liquors, with which to debauch the electorate. He promoted the election of Government officers, both executive and judicial, to the legislative assembly, and freely appointed to office elected members thereof.

In the legislature of 1886, of which I was a member, the party supporting the Government was largely in the majority, and nearly every member of such majority held some appointment from the Government, and some of them as many as two or three, thereby effectually placing the legislative branch of the Government under the personal and absolute control of the King. The constitutional encroachments, lawless extravagance, and scandalous and open sales of patronage and privilege to the highest bidder by Kalakaua brought in at length the revolution of 1887, which had the full sympathy and moral support of all the diplomatic representatives in Honolulu, including Minister Merrill, who was at that time President Cleveland's minister here.

This revolution was not an annexation movement in any sense, but tended toward an independent republic, but, when it had the monarchy in its power, conservative counsels prevailed, and a new lease of life was allowed that institution on the condition of royal fidelity to the new constitution, which was then promulgated and which greatly curtailed the powers of the sovereign. Kalakaua was not faithful to this compact, and sought as far as possible to evade its stipulations. The insurrection of 1889 was connived at by him, and the household guards under his control were not allowed to take part in suppressing it. The Princess Liliuokalani was in full sympathy with this movement, being a party to it, and furnished her suburban residence to the insurgents for their meetings. The arrangements were there made, and the insurgents marched thence for their attack upon the Government. The affair was suppressed in a few hours of fighting, with some loss of life to the insurgents, by the party which carried through the revolution of 1887.

The ex-Queen's rule was even more reckless and retrogressive than her brother's. Less politic than he, and with less knowledge of affairs, she had more determination and was equally unreliable and deficient in moral principle. She, to all appearance, unhesitatingly took the oath of office to govern according to the constitution, and evidently regarding it merely as a formal ceremony began, according to her own testimony to Mr. Blount, to lay her plans to destroy the constitution and replace it with one of her own creation. With a like disregard of its sanctions, she made the most determined efforts to control all of the appointments to office, both executive and judicial. The session of the legislature of 1892 was the longest that had ever occurred in our history, and was characterized by a most obstinate struggle for personal control of the Government and the legislature on the part of the Queen. This was strenuously resisted by the opposition.

During this contest four ministerial cabinets were appointed and unseated, and the lottery-franchise bill, which had been withdrawn early in the session for want of sufficient support, was at the last moment, when the opposition was weakened by the absence of several of its members, again brought forward and passed through the exercise of improper and illegitimate influences upon the legislators, among which were personal appeals on the part of the Queen to them. The cabinet which represented the opposition and the majority of the legislature which the Queen had been compelled to appoint was unseated by similar means, and with a new cabinet of her own choice the legislature was prorogued. This lottery franchise was of a character corresponding with similar institutions which have been driven out of every State of the American Union by an indignant public sentiment. If it had been established here it would in a brief period have obtained full control of the Government patronage and corrupted the social and political life of the people.

Although the situation at the close of the session was deeply discouraging to the community, it was accepted without any intention of meeting it by other than legal means. The attempted *coup d'état* of the Queen followed, and her ministers, threatened with violence, fled to the citizens for assistance and protection; then it was that the uprising against the Queen took place, and, gathering force from day to day, resulted in the proclamation of the Provisional Government and the abrogation of the monarchy on the third day thereafter.

No man can correctly say that the Queen owed her downfall to the interference of American forces. The revolution was carried through by the representatives, now largely reinforced, of the same public sentiment which forced the monarchy to its knees in 1887, which suppressed the insurrection of 1889, and which for twenty years has been battling for representative government in this country. If the American forces had been absent the revolution would have taken place, for the sufficient causes for it had nothing to do with their presence.

I, therefore, in all friendship of the Government of the United States, which you represent, and desiring to cherish the good will of the great American people, submit the answer of my Government to your proposition, and ask that you will transmit the same to the President of the United States for his consideration.

Though the Provisional Government is far from being "a great power" and could not long resist the forces of the United States in a hostile attack, we deem our position to be impregnable under all legal precedents, under the principles of diplomatic intercourse, and in the forum of conscience. We have done your Government no wrong; no charge of discourtesy is or can be brought against us. Our only issue with your people has been that, because we revered its institutions of civil liberty, we have desired to have them extended to our own distracted country, and because we honor its flag and deem that its beneficent and authoritative presence would be for the best interests of all of our people, we have stood ready to add our country, a new star, to its glory, and to consummate a union which we believed would be as much for the benefit of your country as ours. If this is an offense, we plead guilty to it.

I am instructed to inform you, Mr. Minister, that the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands respectfully and unhesitatingly declines to entertain the proposition of the President of the United States that it should surrender its authority to the ex-Queen.

This answer is made not only upon the grounds hereinbefore set forth, but upon our sense of duty and loyalty to the brave men whose commissions we hold, who have faithfully stood by us in the hour of trial, and whose will is the only earthly authority we recognize. We can not betray the sacred trust they have placed in our hands, a trust which represents the cause of Christian civilization in the interests of the whole people of these islands.

With assurances of the highest consideration,

I have, etc.,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency ALBERT S. WILLIS,
U. S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 19.]

DECEMBER 23, 1893.

This communication simply transmits minister's salary account.

[Telegram.]

WASHINGTON, *January 12, 1894.*

W. A. COOPER,
U. S. Dispatch Agent,
Post-Office Building, San Francisco, Cal.:

Forward following telegram to Hon. A. S. Willis, U. S. minister, Honolulu, by steamer *Mariposa* to-morrow.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

WILLIS,
Minister, Honolulu:

WASHINGTON, *January 12, 1894.*

Your numbers 14 to 18, inclusive, show that you have rightly comprehended the scope of your instructions, and have, as far as was in your power, discharged the onerous task confided to you.

The President sincerely regrets that the Provisional Government refuses to acquiesce in the conclusion which his sense of right and duty and a due regard for our national honor constrained him to reach and submit as a measure of justice to the people of the Hawaiian Islands and their deposed sovereign. While it is true that the Provisional Government was created to exist only until the islands were annexed to the United States, that the Queen finally, but reluctantly, surrendered to an armed force of this Government illegally quartered in Honolulu, and representatives of the Provisional Government (which realized its impotency and was anxious to get control of the Queen's means of defense) assured her that, if she would surrender, her case would be subsequently considered by the United States, the President has never claimed that such action constituted him an arbitrator in the technical sense, or authorized him to act in that capacity between the Constitutional Government and the Provisional Government. You made no such claim when you acquainted that Government with the President's decision.

The solemn assurance given to the Queen has been referred to, not as authority for the President to act as arbitrator, but as a fact material to a just determination of the President's duty in the premises.

In the note which the minister of foreign affairs addressed to you on the 23d ultimo it is stated in effect that even if the Constitutional Government was subverted by the action of the American minister and an invasion by a military force of the United States, the President's authority is limited to dealing with our own unfaithful officials, and that he can take no steps looking to the correction of the wrong done. The President entertains a different view of his responsibility and duty. The subversion of the Hawaiian Government by an abuse of the authority of the United States was in plain violation of international law and required the President to disavow and condemn the act of our offending officials, and, within the limits of his constitutional power, to endeavor to restore the lawful authority.

On the 18th ultimo the President sent a special message to Congress communicating copies of Mr. Blount's reports and the instructions given to him and to you. On the same day, answering a resolution of the House of Representatives, he sent copies of all correspondence since March 4, 1889, on the political affairs and relations of Hawaii, withholding, for sufficient reasons, only Mr. Stevens' No. 70 of October 8, 1892, and your No. 3 of November 16, 1893. The President therein announced that the conditions of restoration suggested by him to the Queen had not proved acceptable to her, and that since the instructions sent to you to insist upon those conditions he had not learned that the Queen was willing to assent to them. The President thereupon submitted the subject to the more extended powers and wider discretion of Congress, adding the assurance that he would be gratified to cooperate in any legitimate plan which might be devised for a solution of the problem consistent with American honor, integrity, and morality.

Your reports show that on further reflection the Queen gave her unqualified assent in writing to the conditions suggested, but that the

Provisional Government refuses to acquiesce in the President's decision.

The matter now being in the hands of Congress the President will keep that body fully advised of the situation, and will lay before it from time to time the reports received from you, including your No. 3, heretofore withheld, and all instructions sent to you. In the meantime, while keeping the Department fully informed of the course of events, you will, until further notice, consider that your special instructions upon this subject have been fully complied with.

GRESHAM.

M E S S A G E

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

Further correspondence relating to the Hawaiian Islands.

JANUARY 20, 1894.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

The CONGRESS:

I transmit herewith dispatches received yesterday from our minister at Hawaii, with certain correspondence which accompanied the same, including a most extraordinary letter, dated December 27, 1893, signed by Sanford B. Dole, minister of foreign affairs of the Provisional Government, addressed to our minister, Mr. Willis, and delivered to him a number of hours after the arrival at Honolulu of a copy of my message to Congress on the Hawaiian question, with copies of the instructions given to our minister.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, January 20, 1894.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 20.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 26, 1893.

SIR: The *Corwin* did not leave until 4 a. m. December 24. I delivered the dispatches 14 to 19, inclusive, and telegram, with files of Hawaiian newspapers, to Capt. Munger in person. This delay was caused by the failure of the Provisional Government to deliver its answer to the President's decision.

This morning I acknowledged the receipt of its answer, with the information that a copy thereof had been forwarded to you as above. I inclose my letter.

On the same day I notified the Queen, through Mr. J. O. Carter, of the result. I inclose the letter to Mr. Carter.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, United States of America.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 20.]

*Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, December 26, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 24th instant, conveying the response of the Provisional Government to the decision of the President of the United States, submitted through me on the 19th instant, and to inform you that a copy thereof was forwarded, on the same day, to Hon. W. Q. Gresham, Secretary of State.

With assurances of high regard, I am, sir, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, United States of America.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 20.]

*Mr. Willis to Mr. Carter.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 26, 1893.

SIR: Will you inform Her Majesty the Queen that on the 20th instant, in obedience to my instructions, I notified the President and ministers of the Provisional Government that the President of the United States had reached the decision that she had been illegally deprived of her authority as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands, and that they were expected to promptly relinquish to the Queen her constitutional authority.

On the 24th instant I received in reply a written communication from the Provisional Government, which was of such a nature that it became my duty, as previously instructed, to submit it to the Secretary of State, Hon. W. Q. Gresham, which was done on the same day.

With assurances of high regard, I am, sir, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, United States of America.

*Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.*No. 20 $\frac{1}{2}$.]LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 5, 1894.

SIR: On Tuesday the 26th ultimo, as stated in my dispatch No. 20, of December 26, I wrote to Hon. S. B. Dole, minister of foreign affairs, acknowledging the receipt of his response to the decision of the President and informing him that his communication had been forwarded to you.

On Wednesday the 27th ultimo, at 12 a. m., the steamship *Oceanic* arrived, with newspapers containing the President's special message in full, together with the instructions to Mr. Blount and myself. The message was reproduced in the afternoon papers under conspicuous headlines.

At 4 p. m. of the same day I received the four-page, closely-written letter, which I inclose, from Mr. Dole, minister of foreign affairs, asking to be informed, "with the least delay, whether you (I) held instructions to enforce your policy with the use of arms in any event." The information desired, although fully embodied in the President's message, might have been asked for and, except for the remarkable statements contained in the letter, would have been promptly and satisfactorily given in a few words.

Confident that the charges so surprisingly and unjustly made could not be sustained, an answer, herewith inclosed, was on the following (Thursday) morning sent to Minister Dole, asking that they be made more direct and specific.

On Friday morning, 29th ultimo, I received another letter from Mr. Dole, herewith inclosed, in which he says the "special message of the President of the United States * * * has rendered any further correspondence on the subject of my letter of 27th December unnecessary, as the message satisfactorily answers the question;" but he added, "If you still desire the specifications requested I will be ready to furnish them."

The instructions of the President to me had been strictly followed or, if departed from at all, it had been in favor of the beneficiaries of our wrongdoing. I felt, therefore, that the statements contained in the letter of Mr. Dole of the 27th ultimo were directed not at me personally, but at the President, and should be qualified or absolutely withdrawn.

Believing, from the high character and sense of justice of Mr. Dole, that if he reexamined his letter such would be the result, I wrote him a note, which I inclose. This note was delivered at his residence on the night of the same day (Friday, December 29) upon which his second letter was received. Having no answer up to Sunday night (December 31), and having occasion to communicate with his colleague, Mr. Damon, upon another matter, I called his attention to the failure of Mr. Dole to reply to my note, which, I explained to him, was written with no unfriendly purpose, but was, as by itself declared, "for the best interests of all." He informed me that the "Advisory Council" met the next day at 12 o'clock, and he thought the subject would then receive attention.

At 3 p. m. of that day (January 1) I received the letter from Hon. S. B. Dole, herewith inclosed, in which he states that "it was not my intention to withdraw any of my letters." This, of course, left every charge and statement in full force as of that date.

Believing that these charges, whether so intended or not, reflected very unjustly upon the President, whose agent I was, at 6 p. m. of the same day (Monday, January 1) I replied in the inclosed letter, asking that the "desired specifications be furnished at the earliest convenience."

Up to this hour (Friday, January 5) no reply has been received to this request nor have I any intimation when one may be expected. My request for specifications has been in the hands of the minister of foreign affairs since Monday, January 1, at 6 o'clock. I had hoped to receive it in time to answer by steamer *Pekin*, leaving to-day at 2 o'clock, especially as Mr. Thurston and Mr. Hatch, late Vice-President of the Provisional Government, leave to-morrow on the *Australia* for the United States. This delay in answering is a great surprise and regret.

I am fully prepared to show that every step taken by the representatives of our Government has been in the direction of peace and good order and that the military preparations of the Provisional Government were in progress at the time of my arrival, cases of arms, as I telegraphed you on November 4, having been brought by the steamer upon which I arrived. At that time and up to the morning of November 24 (which was the day your letter to the President first appeared here) it will not be claimed that there was the slightest apprehension as to the interference of the United States forces. And yet on the 13th of November, as is well known here, the greatest excitement prevailed at the Execu

tive building, the military forces were increased in number, and the volunteer companies were ordered on duty at night. These preparations were due, not to any fear of "American intervention," but as Mr. Damon, minister of finance, called officially to explain, resulted from the apprehensions of many citizens, mostly women and children, that as the following day was the birthday anniversary of King Kalakaua large numbers of natives from the adjoining districts would be here and an outbreak might occur. The steamer leaves in a few moments and I am unable to write more at length, but will do so when the expected answer is received.

With high regard, I am, very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary,
United States of America.

[Inclosure No. 1 in No. 20.]

Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 27, 1893.

Sir: Pending the further action of the Government of the United States upon the matters contained in your communication of December 19, and my reply to the same, dated December 23, I desire to call your excellency's most serious consideration to the dangerous and critical condition of this community, arising, I must respectfully submit, out of the attitude which you have assumed, and the language which you have used in public, and in communications to this Government, and also out of the published letter of the Secretary of State of the United States, and the President's message on the subject of the restoration of the monarchy.

I do not, however, claim or intimate that this unfortunate situation has been intentionally created by you, or by the Government which you represent, but arises from a natural construction of your attitude, and the ambiguous terms of the statements referred to.

At the time of your arrival in this country the forces of this Government were organized and were amply sufficient to suppress any internal disorder.

After your arrival you made communications regarding your policy which were ambiguous, and for several weeks you failed to disclose your intentions, and have only partially done so up to the present moment, leaving this Government to infer what they may ultimately be from the letter of Mr. Gresham and the President's message, in which it has been declared in very distinct language that the deposed Queen ought to be restored to the throne by the Government of the United States, and leaving us, further, to infer that this assumed obligation would be discharged. Your language expressed in public declared that you intended to perform some act when the proper time arrived, without disclosing what that act would be.

Under these circumstances there arose at once a general feeling of disquiet. The natural inference, from your attitude, language, and refusal to disclose your purpose and from Mr. Gresham's letter and the President's message, was, and is, that you intended to use force in maintaining your policy. The fact is well known that you, as admitted by yourself in your communication of December 19, without the consent or knowledge of this Government, have held negotiations with the deposed Queen for the purpose of overthrowing this Government. The apprehension of both political parties, as well as that of persons who remain neutral in these matters, is that you hold instructions to use physical force for the restoration of the monarchy. I am not prepared to state that this Government entertains this opinion, although its want of information to the contrary has compelled it to act as if it was correct.

In consequence of your attitude in this behalf, the enemies of the Government, believing in your intentions to restore the monarchy by force, have become emboldened. Threats of assassination of the officers of this Government have been made. The police force is frequently informed of conspiracies to create disorder. Aged and sick persons, of all nationalities, have been and are in a state of distress and anxiety. Children in the schools are agitated by the fear of political disturbances. The wives, sisters, and daughters of residents, including many Americans, have been in daily

apprehension of civic disorder, many of them having even armed themselves in preparation therefor; citizens have made preparation in their homes for defense against assaults which may arise directly or indirectly from such conflict. Persons have begun to pack their valuables with a view of immediate departure; large quantities of bandages have been prepared. Unprotected women have received the promise of asylum from the Japanese representative against possible disturbance arising in consequence of American invasion. Rumors of the intended landing of your forces for offensive purposes have agitated the community for many days. The situation for weeks has been one of warfare, without the incident of actual combat. Even the ex-Queen has called upon this Government for protection, which was awarded to her. Owing to your attitude, the Government has been compelled by public apprehension to largely increase its military force, at great expense. Its efforts have been placed and still continue in a condition of defense and preparation for siege; and the community has been put into a state of mind bordering on terrorism.

This Government has most earnestly sought from you, and through our representative at Washington from your Government, some assurance that force would not be used, and has failed to obtain it. Your action has, unfortunately, aroused the passions of all parties, and made it probable that disturbances may be created at any moment.

I am informed by military authorities that while the force at your command is sufficient to destroy this city it is insufficient to suppress any general rising and conflict of armed forces and insurrections or to prevent the loss of life and property.

This Government is reluctant to believe that this condition of affairs was contemplated or expected by yourself or by the President of the United States.

I have therefore to ask you to inform me with the least delay whether you hold instructions to enforce your policy with the use of arms in any event.

I trust that you will be able, in reply, to give assurances that will tend to allay the apprehensions existing in the community.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration,

Your excellency's obedient servant,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure No. 2 in No. 204.]

Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 27, 1893.

SIR: Your communication of this date was delivered at 4 p. m., and would have received an immediate answer except for the statements reflecting upon the President of the United States and upon his diplomatic agent in this country, which, in view of their gravity, should, I respectfully submit, be set forth with more particularity and certainty.

In order, therefore, to answer your communication as it deserves to be answered, I beg leave to call your attention to the following clauses and sentences, which can not be properly commented on or replied to until understood.

(1) You refer in several places to "the attitude which you (the diplomatic agent of the United States) assumed," "the natural construction of my attitude," "the natural inference from your attitude," "in consequence of your attitude in this behalf," "owing to your attitude the Government has been compelled," etc.

"Attitude," as is well understood, is "essentially and designedly expressive," its object being "to set forth and exhibit some internal feeling."

If this is the accepted meaning of the word will you point out when, and where, and how, the representative of the United States "assumed" any "attitude" towards the supporters of the Provisional Government, or that Government itself, other than one "essentially and designedly expressive" of peace.

(2) You assert that "at the time of your (my) arrival in this country the forces of this (your) Government were organized and were amply sufficient to suppress any internal disorder." Will you inform me what connection this statement has or is desired to have with the Government of the United States or with the future action of its representative?

(3) You refer to the "language which you (I) have used in public, and in communication to this (your) Government," but you give neither the time, place, or subject-matter of the "language" or "communication."

(4) You call attention to the "published letter of the Secretary of State of the United States, and the President's message on the subject of the restoration of the Queen," but you quote the words of neither, so that if I were at liberty to discuss

with you, matters not properly subject to diplomatic cognizance, I have not sufficient data to do so, as the Secretary's letter is not before me and the President has transmitted to the Congress two messages on the subject referred to, both of which, I assume, you were familiar with at the time you wrote your communication. May I ask, therefore, to which message do you refer, or do you include both?

(5) You further state that "after your (my) arrival, you (I) made communications regarding your policy, which were ambiguous." May I ask to whom and when these "communications" were made and what were their contents?

(6) You also say "your (my) language, expressed in public, declared that you (I) intended to perform some act when the proper time arrived, without declaring what that act would be." May I inquire, again, when and where and to what "public" was such language used?

(7) You further say: "This Government has most earnestly sought from you * * * some assurance that force would not be used, and has failed to obtain it." Will you inform me at what time and in what manner your Government "earnestly sought" the "assurance" referred to?

In conclusion, I would ask your careful consideration of the following statement: "Your (my) action has unfortunately aroused the passions of all parties and made it probable that disturbances may be created at any moment." Before replying to the above, I think that your further attention should be drawn to it, as I refuse to believe that upon reexamination you will feel at liberty to affix your official signature to such an extraordinary declaration.

Hoping that you will enable me to reply "with the least delay," as requested, by giving me the desired information, I am, sir, with renewed assurances of friendly consideration,

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, United States of America.

[Inclosure No. 3 in No. 20½.]

Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 29, 1893.

SIR: Your excellency's letter of December 27, referring to my communication of the same date, which requests information as to the nature of your instructions from your Government in regard to the use of force against this Government, and asking for a more specific statement of matters therein contained, has been received.

I desire to state that the arrival of newspaper copies by the late mail, since my note to you was written, of the special message of the President of the United States to Congress on the Hawaiian matter has rendered any further correspondence on the subject of my letter unnecessary, as the message satisfactorily answers my question as to future action of the American administration towards the Government, the whole Hawaiian matter having been referred to Congress by the President.

If, however, you still desire the specifications requested I will be ready to furnish them.

With assurances of the highest consideration, etc.,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure 4 in No. 20½.]

Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.

HONOLULU, *December 29, 1893.*

SIR: I received your note of this date in answer to one from me of the 27th instant. Am I to understand that your communication of the latter date is withdrawn? If this is your intention, as I hope it is, I would for the best interests of all, suggest that the whole correspondence on the subject be withdrawn, with the understanding that the original letters be returned to their authors, and that no copies be given to the public or made a record by either government.

With sincere regard, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure 5 in No. 204.]

*Without signature to Mr. Willis.*DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *January 1, 1894.*

SIR: Your Excellency's communication of December 29, inquiring if my note amounted to a withdrawal of my communication on the subject referred to, has been received.

It was not my intention to withdraw any of my letters, but merely to inform you that the arrival of newspaper copies of the special message of the President of the United States on the Hawaiian matter, made it unnecessary for me to press you for further answer to my question.

With the highest appreciation of your kindly interest, I have the honor, etc.,

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

(Not signed.)

[Inclosure 6 in No. 204.]

*Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 1, 1894.

SIR: On the 27th ultimo, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I received a lengthy communication from you containing statements, which I am fully prepared to show are not warranted by the facts, seriously affecting the President of the United States and the representatives of the United States in this country. These charges and statements, if accepted as the official views of your Government, demanded prompt answer and equally prompt action on the part of the Government of the United States, to the end that the condition of things therein described should be removed by the removal of the alleged causes.

In order more satisfactorily to answer your communication I immediately, in a letter written the same day, requested a more specific statement upon seven points at issue.

I have the honor now to acknowledge the receipt on last Friday, December 29, at 1 p. m., of a letter from you stating that the last message of the President of the United States "satisfactorily answers your question as to the future action of the American administration toward this (your) Government."

You further say: "If, however, you still desire the specifications requested I will be ready to furnish them."

In reply to this last letter, I beg leave most respectfully to state that if your first communication on this subject had been confined to the single question above mentioned an immediate and satisfactory answer would have been given. That a different course was adopted, has been a source of sincere and profound regret to myself, as it will be, I know, to my Government, and this for several reasons, among which not the least is that it brings for the first time the official information that the war-like preparations described by you were caused by and intended for the diplomatic and military representatives of the United States.

Your communications on this subject, being official in character, become a part of the permanent records of this legation, and are required to be transmitted to the Government at Washington.

In view of these facts, and in the confident belief that upon fuller consideration you would realize the great injustice of your statements, I wrote you a brief note, which was delivered at your residence on the night of Friday, December 29, expressing the hope that your letter of the 27th instant was intended as a withdrawal of your first communication, and stating that if such was the case I would "for the best interests of all suggest that the whole correspondence on the subject be withdrawn, with the understanding that the original letters be returned to their authors and that no copies be given to the public or made a record by either Government."

Having received no reply to this note, I took occasion last night (December 31) to explain in an informal way to one of your ministers (Mr. Damon) that my note to you was prompted by no improper or unfriendly spirit, but was intended to continue the amicable relations heretofore existing.

There was in your letter of December 29 no withdrawal or modification of the statements and charges complained of, but on the contrary an expression of "readiness," implying ability, to furnish the "specifications requested."

I am just in receipt of your letter (which bears no signature) of this date, in reply to my last note, in which you say: "It is not my intention to withdraw any of my letters, but merely to inform you that the arrival of newspaper copies of the special message of the President of the United States on the Hawaiian matter made it unnecessary for me to press you for further answer to my question."

Accepting the above as your decision, I have now to ask that you furnish me, at your earliest convenience, with the desired specifications, as I wish to make immediate answer.

With renewed assurances, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, United States of America.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

Additional correspondence relating to the Hawaiian Islands.

JANUARY 22, 1894.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

The Congress:

I transmit herewith copies of dispatches received from our minister to Hawaii after the arrival of those, copies of which accompanied my message of the 20th instant.

I also inclose for the information of the Congress copies of reports and a copy of an order just received by the Secretary of the Navy from Rear-Admiral Irwin, commanding our naval forces at Honolulu.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
January 22, 1894.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 21.] HONOLULU, *January 4, 1894.*
Transmits contingent expense account of the legation.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 22.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 6, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to call your attention to the following changes in the Provisional Government: Hon. F. M. Hatch resigned yesterday the office of vice-president, assigning as reason that he was "under the necessity of going beyond the limits of the country." Hon. W. C. Wilder, of the advisory council, was elected to fill the vacancy.

An act was brought before the executive and advisory council "separating the office of minister of foreign affairs from that of the office of president," and providing "that hereafter the department of foreign affairs shall be presided over by an officer called the minister of foreign affairs, who shall be chosen by the executive and advisory councils of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands. The minister of foreign affairs so chosen shall be a member of the executive council of the Government." This act was referred to the judiciary committee, but it was understood to be the unanimous judgment of the councils and that Mr. Hatch will be elected to the position. At present the duties of the minister of foreign affairs are discharged by the president, Mr. Dole. The executive committee now consists of four persons. By the above act it will be increased to five.

With assurances, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 23.]

HONOLULU, January 6, 1894.

Transmits minister's monthly salary account.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 24.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 6, 1894.

SIR: I send herewith the petition of the "Hui Aloha Aina" (Hawaiian Patriotic League), an association which claims to represent over 8,000 legal voters. The petition was brought here last night by Hon. J. A. Cummins, the honorary president of the association, and Mr. A. Marques, a member of its "executive council," who stated that they were a committee for that purpose.

With high regard, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Original.]

Petition of the Hawaiian Patriotic League to President Cleveland.

To His Excellency Grover Cleveland, President of the United States of America:

SIR: The Hawaiian people are moved with the deepest concern in view of the delayed and uncertain conditions of affairs in Hawaii, and also of the active hostility that seems to have suddenly developed in the United States against the policy of Your Excellency and the American administration regarding our unhappy little country and the just restoration of our national monarchy. We have noted with anxiety and sorrow the apparent success which a campaign of malign falsehoods has had in the American press to embarrass the administration at Washington, and we reproach the newspapers of America for their unchivalrous and untruthful abuse of our Queen, who, only a year ago, was in the acknowledged lead of the Christian work in Hawaii and the gracious patron of the sycophantic church society that now maligns her. Therefore, in the event of the Hawaiian question having to be discussed before the American Congress, the Hawaiian people have thought it timely to come out of their past reserve and to assert their views, as against those of the Provisional Government, who falsely assume to represent the whole nation.

To this effect, the officers and members of the Hui Aloha Aina (Hawaiian Patriotic League), an association numbering over 8,000 legal voters, created for the purpose of preserving the autonomy of the country under the native Monarchy, have prepared for such use as your Excellency may deem proper the present memorial, for the public ratification of which they can confidently vouch, had the association been permitted to hold public meetings for that purpose, in Honolulu and the other districts.

In this document we aim principally at making patent what the people at large, have suffered and lost since the assumption of the so-called Provisional Government.

MEMORIAL.

Last January, a political crime was committed, not only against the legitimate Sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom, but also against the whole Hawaiian nation, a nation who, for the past sixty years, had enjoyed free and happy constitutional self-government. This was done by a *coup de main* of U. S. Minister Stevens, in collusion with a cabal of conspirators, mainly faithless sons of missionaries and local politicians angered by continuous political defeat, who, as a revenge for being a hopeless minority in the country, resolved to "rule or ruin" through foreign help.

The facts of this "revolution," as it is improperly called, are now a matter of history. Under the false pretense of protecting American interests, which were in no way endangered, troops were landed regardless of international rights from the U. S. S. Boston on the afternoon of January 16, 1893, and so placed as to intimidate the Queen and interfere with the forces at her command, which were ample to quell any domestic disturbance. At about 3 o'clock p. m. on the next day, the 17th of January, a mob of a dozen aliens, principally Germans of a desperate character, paid by the conspirators, invaded the Government building, which was virtually commanded by the United States troops. They then went through the farce of proclaiming the Provisional Government, which Minister Stevens hastened to recognize and support before they had obtained possession of any of the other public buildings, all strongly occupied by the armed police and the Queen's guard. The Queen and her Government, realizing the situation, but unwilling to make war with the United States forces and to occasion useless bloodshed of innocent Hawaiian subjects, yielded under protest to the superior force and moral power of the United States. And while waiting for the result of this appeal, with full confidence in the American honor, the Queen requested all her loyal subjects to remain absolutely quiet and passive, and to submit with patience to all the insults that have been since heaped upon both the Queen and the people by the usurping Government.

The necessity of this attitude of absolute inactivity on the part of the Hawaiian people was further indorsed and emphasized by Commissioner Blount, so that, if the Hawaiians have held their peace in a manner that will vindicate their character as law-abiding citizens, yet it can not and must not be construed as evidence that they are apathetic or indifferent, or ready to acquiesce in the wrong and bow to the usurpers. No; the traditional virtue of the aborigines is respect and obedience to their rulers, and it has been fully tested in the present crisis; and when the Hawaiian Patriotic League, whose representatives the present memorialists are, formed its enthusiastic branches all over the islands, the first watchword was to maintain a dignified peace pending the arbitrament of the United States. Had it not been for this request of our Sovereign, there would doubtless have been a tremendous uprising throughout the islands to crush the usurpers, but it would have been a sad tale of blood and destruction, which, from the first, it was sought to avoid if possible.

The advent of Mr. Blount as a special commissioner was hailed with satisfaction by both contending factions. His course in Hawaii was marked by a dignity, courtesy, and discretion that was highly creditable to his country, and gained for him at the time the respect and confidence of all classes. His report to the President has been characterized by the greatest impartiality and absolute respect for truth, so that this Patriotic League have fully indorsed it and can solemnly testify to its veracity and reliability.

The letter of Secretary Gresham to the President and the instructions to Minister Willis to request the Provisional Government to relinquish its power to our legitimate Sovereign have created a deep feeling of gratitude in the minds and hearts of the Hawaiian people, and a still more profound respect for the American Government, who now appears to be acting with the same spirit of justice and friendship that has always characterized its actions in the past toward this little nation. And the policy therein outlined, though quite expected, has caused us to honor and respect Your Excellency as a distinguished, firm, and just ruler, worthy of a great people.

But, in the meantime, a number of the American people, deceived by the most astounding and unblushing falsehoods disseminated through the States by the papers

supporting the plotters, do not realize the wrongs and sufferings that the true people of these islands have undergone for the past eleven months under the shield of American prestige. In fact, it ought to be understood that the people have suffered even more than the Sovereign. The Queen was simply deprived of her throne, power, and revenues, while, under the pretense of obtaining American liberty, the people have lost their dearest liberties and civil rights, many their livelihood, and were on the eve of losing even their nationality, their country having been offered without their assent as a barter by the filibusterers who owe their power to Minister Stevens.

The Provisional Government, its leaders, and their defenders claim abroad to represent the Hawaiian nation. This we most emphatically deny; they represent only a clique bent upon oppressing the masses, they are only a fractional portion of the population, wealth, intelligence, and civilization of Hawaii, and even a fraction only of the American colony, and the fact of there being among the usurpers some men of intelligence and capital makes their conduct only more odious, because in direct violation of those American principles for which Americans have repeatedly shed their blood, viz, the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and the rule of the majority. The presence of men of intelligence and capital among the usurpers only shows that even in those classes there can be found depraved men and moral criminals. We assert that any trial at the ballot box would show that the native Hawaiians and the rapidly increasing class of halfwhites, both claiming to be the equal in intelligence of any electorate in the United States, are virtually, as a unit, "Royalists" and opposed politically to the P. G. and its self-appointed dictators; moreover, fully one-half of the foreign merchants, capitalists, planters, and mechanics are also opposed to the same and are avowed sympathizers of the monarchy. And we solemnly declare that unless crushed by force, as old Poland was, the Hawaiian people will never be conciliated to the present misrule. Thus the P. G. so well know that they have persistently refused to have their tenure of power legalized and ratified by public vote, even on a restricted basis of property qualification; and ever since Mr. Stevens's *coup de main* to maintain themselves in power they have depended, as proved by their military display, not on the sympathies, confidence, and good will of the people, but on the force of alien bayonets and of Draconian laws. How can they have the insolence to call themselves "the people" when they exist solely as a military despotism and oligarchy, which defies all public opinion and constitutional ideas? They are common pirates, and cling to their ill-gotten power as freebooters.

Furthermore, the Provisional Government now claim their right (through might) to perpetuate themselves, to declare themselves permanent without any reference to the people or to the taxpayers, although the American Government have very correctly declared that the only excuse to their existence (viz, the negotiations for annexation to the U. S.) was at an end. This is the greatest of all the aggravations and provocations to the Hawaiians that have been accumulated against them, on account probably of their peaceful and patient attitude. And here a short *exposé* of our grievances, as resulting from our patient confidence in the justice and honor of the American nation, will not be out of place:

(1) Through Minister Stevens's premeditated conspiracy the Hawaiian people have been deprived of all their political rights, and the Provisional Government have emphatically declared that no more elections would be held as long as they could keep control of the country; thus sixty years of recognized rights are swept away at the whim of a selfish and small minority.

(2) The legal constitution having been virtually abrogated, as declared by judicial decisions, the inhabitants of Hawaii now really live under the arbitrary suzerainty of the Provisional Government and under the laws which an irresponsible "advisory council," recruited between themselves, chose to enact or to cancel to satisfy the prejudices and whims of their little clique, and it is only the fear of the foreign representatives that deters them from absolute star-chamber rule.

(3) The people have lost all confidence in the administration of justice, as the supreme bench—formerly the model of integrity and the pride of the country—as well as all the lower courts, have been filled by adventurers with no other claim than partizanship, whereby crimes are conveniently condoned when committed by followers or sympathizers of the P. G., while honest citizens known to be Royalists, have been harshly treated or denied justice and satisfaction.

(4) The public funds have been outrageously squandered for the maintenance of an unnecessary large army, fed in luxury, and composed *entirely* of aliens, mainly recruited from the most disreputable classes of San Francisco. To face the expenditures of this force and the arms that have been imported by thousands, nearly all the public works have been suspended; and yet in presence of the country's impending bankruptcy, the taxes (which have already been largely increased) will have to be doubled or more.

(5) All the natives and the foreign Royalists have been disarmed, while arms have been distributed wholesale to all aliens who profess sympathy to the P. G. and

principally to the Portuguese element, who form a large but ignorant and vicious part of our population; and this alone constitutes a permanent menace to the security and peace of the community.

(6) Several clubs and leagues, composed mostly of Germans, Portuguese, and Scandinavians, with really very few American citizens, have been called into existence for the support of the revolutionary government, and these organizations, with socialistic tendencies, have become an uncontrollable power, this fact being recognized and admitted by the executive council, who are intimidated by their clamors for the dismissal from public service of all Hawaiian or Hawaiian born subjects, to be replaced by the newly arrived adventurers, at their nomination.

(7) These clubs and their organs have repeatedly threatened murder, violence, and deportation against all those not in sympathy with the present state of things, and the police being in their control, intimidation is a common weapon, under various forms, even that of nocturnal searches in the residences of peaceful citizens, so that, were it not for the presence in port of foreign men-of-war, the population would be living under a hopeless reign of terror.

(8) The situation may be summed up by saying that never before in these islands, under what our filibusterers are pleased to refer to as the rule of heathenism, have we had such an unruly, despotic, unrepresentative, and squandering government, whose chief supporters are from the disorderly and adventurous foreign element, not from the natural inhabitants with families and property. And never before have the lives and peace of inoffensive citizens been so jeopardized, all of this under the pretense of American peace and civilization!!!

The above is but a faint outline of what the Hawaiian have suffered and are now suffering under the régime imposed on them by the alleged Christians of Mr. Stevens's following. And while the Hawaiians, disarmed by American intervention, have been patiently and peacefully waiting the judgment of your administration, the Provisional Government, actually under American protection, have diligently employed the long delay and used the people's money in fortifying themselves. They have grown desperate, so that when the arbitration of the United States is decided against them, those very men who appealed to America and claimed American citizenship for the furtherance of their selfish ends, turn around ready with their alien soldiers imported for the purpose to fight against their own Government and the soldiers of their nation. These unholy "patriots" are ready and willing to commit, against their own country, the crimes of rebellion and high treason, all the more heinous in this case, since the Hawaiians, who might have some right to fight in their own country for their own independence, have always declared their unchangeable resolution not to lift an aggressive hand against the great nation which, in the past, has so befriended Hawaii, and their readiness to abide by its decision, be that what it may.

Will it now appear a wonder that the Provisional Government have rendered themselves odious to all classes except their immediate supporters?

We shall not dwell on the fact that the Provisional Government have never been a legally constituted administration, but merely a temporary *de facto* police organization to preserve the peace pending the action of the United States; their power could only come from the people, who have not been consulted, because a public meeting of less than 1,000 foreigners, mostly nonvoters, out of a total voting population of 13,000 and a total number of inhabitants of 92,000 can not be said to constitute the nation.

Yet we hear that the principal objection raised, by otherwise well-meaning Americans, against your excellency's policy of doing justice to our cause is the apparent inconsistency of a republican form of government restoring a monarchy. But we claim that our case is really a question of right and equity, and not one of a form of government; it is the matter of a peaceful monarchy, friendly to the United States, invaded by the hostile forces of that Republic to assist a revolutionary *junta* who verily intended to use America only as a convenient cat's-paw for their personal interests.

The principle of monarchical government may be distasteful to the radical democracy of America. But it is the chosen and preferred form of the Hawaiian people, under which, with its constitutional limitations, they and the foreign settlers have prospered and enjoyed, equally as well as any Republic, all the advantages and democratic privileges of popular government. Why should the Americans in Hawaii, who constitute only the small portion of 2-14 per cent of our population, or the people in America, 2,000 miles away, object to a monarchical form of government in Hawaii, popular with the great majority of the population who have here their only home and country?

Therefore the Hawaiians, as a nation, appeal for justice and redress to the impartiality of the American nation, in whose honor, integrity, and love of fair play we have so long and so patiently trusted. As peaceful and law-abiding citizens, ever ready to submit to the constitutional rule of the majority, duly expressed through

an untrammelled ballot box, we ask that, in the place of the present temporary usurpers who are hostile to the native race, our own government, in the person of Queen Liliuokalani, be restored to us, with a new constitution more equitable to us than the one that was wrested from the late King Kalakaua in 1887 through force of arms.

To this effect we now pray the God of a common faith, that, right, justice, and honor prevailing, Hawaii, our home and country, be allowed again to enjoy the blessings of the independent autonomy and constitutional régime which were so infamously subverted on the 17th day of January last; and we also earnestly pray that the Almighty may grant all His blessings on yourself, Mr. President, and on the noble American nation.

And your memorialists, Mr. President, have the honor to be, of your excellency, most humble and obedient servants,

J. A. CUMMINS,
Honorary President.
JOSEPH NAWAHI,
President.
JNO. E. BUSH,
Vice-President.
JOHN LOT KAULUKOU,
Vice-President.
J. K. KAUNUMANO,
Vice-President.
J. W. BIPIKANE,
Vice-President.
JAS. K. KAULIA,
Secretary.
ENOCH JOHNSON,
Treasurer.
JNO. UAHIAI KANEAKUA,
Executive Councilor.
D. W. PUA,
Executive Councilor.
J. K. MERSEBURG,
Executive Councilor.
W. H. RICKARD,
Executive Councilor.
JOHN ROSS,
Executive Councilor.
JOHN K. PRENDERGAST,
Executive Councilor.
ABRAHAM K. PALEKALUHI,
Executive Councilor.
J. KAHAWAI,
Executive Councilor.
A. MARQUES,
Executive Councilor.
W. T. SEWARD,
Executive Councilor.

HONOLULU, this 27th day of December, 1893.

PACIFIC STATION, OFFICE OF THE
COMMANDER IN CHIEF, U. S. NAVAL FORCE,
U. S. F. S. PHILADELPHIA,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 2, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to submit the following report in regard to the situation since the departure of the *Corwin* on the 24th ultimo.

The military preparations for defense continue to be made by the Provisional Government and the excitement is unabated.

The newspapers assume that I, as the military representative of the U. S. Government, intend to use force to restore the Queen, at the same time they quote me as saying that I would not obey any order which I

considered unlawful, also that the officers and men under my command had assumed the same attitude.

These sensational reports are intended to influence public opinion in the United States and are entirely without foundation. Since my arrival I have carefully avoided all expression of opinion except in conference with the U. S. minister, and have ordered all my command to pursue a similar course. I may further add that Mr. Willis has never given me the slightest hint that there was ever any intention on the part of the U. S. Government to use force in order to restore the Queen. My own orders to preserve strict neutrality have been implicitly obeyed.

It has been asserted quite often that we were prepared to land, which is true, but our motives were intentionally misconstrued, as Mr. Willis stated openly, and his statement was published that we would land solely for the purpose of suppressing riot, and to protect the lives and property of the defenseless.

Were it not for the course of the newspapers in their endeavor to influence public opinion in the United States, no uneasiness would be felt, and business would go on as usual. I do not believe that ordinary business is seriously affected, as is reported, but no new enterprises will be undertaken until there is some settled government.

The commanding officers of the Japanese cruiser *Naniwa Kan* and the British cruiser *Champion* called on me to arrange for landing a force to protect the lives and property of their countrymen in case there should be any serious riot. They offered to cooperate with me and to place their landing parties where, in my opinion, they would do the most good.

Now, as the general public in Honolulu is fully aware of the above fact, and have no longer any apprehension of any riot, and, as the perusal of the President's message has convinced every one that no force would be used to change the Government, it is criminal for any one to make the misstatements referred to.

Foreign influence, inimical to the interests of the United States, is secretly at work here, as it is wherever we have any trade interests, and that influence will account for many of the misstatements in the papers.

I forward files of newspapers covering the period since last mail. The health of the crews of the vessels here remains good.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN IRWIN,
Rear Admiral, U. S. Navy,
Commanding U. S. Naval Force, Pacific Station.

The SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

PACIFIC STATION,
OFFICE COMMANDER IN CHIEF U. S. NAVAL FORCE,
U. S. FLAGSHIP PHILADELPHIA,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 3, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to call the attention of the Department to the admirable discretion exercised by the officers and men of this squadron under the most trying circumstances.

Notwithstanding the great parade of preparations for war not one case of misconduct on shore has occurred, and this evidence of perfect discipline has been very favorably commented upon by disinterested parties ashore and afloat.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN IRWIN,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. Navy,
Commanding U. S. Naval Force, Pacific Station.

The SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

GENERAL ORDER, }
NO. 2. }

PACIFIC STATION,
FLAGSHIP PHILADELPHIA,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, November 29, 1893.

The commander in chief calls the attention of all under his command to the manifest impropriety of taking sides with either political party in Hawaii.

The expression of political opinion or the wearing of badges is strictly forbidden.

JOHN IRWIN,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. Navy,
Commanding U. S. Naval Force on Pacific Station.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

A letter from the Secretary of State, with a dispatch received from the U. S. minister at Hawaii.

FEBRUARY 2, 1894.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

The CONGRESS:

I hereby transmit a communication from the Secretary of State, accompanying a dispatch received a few days ago from our minister at Hawaii.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
February 2, 1894.

The PRESIDENT:

I send herewith, with a view to their transmission to Congress, if in the opinion of the President such action is not inconsistent with the public interest, two copies of dispatch No. 27½, under date of January 12, from Mr. Willis, our minister at Honolulu, it being the only communication received from him since January 22 bearing upon the relations between the United States and Hawaii.

Three other dispatches, Nos. 25, 26, and 27, inclosing requisitions for stationery, duplicate accounts of transit salary, and other papers having no relevancy to the matters which the President submitted to Congress in his special message of December 18, came by the same mail.

Respectfully submitted.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 2, 1894.

[Confidential.]

No. 27½.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 12, 1894.

SIR: On yesterday at 6:30 p. m. I received the Hon. S. B. Dole's answer to my letter of January 1, requesting him "at his earliest convenience" to give me the specifications contained in a prior letter. His answer is about fifty pages of closely written official paper, and has been delivered to me too late to either copy or reply to, in time for the steamer leaving at 2 p. m. to-day.

There is one extract, however, to which I think your attention should be called, wherein it is stated "this Government has been and *now is* subjected to the necessity of increased watchfulness and large additional expense, which, but for such attitude, would have been unnecessary." The emphasis above is mine. In a previous letter of December 27 Minister Dole had stated: "The Government offices have been placed and still continue in a condition of defense and preparation for siege, and the community has been put into a state of mind bordering on terrorism." The emphasis above is mine. Some portions of the letters from which these extracts are made confirm the above statements while others seem to negative them. With this explanation, I submit them for your consideration.

The next steamer leaves here February 3, which would place you in possession of Mr. Dole's letter and my purposed reply thereto about February 18.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

HON. W. Q. GRESHAM,
Secretary of State.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

Further correspondence relating to the Hawaiian Islands.

FEBRUARY 13, 1894.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

The Congress :

I transmit herewith two dispatches, received a few days ago, from our minister at Hawaii, and a reply to one of them from the Secretary of State, in which a correct version is given of an interview which occurred November 14, 1893, between the Secretary of State and Mr. Thurston, representing the Provisional Government at Washington.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

Washington, February 12, 1894.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Confidential.]

No. 28.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 16, 1894.

SIR: On last Thursday, January 11, by a vote of 7 to 2, the 17th day of January, being the first anniversary of the Provisional Government, was declared a public holiday.

On yesterday afternoon the representatives of foreign governments received invitations to "participate in the observance of the day."

Subsequently, the British minister, Maj. Wodehouse; the Portuguese chargé d'affaires and consul-general, Senhor Canavarro; the diplomatic agent and consul-general of Japan, Monsieur Fujii, together with Monsieur Vizzavona, chancellor and acting commissioner of France, called to inquire what reply the U. S. diplomatic agent would make.

I stated to these gentlemen that the course of our Government had not then been determined, but I did not feel at liberty to assent to the suggestion made by one of them that they should be guided exclusively in this matter by the United States. After an interchange of views they concluded that under the instructions of their respective governments they could not participate in the observance of the day and that they would so notify the Provisional Government.

This afternoon I replied to Mr. Dole's letter, a copy of which reply I inclose, stating that "with due appreciation of his courtesy and with no disrespect to him or his Government, I was, I regretted to say, unable to accept the invitation extended."

The programme of the celebration to-morrow includes battalion review and parade of military, reception at executive building, firing of national salute, and mass meeting at night, to be addressed by half a dozen speakers.

With high regard, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary,
United States of America.

—
[Inclosure.]

Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 16, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt on yesterday afternoon of your communication of January 13, 1894, informing me that "Wednesday, the 17th instant, will be observed as a national holiday. The Hawaiian flag will be displayed on all Government buildings and a national salute will be fired from the battery at noon," and inviting me "to participate in the observance of the day."

With due appreciation of your courtesy and with no disrespect to you or your Government, I am, I regret to say, unable to accept the invitation extended.

The letters inclosed in your communication, addressed to Admiral Irwin, Capt. Barker, and Capt. Nelson, of the U. S. Navy, were, as requested, transmitted to them, and the answers thereto I send herewith.

With renewed assurances of high consideration, and with the earnest hope that all questions between our governments may be speedily, honorably, and satisfactorily determined,

I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, United States of America.

—
Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

[Confidential.]

No. 29.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 16, 1894.

SIR: In a letter from Hon. S. B. Dole, minister of foreign affairs, addressed to me under date of January 11, the following statement is made:

On November 14, Mr. Thurston, Hawaiian minister at Washington, called upon the Secretary of State, and inquired if the above letter [yours of October 18] was authentic, and was assured by Mr. Gresham that it was.

Mr. Thurston then said: "I wish, then, to further ask whether it is the intention of the United States Government to carry out its policy therein indicated by force;

or, in other words, whether, if the Provisional Government declines to accede to the request of the United States Government to vacate in favor of the Queen, United States troops will be used to enforce the request."

To which Mr. Gresham replied:

"I am not at liberty at present to answer that question. It is a matter concerning which I will speak to the President and talk with you more fully this afternoon."

In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Gresham further said to Mr. Thurston:

"I have already answered your first question, to the effect that the letter published [Secretary Gresham to the President] was authentic, and a correct statement of the policy of the United States. As to your second question, as to whether force is to be used by the United States to restore the Queen, all that I am at liberty to state is that Mr. Willis has no instructions to do anything which will cause injury to life or property of any one at the islands. Further than this I am not at liberty to state what his instructions are. You can draw your own inferences from my statement and allay any apprehension which may have been caused by what has been published."

Mr. Thurston further said to Mr. Gresham:

"Your answer does not convey the information which I requested. What I desire is to obtain information which will guide my Government in their action. If they know that force is to be used by you their course of action will necessarily be different from what it otherwise would be. The definite information from me that you intend to use force may be the means of preventing them from using force and causing bloodshed."

To which Mr. Gresham replied:

"Our relations in the past have been pleasant and I want them to continue to be so in the future and to be perfectly courteous to you, but I can not at present answer you more fully than I have done."

I do not know whether Mr. Thurston made this statement public in the United States at the time, but I do know that the first intimation that this community has upon the subject is contained in Mr. Dole's letter of the 11th instant.

Had your statement to Mr. Thurston been made public here at the time (November 24) when it was received the excitement resulting from the warlike preparations of the Provisional Government would have been allayed and critical and dangerous conditions avoided.

With high regard, I am, sir, very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Mr. Gresham to Mr. Willis.

No. 13.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, February 8, 1891.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 29, of January 16, in which you refer to a letter received from the Hon. S. B. Dole, minister of foreign affairs of the Provisional Government, addressed to you under date of January 11, containing statements alleged to have been made by me in an interview with Mr. Thurston, the Hawaiian minister, on November 14, last.

It is true that I had two interviews with Mr. Thurston on the day mentioned, the first of which was very brief. Immediately after the second interview I dictated to a stenographer a statement, from which the following is quoted, it being all that relates to the subject of Mr. Dole's communication to you:

On the forenoon of November 14 Hon. L. A. Thurston, minister of the Provisional Government of Hawaii, called at the State Department for an interview with the Secretary of State on the Hawaiian situation. The minister was informed by the Secretary that it was about time for a cabinet meeting, and he was under the neces-

sity of requesting the minister to call again at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. He replied that he would do so, but before leaving desired to submit two questions to the Secretary: First, Was the letter addressed by the Secretary to the President about Hawaii and the Provisional Government and printed in the papers a few days ago authentic and official? Second, If it was, and he presumed it was, was it the President's intention to use force, if need be, against the Provisional Government in restoring the Queen? The Secretary replied that the letter was authentic, but not having time to spend with the minister just then he could repeat the questions on calling in the afternoon. The minister called at the appointed hour, and the Secretary informed him that the letter addressed to the President was authentic, and that *no action had or would be taken by our minister, Mr. Willis, which would imperil the lives or property of the officers or supporters of the Provisional Government, and that if they suffered in any way it would be in consequence of their own acts or attitude.*

The interview continued:

"MINISTER. Mr. Secretary, that answer is not satisfactory, and I would be glad if you would be more explicit.

"SECRETARY. I can not be more explicit at this time. You can draw your own inferences from what I have said and correct any false impressions that may have been created by what has been published."

I answered the second question in the underscored language from a slip of paper which lay on my table in plain view before me. I did not say in either interview that I was not at liberty to answer either question.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

W. Q. GRESHAM.

ALBERT S. WILLIS, ESQ., etc.,
Honolulu.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

A dispatch and inclosures recently received from the minister at Hawaii.

MARCH 20, 1894.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

To the Congress :

I transmit herewith a copy of a dispatch recently received from our minister at Hawaii, together with copies of the inclosures which accompanied said dispatch.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
March 19, 1894.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 17, 1894.

The PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of State has the honor to lay before the President a copy of a dispatch, dated March 2, 1894, and numbered 38, received on the 16th instant from our minister at Honolulu.

There were received with the same mail two other dispatches, numbered 39 and 40, acknowledging the receipt of Department instructions and of stationery sent for the use of the legation, respectively.

Respectfully submitted.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 38.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, March 2, 1894.

SIR: I transmit herewith the final correspondence touching the attitude of the diplomatic agent of the United States in regard to the use

of force, being two letters from Hon. S. B. Dole, minister of foreign affairs, dated February 5 and February 14, 1894, and my reply thereto, dated February 14, 1894.

I have, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary,
United States of America.

[Inclosure No. 1.]

Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, February 5, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt on the 3d instant of your excellency's letter of the 19th ultimo, in which you give me your full and detailed résumé and explanation of such of the events and matters alluded to in my letter to you of the 11th ultimo as in your opinion require explanation on your part, and showing clearly your desire that no interpretation be placed on any of those events or matters which is inconsistent with the friendly attitude of yourself and your Government toward this Government, and insisting that your own course was not such as to arouse anxiety in this community concerning the intentions of the U. S. Government.

The subject of the letter of your excellency will receive my full consideration.

With highest esteem, I have, etc.,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure No. 2.]

Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, February 14, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date in further answer to my letter of the 19th ultimo, and to inform you that on the 20th ultimo I was notified by my Government that the Hawaiian question had been submitted to Congress and that my special instructions had been fully complied with. Copies of all the letters embraced in the correspondence have been transmitted to Washington.

With assurance of high esteem, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure No. 3.]

Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, February 14, 1894.

SIR: Referring again to your communication of January 19, the receipt of which has already been acknowledged, permit me to say that it gives me great pleasure to accept your explanation of the circumstances referred to in my letter of January 11 regarding the deprivation of the liberty of the crews of the American men-of-war and the wearing of uniforms ashore by the officers after the arrival of the *Corwin*.

It would give me great satisfaction to close the correspondence at this point, but there are matters in your communication which require brief explanation for the sake of a clear understanding of some points.

It has not been my desire in any of my letters in this correspondence to charge the United States with intending to use force against this Government, but rather to show that the withholding by the United States of its intentions on that point, taken with other circumstances more or less expressive of unfriendliness to this Govern-

ment, had produced the unfortunate state of affairs that was brought to your attention as a reason why such information should not be longer withheld.

The first part of Minister Thurston's interview with Secretary Gresham, quoted by you on pages 8 and 9 of your letter, standing alone, permits the construction which you have given to it. But taken with the rest of the interview, as reported in my letter of specifications, must, I submit, be considered as having been rendered somewhat problematical in meaning by the Secretary's refusal in the latter part of the interview to answer Mr. Thurston's direct question whether or not the United States intended to use force.

In your reference to paragraph 12 of the letter of specifications you say "you expressed your satisfaction and approval of what occurred." Permit me to say in fuller explanation of the interview in question that I expressed my satisfaction with your assurances that you did not mean to give the impression that you had any "intention of exercising authority inconsistent with that of" the Hawaiian Government.

This assurance referred solely to your reported remarks published in the Hawaiian Star, November 16, as follows: "Until the time comes for me to carry out my instructions, the peace and good order of this community will be kept undisturbed in the interest of humanity," etc. My satisfaction was with the temporary relief afforded by your assurance that until the time should arrive for you to carry out your instructions you had "no intention of exercising authority inconsistent with that of" the Hawaiian Government. I was still in the dark as to your instructions and as to your plans for carrying them out when the time should arrive, and my anxiety was not lessened by the natural implication of your words, that your interest in the peace and good order of the community was limited to the period before the time for carrying out your instructions should arrive.

A somewhat similar explanation may be made of my satisfaction with your assurance that my reply to the demands of your Government would be forwarded to Washington, and that nothing would be done by you until you were further instructed (p. 37 of your letter). It was simply a relief to me to learn that the unknown action of the United States toward my Government was to be delayed.

Whether your address to a delegation of the American League, referred to by you on page 15 and reported in the Hawaiian Star, November 17, taken in its "entirety," admits of a friendly construction, in view of the contemporaneous circumstances of the following language which is a part of the address, I am content to leave where you have left it, to a reasonable construction of the whole address. The words referred to are as follows: "I have my instructions, which I can not divulge. * * * 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 to act. When the proper time comes I shall act."

You say on pages 16 and 17 of your letter, referring to my inquiries on November 24 and 29 as to the intentions of your Government and the correctness of the published reports of Mr. Gresham's letter: "My duty, as I understood it, did not permit me to discuss with you the letter of Mr. Gresham to the President, nor could I, under the state of facts, be questioned as to the existence or nature of the intentions of my Government. As a matter of fact, it was at that time doubtful whether my Government had any 'intentions,' hostile or otherwise, toward your Government."

I confess my inability to satisfactorily weigh the last sentence of this quotation in view of the circumstances and especially of your remark to the delegation of the American League, reported in the Hawaiian Star November 17, and in my letter of specifications, "that the policy of the United States is already formulated regarding these islands."

Your letter on pages 21 and 25 imply that my reference to warlike preparations on the American ships-of-war in the harbor of Honolulu was limited to Friday, December 15. I had no intention of limiting my statement to that or any one day. As a matter of fact, my information was based upon observations made upon a Tuesday, which I understand to have been the Tuesday following the arrival of the *Corwin*.

The fact, as stated by you on pages 29 and 30 of your letter, that Mr. J. O. Carter based his statement to his nephew that "restoration was certain, that force would be used by the United States for that purpose," entirely upon Secretary Gresham's published letter and current newspaper comments, may explain how the same sources of information may have tended to lead the rest of the community to a similar conclusion.

You stated in speaking of the general apprehension of the use of force by the United States, "furthermore, as frankly admitted by you in this correspondence, your Government did not itself entertain this apprehension." What I did say was this: "I am not prepared to state that the Government entertains this opinion, although the want of information to the contrary has compelled us to act as if it was correct."

I trust that these additional explanations may assist in removing all misunderstanding, if any remains in relation to the subject of this correspondence, and may assist in convincing you of the good faith of this Government and of an absence of unfriendliness on its part in attributing the disturbed conditions of affairs here in December, referred to in this correspondence, to a fear and distrust of your Government, based upon the circumstances mentioned, a feeling which you have fully recognized in your letter as the honest belief by a large part of the community, that such "hostile attack by the U. S. naval forces was imminent."

In closing I beg to assure you that I have never intended to put upon your excellency the sole responsibility for the matters under discussion, as the correspondence will show, and to assure you of my sincere appreciation of the friendly nature of your reply to my letter of specification, and to join with you in the expressed hope "that there may be a speedy, honorable, and satisfactory adjustment of all pending questions."

With renewed assurances, etc.,

SANFORD B. DOLE.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

Dispatches received from the minister at Honolulu since March 19, 1894.

APRIL 13, 1894.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

To the Congress:

I transmit herewith copies of certain dispatches from the United States minister at Honolulu, received by the Secretary of State since my message of March 19, 1894.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
April 13, 1894.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 11, 1894.

The PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of State has the honor to lay before the President copies of dispatches Nos. 43, 44, and 45, all dated March 24 last, from our minister at Honolulu.

These dispatches are doubtless erroneously numbered, as no No. 42 has reached the Department.

Respectfully submitted.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 43.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, March 24, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that on the 15th instant the act "to provide for a constitutional convention" was approved and is now a law. The election for delegates has been ordered for the 2d day of May, 1894.

The convention will "consist of the President, the executive and advisory councils, and 18 delegates," the latter to be elected by general vote. The councils, together with the President, will have a majority of 1. Of the 18 new delegates, 6 will be elected from this island (Oahu).

By section 4 the privilege of voting is placed within the reach of "every male resident of the Hawaiian Islands of Hawaiian, American, or European birth or descent who shall have taken the oath by this act provided." The oath referred to is that the voter "will support and bear true allegiance to the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and will oppose any attempt to reestablish monarchical government in any form in the Hawaiian Islands." The oath at first contained a clause renouncing allegiance to Liliuokalani, but this was afterwards stricken out.

Section 5 provides for minority representation. It is earnestly hoped by the Provisional Government that the Hawaiians will participate in this election.

Out of the two political clubs known as the "American League" and "Union Party," a new organization, the "American Union Party," has been organized, whose leading principles are "the accomplishment of a political union with the United States of America and the maintenance of a stable and honest government."

The political situation at present seems to be peaceful.

With renewed assurances of high esteem, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 44.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, March 24, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that having been notified by the consul for Italy, Mr. F. A. Schaefer, that the 14th instant being the fiftieth anniversary of the birthday of His Majesty Umberto I, King of Italy, would be commemorated as a national jubilee, I accepted for our Government this invitation to join in the observance of the day.

The occasion was recognized in the usual manner at this legation and at the consulate. There being no Italian ship of war in this port, Admiral Irwin had the vessels under his command dressed in honor of the occasion and fired a national salute at noon.

The consul acknowledged these civilities in a courteous note and expressed his intention to bring them to the notice of his Government.

I have, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 45.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, March 24, 1894.

SIR: I have to inform you of the arrival in this port, on the 22d of this month, of the Japanese man-of-war *Takachiho*. The Japanese man-of-war *Naniwa* returned from the island of Hawaii the same day. The *Takachiho* carries 360 men and officers, and has the following armament: Two 26-centimeter Krupp guns, 6 15 centimeter Krupp guns, 2 47-millimeter quick-firing guns, 10 1-inch Wordenfeldt, and 4 Gatling guns. She has 4 torpedo tubes.

The officer in command, Capt. T. Nomura, during his official call on the 23d instant, stated that he expected to remain here several months.

With high esteem, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

A dispatch from U. S. minister at Honolulu, with the reply thereto.

APRIL 21, 1894.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

To the Congress:

I transmit herewith a communication from the Secretary of State covering a dispatch from the U. S. minister at Honolulu, and reply thereto.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, April 21, 1894.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 21, 1894.

The PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of State has the honor to lay before the President copies of dispatch No. 47, under date of April 5, 1894, from our minister at Honolulu, and reply thereto.

Dispatch No. 46, received by the same mail, transmits the minister's salary account.

Respectfully submitted.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 47.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, April 5, 1894.

SIR: By section 18 of act 69, "An act to provide for a constitutional convention," the following oath is required of the voter:

I, ———, aged ——— years, a native of ———, residing at ———, in said district, do solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God that I will support and bear true allegiance to the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and will oppose any attempt to reestablish monarchical government in any form in the Hawaiian Islands.

There appearing to be some misunderstanding as to the effect of the oath, Hon. W. O. Smith, attorney-general, makes the following "authoritative statement on the subject:"

The word "oppose" in the form of the oath relates to the duties of those taking it, as voters and as delegates; the former binding themselves in voting for delegates to vote only for such persons as are opposed to a reestablishment of the monarchy; and the latter as members of the convention binding themselves to work in the convention against the introduction of any provision in the new constitution tending to a reestablishment of the monarchy. The word "resist" was in the first draft of the oath, and was stricken out as possibly misleading.

Inquiry having been made of me by citizens of the United States residing here, as to their status, should they take the above oath, I respectfully ask an instruction on this point.

It may be proper to call your attention to previous correspondence on this subject, to be found on p. 346 of "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1882" (case of Mr. Peter Cushman Jones), and p. 833, part 1, "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1888," being the decisions of Secretary Frelinghuysen and Secretary Bayard.

The period of registration closes on the 27th instant.

I have, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Telegram.]

Washington, April 20, 1894.

COOPER,

U. S. Dispatch Agent, San Francisco, Cal. :

Forward following by first steamer to Albert S. Willis, U. S. minister, Honolulu:

Your dispatch No. 47 received.

This Government does not hold to the doctrine of perpetual allegiance, and an American citizen who voluntarily takes an oath to support and bear true allegiance to a foreign power, contemplating participation in its affairs probably, abandons his right to claim protection from the United States.

GRESHAM.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

A communication from the Secretary of State in regard to recent dispatches from the U. S. minister at Honolulu.

MAY 9, 1894.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed.

To the Congress:

I transmit herewith a communication from the Secretary of State in regard to recent dispatches from the U. S. minister at Honolulu, received since my message of April 21, 1894, and also a dispatch from the minister dated April 14, 1894.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, May 9, 1894.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 9, 1894.

The PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of State has the honor to lay before the President a copy of a dispatch, with its accompaniment, from our minister at Honolulu, No. 51, of April 14, 1894.

Mr. Willis's dispatches, numbered 49 and 50, are dated April 13, 1894. The former acknowledges instructions numbered 17 to 21, inclusive, and the latter transmits a receipt for the Department's cipher volume and holoeryptic code.

Respectfully submitted.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 51.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, April 14, 1894.

SIR: In compliance with your telegram of 12th January last to "keep the Department fully informed of the course of events," I inclose certain resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of Royalists held here on the night of 9th instant, the number of persons present being estimated by the press from two to three thousand. The meeting was quiet and orderly.

I have the honor to state further that Admiral Walker and staff arrived last Thursday morning, and at 10 a. m. this (Saturday) morning the exchange of command took place with the customary ceremonies, the foreign war vessels firing the usual salute.

The U. S. S. *Adams*, Capt. Brice, leaves at 8 a. m. to-morrow for Port Townsend, which will leave here three war vessels, the *Philadelphia*, the *Champion*, and the *Takachico*, the other Japanese cruiser, the *Naniva*, having returned to Japan.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure with No. 51 from Hawaii.—Commercial Adviser of April 10, 1894.]

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands has called a convention for the purpose of preparing and promulgating a constitution for these islands, and has, in the act calling such convention, provided that the same shall consist of 37 members, to include the 19 self-appointed and nonrepresentative members of the executive and advisory councils of said Government, and 18 members to be elected; and

Whereas said act provides that voters for delegates to such convention, and such delegates, shall first take an oath to bear true allegiance to said Provisional Government, and to oppose the reestablishment of monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands, thereby unreasonably restricting the people, and such convention, in their choice of a permanent form of government, and makes no provision for the submission of the constitution, which shall be so prepared, to a vote of the people; and

Whereas there is now pending unadjusted before the Government of the United States of America the protest of the constitutional government of Hawaii against the action of those by whom said constitutional government of Hawaii was deposed, on the 17th day of January, 1893: Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by us, the loyal people of Honolulu, in mass meeting assembled, on the evening of this 9th day of April, 1894, That we will and do decline to take said oath, or to register or vote for delegates to such convention as aforesaid; and we further decline to participate or cooperate in any project of said Provisional Government to extinguish the Hawaiian constitution of 1887, or to adopt a form of government other than that sanctioned by said constitution, until a definite and final reply to said protest of the constitutional government of Hawaii shall have been received from the Government of said United States;

Resolved, That we regard the said act, passed by the said Provisional Government, and especially the provision thereof which makes the members of said councils also members of said convention, thereby assuring a majority of nonrepresentative members therein, as being calculated and intended to prevent a full and fair representation of the people in such convention; and we regard the oath thereby prescribed as a practical disfranchisement of the Hawaiian people, and of all who, with them, remain loyal to the form of government here existing from time immemorial.

Resolved, That we appeal to our compatriots and sympathizers throughout the land to stand firm in their refusal to take said oath, or to register or vote for delegates to such convention.

Resolved, That the chairman and secretary of this meeting are hereby instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to his excellency the minister plenipotentiary of the United States in Hawaii, with a request that he will forward the same to his Government.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

A dispatch from the U. S. minister at Honolulu.

MAY 29, 1894.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

To the Congress:

I herewith transmit, having regard to my message of May 9, 1894, a communication from the Secretary of State covering a dispatch from the U. S. minister at Honolulu.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, May 29, 1894.

THE PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of State has the honor to lay before the President a copy of a dispatch from our minister at Honolulu, No. 55, of May 14, 1894, in regard to the election of delegates to the constitutional convention on the 2d instant.

Respectfully submitted.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 29, 1894.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 55.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, May 10, 1894.

SIR: The election of delegates for the constitutional convention held on the 2d instant was quiet and orderly.

Of the eighteen delegates elected, five are native Hawaiians, and two are Portuguese. Several others were born here but of foreign parent-

age. The vote actually cast, was somewhat over two-thirds of the registered vote.

I will give a more complete analysis of the vote, when the official statement appears.

The convention will hold its first session on the 30th instant.

The condition of affairs here remains peaceful.

On the 10th instant several representatives of the "Hawaiian Patriotic League," including Hon. John E. Bush and Hon. Joseph Nawahi, presented to me a letter in which the "league" protests against the action of the Provisional Government in calling a constitutional convention, from which the native Hawaiians are, except under a "restrictive and prohibitive oath," excluded, claiming that this act was a "breach of courtesy to the U. S. Government and a violation of its provisional authority."

I explained to them that the Hawaiian question was now before Congress, and that I could not receive or forward resolutions of political bodies, except as a part of current history. I do not, therefore, send you a copy of the letter.

Very respectfully, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

M E S S A G E

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

COMMUNICATING

Dispatches from the U. S. minister at Honolulu.

JUNE 23, 1894.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

To the Congress :

I herewith transmit a communication covering dispatches from the U. S. minister at Honolulu.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, June 23, 1894.

The PRESIDENT:

The Acting Secretary of State has the honor to lay before the President copies of dispatches from our minister at Honolulu, Nos. 57 and 58, dated May 31 and June 2, 1894, respectively, in regard to the meeting of the constitutional convention and proposed constitution for the Hawaiian Islands.

Respectfully submitted.

EDWIN F. UHL,
Acting Secretary.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 23, 1894.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 57.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, May 31, 1894.

SIR: The first session of the constitutional convention was held in this city on yesterday. Mr. Dole, who, by virtue of his office, is president of the convention, welcomed the delegates in a short speech in which he outlined some of the duties and purposes before them. Upon

the conclusion of Mr. Dole's address the convention adjourned out of respect to "Memorial Day." The diplomatic agents of the United States and Japan, with the admiral and officers of the *Philadelphia* and *Takachico*, were present by invitation, and also consular representatives of Chile, Germany, China, and other countries.

Some of the difficult problems before the convention, aside from the fundamental one as to the form of government, are dual or alien suffrage or citizenship, Japanese, Chinese, and possible female suffrage, Chinese immigration, contract labor, and annexation. As these questions have been under discussion for many years, and as the executive committee, aided by others, has formulated a constitution which will be submitted for the approval of the convention, its labors may be concluded within a month.

Some doubt having arisen as to the ownership of Necker Island, the Provisional Government two days ago took possession of the island in the name of the Hawaiian Government, hoisted the Hawaiian flag, and caused a proclamation of its ownership to be read.

The English cruiser *Champion*, which departed simultaneously with the steamer of the Provisional Government, and which, it was rumored, had the same destination and object in view, returned here yesterday morning, having been absent on target practice.

The conditions are orderly and peaceful.

With high esteem, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 53.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Honolulu, June 2, 1891.

SIR: For several weeks the executive council have been engaged in preparing a new constitution to be submitted to the convention. This was done yesterday, and on Monday, June 4, the debate upon it will begin. I inclose three copies of the proposed constitution.

Very respectfully, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION—THE DRAFT SUBMITTED TO THE CONVENTION—TO BE APPROVED OR CHANGED—RESULTS OF THE WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FOR SOME WEEKS PAST—GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAWAII.

The following is the full text of the draft of the proposed constitution for the new republic of Hawaii. It was laid before the members of the convention yesterday. Monday the debate upon it will begin.

RIGHTS OF PERSON AND PROPERTY.

ARTICLE 1.—*Rights of the person.*

SECTION 1. God hath endowed all men with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the right of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining happiness.

SEC. 2. The Government is conducted for the common good, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men.

SEC. 3. The Legislature may provide by law, however, for the supervision, registration, control, and identification of all persons, or any class or nationality of persons; and may also by law restrict and limit the term of residence and the business or employment of all persons coming into the Republic.

ARTICLE 2.—*Religious freedom.*

All men are free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; but this privilege shall not be so construed as to justify acts of licentiousness or practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the Republic.

ARTICLE 3.—*Freedom of speech and of the press.*

Except as herein provided, all men may freely speak, write, and publish their sentiments on all subjects; and no law shall be enacted to restrain the liberty of speech or of the press; but all persons shall be responsible for the abuse of such right; and no person shall advocate, by writing, printing, or speaking, the restoration or establishment of a monarchical form of government in the Hawaiian Islands; nor advocate the use of force for the accomplishment of any change in the system or form of government hereby established; nor seek or advocate the action of any foreign power for such purpose, except by treaty duly made in accordance with the provisions of this constitution.

ARTICLE 4.—*Meeting and petition.*

All men shall have the right to assemble in an orderly and peaceable manner, without arms, to consult upon the common good and to petition the President or Legislature for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE 5.—*Writ of habeas corpus.*

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus belongs to all men, and shall not be suspended, except by the President or by one of the cabinet ministers as herein provided, when in case of rebellion or invasion, or imminent danger of rebellion or invasion, the public safety shall require its suspension.

Provided, however, That no alien unlawfully entering the Republic shall be entitled to this writ as of right.

ARTICLE 6.—*Right of trial.*

SECTION 1. No person shall be subject to punishment for any offense except on due and legal conviction thereof by a tribunal having jurisdiction of the case.

SEC. 2. Except in case of impeachment or offenses within the jurisdiction of a district magistrate, or in summary proceedings for contempt, no person shall be held to answer for any crime or offense except upon indictment, information, or complaint, describing such crime or offense; and he shall in all cases have the right to meet the witnesses who are produced against him face to face; to produce witnesses and proofs in his own favor; and by himself or his counsel, at his election, to examine the witnesses produced by himself, and cross-examine those produced against him, and to be heard in his own defense.

SEC. 3. Subject to such changes as the Legislature may, from time to time, make in the number of jurors for the trial of any case, and concerning the number required to agree to a verdict and the manner in which the jury may be selected and drawn, and the composition and qualifications thereof, the right of trial by jury in all cases in which it has been heretofore used shall remain inviolable forever, except in actions for debt or assumpsit in which the amount claimed does not exceed one hundred dollars, and such offenses less than felonies as may be designated by law. And provided that no capital case shall be tried by a jury of less than twelve men.

The jury may be waived by defendants in all criminal cases except capital.

ARTICLE 7.—*Previous conviction or acquittal.*

Except as herein provided, no person shall be required to answer for any offense identical both in law and fact with an offense of which he has been duly convicted or of which he has been duly acquitted.

ARTICLE 8.—*Privilege of accused.*

No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness for himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

ARTICLE 9.—*Slavery.*

Involuntary servitude, except for crime, is forever prohibited in this Republic. Whenever a slave shall enter the territory of this Republic he shall be free.

ARTICLE 10.—*Security from search and arrest.*

Every person has the right to be secured from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his house, his papers, and effects; and no warrant shall issue, except on probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

ARTICLE 11.—*Taxing and appropriating power.*

SECTION 1. No subsidy, duty, or tax of any description shall be established or levied without the consent of the Legislature; nor shall any money be drawn from the public treasury without such consent, except in the manner directed by this constitution.

SEC. 2. Each member of society has the right to be protected in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property according to law; and, therefore, he shall be obliged to contribute his proportion or share to the expense of this protection and to give his personal services, or any equivalent when necessary, as may be provided by law.

ARTICLE 12.—*Eminent domain.*

Private property may be taken for public use, or may be used for reservoirs, drains, flumes, or ditches, on or across the lands of others, for agricultural, milling, mining, domestic, or sanitary purposes; but only upon due process of law and just compensation.

ARTICLE 13.—*Military subject to law.*

SECTION 1. The military shall always be subject to the laws of the land.

SEC. 2. No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner prescribed by the Legislature.

OF THE REPUBLIC.

ARTICLE 14.—*Form and name of Government.*

The character of the Government hereby instituted is a republic, under the terms and conditions of this constitution.

The name of such Government is and shall be the Republic of Hawaii.

ARTICLE 15.—*Territory.*

The territory of the Republic of Hawaii shall be that heretofore constituting the Kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands and the territory ruled over by the provisional government of Hawaii, or which may hereafter be added to the Republic.

ARTICLE 16.—*Ensign.*

The ensign heretofore in use as the Hawaiian national ensign shall continue to be the national ensign of the Republic of Hawaii.

ARTICLE 17.—*Citizens.*

SECTION 1. A citizen of the Republic of Hawaii shall be—

A person born in the Hawaiian Islands; or

A person who has been, or shall hereafter become, naturalized according to law.

Special rights of citizenship.

SEC. 2. Any person, not a Hawaiian citizen, who took active part or otherwise rendered substantial service in the formation of and has since supported the Provisional Government of Hawaii, who shall within six months from the promulgation of this constitution procure from the minister of the interior a certificate of such service, in manner and form herein set forth, and who shall take an oath to support this constitution and the law of the Republic so long as he shall remain domiciled in the Republic, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizenship without thereby prejudicing his native citizenship or allegiance.

SEC. 3. For the purpose of identifying the person entitled to such certificate the minister of interior shall appoint such number of examiners as he may deem best to receive applications and take evidence upon such subject.

Such examiners shall certify to the said minister a description of each person found to be entitled to such certificate, which description shall include the name, age, country of birth, occupation, length of residence in Hawaii, and present residence, and shall be embodied in the certificate.

SEC. 4. It shall be in the discretion of the minister of interior to reverse the decision of any such examiner and issue a certificate to any person in his opinion entitled thereto, and to refuse to issue a certificate to any person who, in his opinion, is not entitled thereto.

The decision of the minister shall be final, and not subject to appeal or review.

SEC. 5. Any person to whom such certificate shall be granted shall be admitted, upon application, to naturalization without showing any further qualifications.

ARTICLE 18.—*Naturalization.*

SECTION 1. The naturalization of aliens shall be exclusively within the jurisdiction of the justices of the supreme court.

The procedure shall be such as may be provided by law.

SEC. 2. An alien may be admitted to citizenship upon the following conditions, viz:

1. He shall have resided in the Hawaiian Islands for not less than one year.
2. He must intend to become a permanent citizen of the Republic.
3. He shall be able understandingly to read, write, and speak the English language.
4. He shall be able intelligently to explain, in his own words, in the English language, the general meaning and intent of any article or articles of this constitution.
5. He shall be a citizen or subject of a country having express treaty stipulations with the Republic of Hawaii concerning naturalization.
6. He shall be of good moral character and not a refugee from justice.
7. He shall be engaged in some lawful business or employment or have some other lawful means of support.
8. He shall be the owner in his own right of property in the republic of the value of not less than two hundred dollars over and above all incumbrances.
9. He shall have taken the oath prescribed in article 100 of this constitution and an oath abjuring allegiance to his native land or that in which he has heretofore been naturalized, and of allegiance to the republic of Hawaii.
10. He shall make written application, verified by oath, to a justice of the supreme court, setting forth all of the foregoing requirements, and shall prove the same to the satisfaction of such justice.

ARTICLE 19.—*Denizens.*

No letters of denization shall be issued to any person not by this constitution eligible to become a citizen; except that no previous residence in the Hawaiian Islands, nor intention to become a permanent resident of the Republic, nor oath abjuring allegiance to his native land, or of allegiance to the Republic, nor application to the supreme court, shall be required.

ARTICLE 20.—*Division of powers of government.*

The supreme power of the Republic is divided into the executive, legislative, and judicial. Except as herein provided, these shall be preserved distinct.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

ARTICLE 21.—*Executive council.*

SECTION 1. The executive power of the Republic shall be vested in a President and cabinet.

SEC. 2. The cabinet shall consist of a minister of foreign affairs; a minister of interior; a minister of finance, and an attorney-general.

SEC. 3. The President and cabinet sitting together shall constitute the executive council.

SEC. 4. Wherever in this constitution the action or approval of the executive council is required, it shall mean that the action or approval of a majority of such council, of which majority the President shall be one, is sufficient.

OF THE PRESIDENT.

ARTICLE 22.—*Qualifications of President.*

In order to be eligible to the office of President a person shall—
 Be not less than thirty-five years of age;
 Have been born in the Hawaiian Islands or resided therein for not less than fifteen years;
 And be a citizen of the Republic.

ARTICLE 23.—*First President.*

———— is hereby declared to be the President of the Republic of Hawaii, to hold office until and including the 31st day of December, A. D. 1900, and thereafter until a successor shall have been duly elected and qualified.

ARTICLE 24.—*Election of President.*

SECTION 1. On the third Wednesday of September, A. D. 1900, and on the third Wednesday of September in every sixth year thereafter, the Legislature shall meet to elect a President for a term of six years to begin with the first day of January of the year following.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of such election the Senate and the House of Representatives shall sit together.

The election shall be by ballot, and the person receiving a majority vote of all the elective members to which the Legislature is entitled, which majority shall include a majority of all the Senators, shall be President for the succeeding term; or for the unexpired portion of such term in case no person shall have been elected prior to the first day of such term.

SEC. 3. If the Legislature shall fail to elect a President before the first day of January following the date when the Legislature is required to meet for such election, the President whose term has then expired shall continue to be the President until his successor is elected and qualified; but such failure to elect shall in no case discharge the Legislature from their duty to immediately proceed with such election.

SEC. 4. No President of the Republic shall be eligible for reelection as President for the term immediately following that during which he has been President.

ARTICLE 25.—*Power of appointment.*

SEC. 1. The President, with the approval of the Senate, shall appoint the members of the cabinet; the judges of the supreme and circuit courts; the auditor-general, and all diplomatic and consular representatives to foreign countries.

SEC. 2. In case a vacancy in any such office shall occur while the Senate is not in session, the President may fill such vacancy by granting a commission which shall expire at the end of the next session of the Senate.

SEC. 3. The President shall also, with the approval of the cabinet, appoint the members of the board of health, board of education, board of immigration, board of prison inspectors, and any other boards of a public character which may be created by law and the district magistrates.

ARTICLE 26.—*Power of removal.*

The President shall have the power, with the approval of the cabinet, to remove any of the officers enumerated in the last article, except the auditor-general and the district magistrates who shall be removable as provided by law, and the judges of the supreme and circuit courts, who shall be removable only as herein prescribed, and except the members of the cabinet, who shall be removable only with the consent of the Senate.

ARTICLE 27.—*Pardon.*

The President, with the approval of the cabinet and the advisory council, shall have the power to grant reprieves and pardons and to commute sentences after conviction, for all cases except in case of impeachment.

ARTICLE 28.—*Convening the Legislature.*

The President may, with the approval of the cabinet, convene the Legislature or the Senate alone, in special session; and with such approval, in case the seat of gov-

ernment shall be insecure from an enemy, riot, or insurrection, or any dangerous disorder, direct that any regular or special session of the Legislature shall be held at some other than the regular meeting place.

ARTICLE 29.—*Receiving foreign representatives.*

The President shall receive and acknowledge all diplomatic representatives accredited to the Republic by other governments.

ARTICLE 30.—*Messages to the Legislature and advisory council.*

The President shall, upon the meeting of the Legislature, or of the advisory council, and at such other times as he may deem proper, inform either such body, by message in writing, as to the condition of the Republic; or concerning other matters of public interest; and recommend the consideration of such measures as to him shall seem best.

ARTICLE 31.—*Martial law—suspension of habeas corpus.*

The President, or one of the cabinet ministers as herein provided, may, in case of rebellion or invasion, or imminent danger of rebellion or invasion, when the public safety requires it, suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus or place the whole or any part of the Republic under martial law.

ARTICLE 32.—*Treaties.*

The President, with the approval of the cabinet, shall have the power to make treaties with foreign governments, subject to the concurrence of the Senate.

The President, with the approval of the cabinet, is hereby expressly authorized and empowered to make a treaty of political and commercial union between the Republic of Hawaii and the United States of America, subject to the concurrence of the Senate.

OF THE CABINET.

ARTICLE 33.—*Counsellors of the President.*

The cabinet shall be the special counsellors of the President and shall be consulted by him concerning all matters of public policy, appointments to office, and other matters of importance concerning which action is contemplated.

The President shall not be bound to follow the advice of the cabinet, except in the instances where by this constitution the approval of the cabinet is required as a prerequisite for his action.

ARTICLE 34.—*Reports, responsibility, powers of appointment, and removal.*

SECTION 1. Each member of the cabinet shall keep an office at the seat of government, and shall, not later than the last Wednesday in February in each year, present to the President a full report of the principal transactions within his department during the year ending December thirty-first last preceding, together with such recommendations as he may think proper.

He shall also at any time, when requested in writing by the President, make report to the President on any subject within the scope of his department.

SEC. 2. The members of the cabinet shall be responsible for the conduct of their respective departments; and, with the approval of the President, shall have the appointment of the following heads of bureaus under their respective departments, viz:

The superintendent of public works; the surveyor-general; the registrar of deeds; the superintendent of the Honolulu waterworks; the chief officer of the Honolulu fire department; the marshal; the collector-general of customs; the tax assessors in chief; and the postmaster-general, and also the heads of any other bureaus created by law.

SEC. 3. Each head of a bureau shall be responsible for the conduct of his bureau, and shall have the appointment of the officers under him, subject to the approval of the minister in whose department he is employed.

He may also, with the approval of such minister, remove any such subordinate officer.

SEC. 4. The financial responsibility of any officer of the Government, for his own conduct, or that of his subordinate, shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE 35.—*Acting President in case of death, disability, or absence of President.*

SEC. 1. In case of the temporary disability or absence from the country of the President, the minister of foreign affairs, while such disability or absence continues, shall act as President; or,

In case of the disability or absence from the country of such minister, the minister of the interior, while such disability or absence of the President continues, shall act as President; or,

In case of the disability or absence of both such ministers, the minister of finance, while such disability or absence of the President continues, shall act as President; or,

In case of the disability or absence from the country of the three ministers aforesaid, then the attorney-general, while such disability or absence of the President continues, shall act as President.

SEC. 2. In case of the death, resignation, removal, or permanent disability of the President, the minister of foreign affairs shall thereupon act as President until a successor to the President is elected in manner herein designated; or,

In case of the disability or absence from the country of such minister, the minister of the interior shall act as President for the time aforesaid; or,

In case of the disability or absence from the country of both such ministers, the minister of finance shall act as President for the time aforesaid; or,

In case of the disability or absence from the country of the three ministers aforesaid, the attorney-general shall act as President for the time aforesaid.

SEC. 3. If at any time during the absence from the seat of government, an occasion shall arise requiring a declaration of martial law, or suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the powers in and concerning such matters herein granted to the President may be exercised by one of the cabinet ministers, who shall act in order of priority below named, each succeeding in case of disability or failure of those previously named to act, viz:

- The minister of foreign affairs;
- The minister of interior;
- The minister of finance;
- The attorney-general.

SEC. 4. In case of the death, resignation, removal, or permanent disability of the President, the minister who shall thereupon act as President shall immediately summon a special session of the Legislature to meet within thirty days, to elect a President to fill the unexpired term of the President who has died, resigned, been removed, or become permanently disabled.

SEC. 5. In case any minister shall act as President as herein provided, he shall, while so acting, have all the rights and powers and be subject to all the duties, obligations, and disqualifications by this constitution granted to or prescribed for the President.

ARTICLE 36.—*Ex officio members of the Legislature.*

The members of the cabinet shall be ex officio members of both Houses of the Legislature, with all the rights, powers, and privileges of elected members, except the right to vote.

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

ARTICLE 37.—*The Legislature.*

The legislative power of the Republic is vested in a Legislature, and, subject to the limitations herein provided, an advisory council.

The Legislature shall consist of two houses, styled the Senate and House of Representatives, which shall organize and sit separately, except as otherwise herein provided.

The two houses shall be styled "the Legislature of the Republic of Hawaii."

ARTICLE 38.

No person shall sit as a senator or representative in the Legislature unless elected under and in conformity with this constitution.

ARTICLE 39.—*Supreme court judge of qualifications of members.*

In case any election to a seat in either house is disputed, and legally contested, the supreme court shall be the sole judge of whether or not a legal election for

such seat has been held, and, if it shall find that a legal election has been held, it shall be the sole judge of who has been elected.

ARTICLE 40.—*Burden of proof of eligibility.*

In case the eligibility of any person to be a senator or representative, or an elector of senators or representatives, is questioned by any legal voter, before any court or tribunal having authority to consider such matter, the burden of proof shall rest upon the person whose eligibility is so questioned to establish his eligibility.

The unsupported statement or oath of the person whose eligibility is so questioned shall not be deemed sufficient to shift the burden of proof; but he shall show by other evidence, to the satisfaction of the court or tribunal, that he is eligible.

ARTICLE 41.—*Disqualifications of legislators.*

No member of the Legislature shall, during the term for which he is elected, be appointed or elected to any office of the Government except that of President or minister of the departments of the Government.

ARTICLE 42.—*Disqualifications of Government officers and employes.*

No person holding office in or under or by authority of the Government, including notaries public and agents to take acknowledgments, nor any person in the receipt of pay or emolument from the Government, nor any contractor with nor employe of the Government, shall be eligible to election to the Legislature or to hold the position of an elected member of the same.

ARTICLE 43.—*Disqualifications of certain classes.*

No idiot or insane person, and no person who shall be expelled from the Legislature for giving or receiving bribes or being accessory thereto, and no person who, in due course of law, shall have been convicted of larceny, bribery, gross cheat, or of any criminal offense now or hereafter punishable by imprisonment, whether with or without hard labor, for a term exceeding two years, whether with or without fine, shall register to vote or shall vote or hold any office in or under or by authority of the Government, unless the person so convicted shall have been pardoned and restored to his civil rights.

ARTICLE 44.—*Qualifications of legislators may be increased by law.*

The qualifications of Senators, Representatives, and voters for Senators and Representatives may be added to or increased by law.

ARTICLE 45.—*Oath of office.*

Every elective member of the Legislature shall take the following oath:

I solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God that I will faithfully support the constitution and laws of the Republic of Hawaii, and conscientiously and impartially discharge my duties as a member of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 46.—*Officers and rules.*

The Senate and the House of Representatives shall each choose its own officers, determine the rules of its own proceedings not inconsistent with this constitution, and keep a journal.

ARTICLE 47.—*Ayes and noes.*

The ayes and noes of the members on any question shall, at the desire of one-third of the members present, be entered on the journal.

ARTICLE 48.—*Quorum.*

SECTION 1. A majority of the number of elective members to which each house is entitled shall constitute a quorum of such house for the conduct of ordinary business, of which quorum a majority vote shall suffice. But the final passage of a law

in each house shall require a vote equivalent to a majority of all the elective members to which such house is entitled.

SEC. 2. A smaller number than a quorum may adjourn from day to day and compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

SEC. 3. For the purpose of ascertaining whether there is a quorum present, the chairman shall count the number of members present.

ARTICLE 49.—*Punishment of persons not members.*

Each House may punish by fine, or by imprisonment not exceeding thirty days, any person not a member of either House who shall be guilty of disrespect of such House by any disorderly or contemptuous behaviour in its presence; or,

Who shall publish any false report of its proceedings; or,

Who shall, on account of the exercise of any legislative function, threaten harm to the body or estate of any of the members of such House; or,

Who shall assault, arrest, or detain any witness or other person ordered to attend such House on his way going to or returning therefrom; or,

Who shall rescue any person arrested by order of such House.

But the person charged with the offense shall be informed, in writing, of the charge made against him, and have an opportunity to present evidence and be heard in his own defense.

ARTICLE 50.—*Rights and liabilities of members—Compensation.*

The members of the Legislature shall receive for their services, in addition to mileage at the rate of five cents a mile, the sum of four hundred dollars for each regular session of the Legislature, payable in three equal installments on and after the first, thirtieth, and sixtieth days of the session; and the sum of two hundred dollars for each extra session of the Legislature, except a session for the sole purpose of electing a President, for which members shall receive their travelling expenses only.

ARTICLE 51.—*Punishment of members.*

Each House may punish its own members for disorderly behavior, or neglect of duty, by censure, suspension, or expulsion.

ARTICLE 52.—*Exemption from liability.*

No member of the Legislature shall be held to answer for any words uttered in the exercise of his legislative functions in either House, before any other tribunal.

ARTICLE 53.—*Exemption from arrest.*

The members of the Legislature shall, in all cases except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of the respective Houses; and in going to and returning from the same. Provided that such privilege as to going and returning shall not cover a period of over ten days each way.

OF THE SENATE.

ARTICLE 54.—*Number of members—Election—Term of office.*

SECTION 1. The Senate shall be composed of fifteen members. The Senators to be elected at the first election held under this Constitution shall hold office until the general election held in the year 1901.

SEC. 2. Senators shall be elected at such election in the year 1901, to hold office until the general election held during the sixth year thereafter, and shall continue thereafter to be elected every sixth year, to hold office for a like term.

SEC. 3. Vacancies caused by death, resignation, or otherwise shall be filled at special elections for the unexpired term.

ARTICLE 55.—*Senatorial districts.*

SECTION 1. For the purpose of representation in the Senate, until otherwise provided by law, the Republic is divided into the following Senatorial districts, viz: First district, the island of Hawaii.

Second district, the islands of Maui, Molokai, Lanai, and Kahoolawe.

Third district, the island of Oahu.

Fourth district, the islands of Kauai and Niihau.

SEC. 2. The electors in the said districts shall be entitled to elect senators as follows:

In the First district, four.

In the Second district, three.

In the Third district, six.

In the Fourth district, two.

ARTICLE 56.—*Qualifications of senators.*

In order to be eligible to election as a senator a person shall—

Be a male citizen of the Republic;

Have attained the age of thirty years;

Be able understandingly to speak, read, and write the English or the Hawaiian language;

Have resided in the Hawaiian Islands not less than three years;

Be the owner, in his own right, of property in the Republic of the value of not less than five thousand dollars over and above all incumbrances; or have been in the receipt of a money income of not less than eighteen hundred dollars during the year immediately preceding the date of the election, for the proof of which he may be required to produce original accounts of the receipt of such income.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

ARTICLE 57.—*Number of Representatives—Representative districts.*

SECTION 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of fifteen members, elected, except as herein provided, every second year.

Term of office.

SEC. 2. The term of office of the representatives elected at the first election held under this constitution, or who may hereafter be elected at general or special elections, shall be until the next general election held thereafter.

SEC. 3. Vacancies caused by death, resignation, or otherwise shall be filled at special elections for the unexpired term.

SEC. 4. For the purpose of representation in the House of Representatives, until otherwise provided by law, the Republic is divided into the following representative districts, viz:

First district: That portion of the Island of Hawaii known as Puna, Hilo, and Hamakua.

Second district: That portion of the Island of Hawaii known as Kau, Kona, and Kohala.

Third district: The islands of Maui, Molokai, Lanai, and Kahoolawe.

Fourth district: That portion of the Island of Oahu lying east and south of Nuuanu street, and a line drawn in extension thereof from the Nuuanu Pali to Mokapu point.

Fifth district: That portion of the Island of Oahu lying west and north of the Fourth district.

Sixth district: The Islands of Kauai and Niihau.

SECTION 5. The electors in the said districts shall be entitled to elect Representatives as follows:

In the First district, two;

In the Second district, two;

In the Third district, three;

In the Fourth district, three;

In the Fifth district, three;

In the Sixth district, two.

ARTICLE 58.—*Qualifications of Representatives.*

In order to be eligible to be a member of the House of Representatives, a person shall, at the time of election:

Have attained the age of twenty-five years;

Be a male citizen of the Republic;

Be able understandingly to read, write, and speak the English or Hawaiian language;

Have resided in this country not less than three years;
 And shall either own property in the Republic worth not less than one thousand dollars over and above all encumbrances, or have received a cash income of not less than six hundred dollars during the twelve months immediately preceding the date of election.

OF ENACTING LAWS.

ARTICLE 59.—*Retrospective laws.*

Except as herein provided, no retrospective law shall ever be enacted.

ARTICLE 60.

The Legislature has the power to enact wholesome laws not inconsistent with the constitution.

ARTICLE 61.—*Enacting clause.*

The enacting clause of all laws shall be, "Be it enacted by the Legislature of the Republic of Hawaii."

ARTICLE 62.—*Prerequisite for introduction of bills.*

No bill shall be introduced into either House by any member of such House, unless it shall have first received thereon the written endorsement of three elective members of such House.

ARTICLE 63.—*Titles of laws.*

Each law shall embrace but one subject, which shall be expressed in its title. The title of a law amending or repealing another law shall refer to the section or chapter of the law amended or repealed and to the subject-matter involved.

ARTICLE 64.—*Readings of bills.*

A bill in order to become law shall, except as herein provided, pass three readings in each house, the final passage of which, in each house, shall be by a majority vote of all the elective members to which such house is entitled, taken by ayes and noes and entered upon its journal.

ARTICLE 65.—*Certification of bills from one house to the other.*

Every bill when passed by the house in which it originated, or in which amendments thereto shall have been adopted, shall immediately be certified by the chairman and clerk and sent to the other house for consideration.

ARTICLE 66.—*Signing bills.*

Except as herein provided, all bills passed by the Legislature shall, in order to be valid, be signed by the President.

ARTICLE 67.—*Veto of President.*

Every bill which shall have passed the Legislature shall be certified by the chairman and clerk of the House last considering it, and shall thereupon be presented to the President. If he approves it he shall sign it, and it shall thereupon become a law. If the President does not approve such bill, he may return it with his objections to the several Houses of the Legislature.

He may veto any specific item or items in any bill which appropriates money for specific purposes, but shall veto other bills, if at all, only as a whole.

ARTICLE 68.—*Failure to sign or veto.*

If the President neither signs nor vetoes a bill within ten days after it is delivered to him, it shall become law without his signature, unless the Legislature adjourns prior to the expiration of such ten days.

In computing such period of ten days, Sundays, holidays recognized by the laws of the Republic, and the day upon which the bill is delivered to the President shall be excluded.

ARTICLE 69.—*Procedure upon receipt of veto.*

Upon the receipt of a veto message from the President each House of the Legislature shall enter the same at large upon its journal and proceed to reconsider such bill, or part of a bill, and again vote upon it by ayes and noes, which shall be entered upon its journal.

If, after such reconsideration, such bill, or part of a bill, shall be approved by a two thirds vote of all the elective members to which each House is entitled, it shall thereby become law.

ARTICLE 70.—*Appropriations.*

SECTION 1. Appropriations, except as otherwise herein provided, shall be made biennially by the Legislature.

SEC. 2. The minister of finance shall submit to the Senate, at each regular session of the Legislature, appropriation bills for the succeeding biennial period.

SEC. 3. No appropriation bill or bill providing for a national loan shall be introduced by anyone except a member of the cabinet.

Provided, however, That any member may introduce a bill amending the permanent appropriation bill for salaries and pay rolls herein provided for.

SEC. 4. In case of a failure of the Legislature to pass appropriation bills provided for payments of the necessary current expenses of carrying on the government, and meeting its legal obligations, the minister of finance may, with the advice of the executive council, make such payments for and during the new biennial period, for which purpose the sums appropriated in the last appropriation bill shall be deemed to have been reapportioned.

SEC. 5. The appropriation bill for "salaries and pay rolls" shall be a permanent one, and the items and amounts therein enumerated, and such salaries and pay rolls as may hereafter be incorporated therein, shall continue, until stricken out or amended, to be the basis for payment in future, and shall not be required to be reapportioned from time to time.

SEC. 6. The appropriation bill for "salaries and pay rolls" passed on the — day of April, 1894, shall continue in force, and be the permanent appropriation bill for the purposes therein set forth, subject to such amendments and additions thereto as may from time to time be made by the Legislature.

OF THE LEGISLATURE.

ARTICLE 71.

SECTION 1. The first regular session of the Legislature shall be held on the third Wednesday in February, A. D. 1896, and biennially thereafter, in Honolulu.

SEC. 2. Neither House shall adjourn during any session for more than three days or *sine die* without the consent of the other.

SEC. 3. If either House shall so adjourn without the consent of the other, the other House may proceed to legislate as though it were the sole legislative body, and may exercise the full powers of the Legislature.

SEC. 4. Each session of the Legislature shall continue not longer than ninety working days:

Provided, however, That the President, with the approval of the cabinet, may prolong such session to not to exceed one hundred and twenty days.

SEC. 5. Special sessions of the Legislature shall be held at such times as may be indicated by the President in manner herein provided, or at such other times as are herein specially provided.

OF ELECTORS.

ARTICLE 72.—*Exemption of electors on election day.*

Every elector shall be privileged from arrest on election day during his attendance at election and in going to and returning therefrom, except in case of breach of the peace then committed or in case of treason or felony.

No elector shall be so obliged to perform military duty on the day of election as to prevent his voting, except in time of war, or public danger, or absence from his place of residence in actual military service, in which case provision may be made by law for taking his vote.

ARTICLE 73.—*Method of voting for representatives.*

Each voter for representatives may cast as many votes as there are representatives to be elected from the representative district in which he is entitled to vote. He may cast them all for one representative, or may apportion them among the

several representatives in such manner as he sees fit; provided, however, that no fractional division of a vote other than one-half shall be counted.

The required number of candidates receiving the highest number of votes in the respective representative districts shall be the representatives for such districts.

ARTICLE 74.—Qualifications of voters for representatives.

In order to be eligible to vote for representatives, a person shall—

1. Be a male citizen of the Republic; and if a citizen naturalized prior to January 17, 1893, possessed at such time of the privilege of voting for representatives; or,

Have received letters of denization entitling him to the privileges of Hawaiian citizenship; or,

Have received from the minister of the interior the certificate of service herein provided for;

2. Have resided in the representative district in which he offers to register not less than one month immediately preceding the time at which he offers to register;

3. Have attained the age of twenty-one years;

4. Have taken and subscribed the oath set forth in article 100 of this constitution;

5. Prior to each regular election, during the time prescribed by law for registration, have caused his name to be entered on the register of voters for representatives for his district;

6. Prior to such registration have paid, on or before the first day of January next preceding the date of registration, all taxes due by him to the Government;

7. Be able understandingly to speak, read, and write the English or Hawaiian language.

In order to comply with this requirement he shall be able to write and read with ordinary fluency any section or sections of this constitution.

Provided, however, that the requirement that he shall be able understandingly to speak, read, and write the English or Hawaiian language shall not apply to those persons who registered to vote for delegates to the constitutional convention at the election held on May 2, 1894.

ARTICLE 75.—Method of voting for senators.

Each voter for senators may cast one vote only for each senator to be elected from the senatorial district in which he is entitled to vote.

The required number of candidates receiving the highest number of votes in the respective senatorial districts shall be the senators for such districts.

ARTICLE 76.—Qualifications of voters for senators.

In order to be eligible to vote for senators, a person must possess all the qualifications and be subject to all the conditions required by this constitution of voters for representatives, and, in addition thereto, he shall own and be possessed in his own right of property in the Republic of the value of not less than three thousand dollars over and above all incumbrances; or shall have actually received a money income of not less than nine hundred dollars during the year next preceding the first day of April next preceding the date of each registration; for the proof of which he may be required to produce original accounts of the receipt of such income.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS.

ARTICLE 77.

SECTION 1. No person shall vote for the election of representatives or senators unless he is qualified as herein required and unless his name is entered by a board of registration upon the register of voters as herein provided.

Registration boards.

SEC. 2. For the purpose of examining applicants for registration as voters, and determining their eligibility, there shall be, and hereby are, constituted four boards of registration, one in each senatorial district, to consist of three members each, who shall be, until otherwise provided by law, a circuit judge and the tax assessor in chief resident in such district and one other competent and impartial person appointed by the President upon the nomination of the minister of the interior.

Time of meeting.

SEC. 3. The boards of registration shall meet, within thirty days after this constitution takes effect, for the purpose of registering persons entitled to be registered to vote for Senators and Representatives, and shall continue to meet at such points

within their respective districts for such time as will give all persons entitled to register a reasonable opportunity so to do.

SEC. 4. The boards shall meet within their respective districts at such times between the first day of April and the thirtieth day of June in the year 1897, and between such days in each second year thereafter, as many times as may be necessary to enable them to register all persons entitled to register.

Register at special elections.

SEC. 5. At any intermediate special election the register of voters used at the last preceding general election shall be used without change.

Register at first election.

SEC. 6. At the first election held under this constitution the register of voters who registered for the election of delegates to the constitutional convention on May 2, 1894, shall be the register of voters for representatives without further application to be registered by the voters whose names appear thereupon.

Such register shall be subject to additions or corrections in accordance with the provisions of this constitution.

SEC. 7. No name shall be placed upon the register of voters for Senators, for use at the first election hereunder, nor upon the register of voters for either Senators or Representatives to be used at any future election, except upon the personal appearance of the applicant.

Examination of applicants.

SEC. 8. Each applicant to be placed upon the register of voters for either Senators or Representatives shall, upon each application for registration, be examined under oath by the board of registration as to each one of the required qualifications.

Provided, however, That after an applicant shall once have passed an examination concerning his ability understandingly to speak, read, and write the English or Hawaiian language, it shall be at the discretion of the board to examine him further or not concerning such qualifications.

The examination of the applicant and of all witnesses examined before any board of registration shall be under oath, administered by any of the members of such board, who are hereby authorized to administer oaths for such purpose.

The examination, number of witnesses, and time or times of examination shall be under the reasonable control and discretion of the board.

Powers of board.

SEC. 9. Each board of registration is hereby given all of the powers and authority for the summoning and examination of witnesses and the maintenance of order, including the power to punish for contempt, by law given to circuit courts.

Perjury.

SEC. 10. Any person who shall, under oath, knowingly make any false statement before any such board, or who, knowing that he is not entitled to register or to vote, shall so register or vote, shall be guilty of the offense of perjury.

Summary committal for perjury.

SEC. 11. The several boards are hereby given power to summarily commit any person for trial for perjury committed before any such board, if, in their opinion, there is probable cause to believe that, upon the trial, such person would be convicted of such offense.

Challenging.

SEC. 12. Any lawful voter may challenge the right to register of any person claiming to be eligible to register as a voter; cross-examine the applicant, and any witness produced by him, and produce and examine witnesses against such eligibility.

SEC. 13. No board of registration shall enter the name of any person upon the register of voters until satisfied that such person possesses the requisite qualifications.

Appeal from board.

SEC. 14. If any board shall refuse to register the name of any person applying to be registered, the person refused, and, in case any name has been registered, any legal voter, may, at any time within ten days after the decision of such board, appeal to the supreme court in the manner provided by law for civil appeals to the supreme court from the circuit court, or in such manner as may hereafter be provided by law.

SEC. 15. Upon such appeals being perfected, the supreme court shall proceed to hear such cause, either in term time or in vacation, as soon thereafter as reasonably may be; and the determination by such court of such question shall be final.

Notice to board of decision.

SEC. 16. Immediately upon rendering a decision upon any such appeal, the supreme court shall notify the board of registration from which such appeal was taken; and if such decision shall reverse the decision of the board, such board shall immediately cause the register to such decision.

Status of person registered during appeal.

SEC. 17. In case of an appeal from a decision of any board admitting the name of any person to registration, the name of such person shall remain upon the register pending the decision of the supreme court concerning the same.

If the person so registered shall vote at any election before a decision of the court shall have been made and acted upon, such vote shall not invalidate such election, even though the decision of the court shall be adverse to the registration of such name.

Notice of meeting.

SEC. 18. The time and place of all meetings of the several boards shall be advertised in the English and Hawaiian languages, in newspapers or by posters posted in at least three frequented places in the locality where such meetings are to be held.

This section shall not be construed to prohibit the adjournment of any such advertised meeting from day to day to a time certain, announced at the time of adjournment.

Time of registering.

SEC. 19. No name shall be registered or stricken from the register except in an open meeting of the board and upon public announcement, except for the following causes, viz:

(1) In case the supreme court shall render a decision upon appeal, reversing the decision of the board.

(2) In case the board has decided that a person is entitled to registration and his name has been accidentally omitted from the register, misspelled, or he has therein been misnamed.

Copies of register to be sent to inspectors of election.

SEC. 20. The respective boards shall, as soon as reasonably may be after the register of voters for any voting precinct is completed, prepare three copies thereof and forward them to the chairman of inspectors of election for such precinct; or, in case such officer shall not then have been appointed, to the deputy sheriff of the district in which such precinct is located.

The officer receiving such copies shall retain one for use at the election, and immediately post the other copies in two frequented places within the precinct, for the inspection of the public.

Inspectors not to change registers.

SEC. 21. No name shall be added to or stricken from the register of voters, or in any manner changed by the inspectors of election, except upon the written order of the board of registration for such district.

Correction of register.

SEC. 22. If it shall be manifest to any board, at any time, that the name of a person admitted to registration has been accidentally omitted from the register, or misspelled, or that he has been misnamed therein, such board shall immediately remedy

such omission or mistake; and, if a copy of the register has been sent to the election precinct in which such person is entitled to register, shall immediately, in writing, order the inspectors of election for such precinct to correct such copy of the register.

Such order shall set forth the reasons for the action directed to be taken, and shall be retained and filed by the inspectors of election as a part of the records of the election.

The power of revision and correction hereby conferred shall not be construed to allow the reopening of the question of the qualifications of any person registered by the board.

SEC. 23. Until otherwise provided by law, the provisions governing the conduct of elections, under the general election law last heretofore in effect, shall apply to and govern the elections hereby provided for, except such portions thereof as may be inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution, or with such rules and regulations as may be made by the President by virtue of the authority provided herein.

ADVISORY COUNCIL.

ARTICLE 78.—*How constituted.*

SEC. 1. There shall be an advisory council of fifteen members, five of whom shall be elected by the Senate, five by the House of Representatives, and five appointed by the President with the approval of the cabinet.

SEC. 2. The advisory council shall be elected and appointed during the first session of the Legislature, and at each regular session held thereafter.

Term of office.

SEC. 3. The term of office of the members thereof shall expire at the end of each regular session of the Legislature held after their election.

Vacancies—How filled.

SEC. 4. Vacancies among the elective members of the council occurring between sessions of the legislature may be filled by the council.

Vacancies among the appointed members of the council occurring at any time, may be filled by the President with the approval of the cabinet.

Qualifications of members.

SEC. 5. Persons who are eligible to become elective members of the legislature, and no other, shall be eligible to be elected by the legislature as members of the council.

Powers of advisory council.

SEC. 6. The advisory council may, upon the request of the executive council, appropriate public moneys, when, during the time intervening between the sessions of the legislature, the emergencies of war, invasion, rebellion, pestilence, or other great public necessity shall arise.

In case of such appropriation, the minister of finance shall render a detailed account of the expenditures made under such authority to the next regular session of the legislature.

SEC. 7. The advisory council may also, in the event of the emergencies of war, invasion, rebellion, pestilence, or other public necessity arising between sessions of the legislature, upon the request of the executive council, pass laws not inconsistent with the constitution, to meet and remedy such emergency.

Any bill recommended to the advisory council by the executive council, whether for the appropriation of money or otherwise, shall, in order to become law, pass three readings and be signed by the President.

Pardons.

SEC. 8. The President, by and with the advice of the cabinet and the advisory council, shall have the power to grant reprieves and pardons and to commute sentences, after conviction, for all offenses except in cases of impeachment.

Advisory powers.

SEC. 9. The advisory council shall also, when called upon by the President, advise him in all matters for the good of the State, wherein he shall require its advice.

Time of convening.

SEC. 10. The advisory council may be convened at any time by the President. Its members shall serve without pay.

Duration of acts of the advisory council.

SEC. 11. Laws passed by the advisory council shall remain in force until repealed by the advisory council upon the request of the executive council, or by the Legislature, or until the adjournment *sine die* of the next regular session of the Legislature after their enactment, when they shall cease to be operative, unless the Legislature during such session has passed an act confirming them.

DIVISION OF THE JUDICIARY.

ARTICLE 79.

The judicial power of the Republic shall be vested in one supreme court and in such inferior courts as the Legislature may from time to time establish.

ARTICLE 80.

SECTION 1. The supreme court shall consist of a chief justice and not less than two associates justices: *Provided, however,* That in case of the disqualification or absence of any justice thereof in any cause pending before the court, his place for the trial and determination of said cause shall be filled as provided by law.

SEC. 2. The justices of the supreme court shall hold their offices during good behavior, subject to removal upon impeachment and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office: *Provided, however,* That any justice of the supreme court or a judge of any other court of record may be removed from said office on a resolution passed by two-thirds of all the elective members of both branches of the Legislature sitting together, for good cause shown to the satisfaction of the executive council.

SEC. 3. The justice or judge against whom the Legislature may be about to proceed shall have notice thereof, accompanied by a copy of the causes alleged for his removal, at least ten days before the day on which the Legislature shall act thereon. He shall be heard before the Legislature.

ARTICLE 81.

The judicial power shall be divided among the supreme court, the justices thereof, and the several inferior courts of the Republic in such manner as the Legislature may from time to time prescribe, and the tenure of office of the judges of the inferior courts shall be such as may be defined by the law creating them.

ARTICLE 82.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the constitution and laws of the Republic, and treaties existing, or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting public ministers and consuls, and to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 83.

The chief justice of the supreme court shall be ex officio president of the senate in all cases of impeachment, unless when impeached himself. Should the chief justice ever be impeached some person specially commissioned by the President shall preside over the Senate during such trial.

ARTICLE 84.

The decisions of the supreme court shall be final and conclusive upon all parties when made by a majority of the justices thereof or by a majority of those who constitute the court in case a justice thereof is disqualified or absent, as herein provided.

ARTICLE 85.

The President or the cabinet shall have authority to require the opinions of the justices of the supreme court upon important questions of law and upon solemn occasions.

ARTICLE 86.

No judge or magistrate shall sit alone on an appeal or new trial in any case in which he may have given a previous judgment.

ARTICLE 87.—*Disqualifications of judge or juror.*

No person shall sit as a judge or juror in any case in which his relative by affinity or by consanguinity within the third degree is interested, either as plaintiff or defendant, or in the issue of which the said judge or juror may have, either directly or through such relative, any pecuniary interest.

AMENDMENT OR REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 88.

SECTION 1. The constitution may be amended or revised in the following manner and no other:

SEC. 2. Amendments to this constitution, or a revision thereof, may be proposed by not less than five members of either house at any regular session of the Legislature.

SEC. 3. In order to pass any amendment or revision it shall receive three readings in each house, at each of which readings it shall receive an affirmative vote in each house of not less than a majority of the elective members to which such house is entitled.

The vote shall be taken by a call of the ayes and noes, which, with the proposed amendment or revision, shall be entered on the journal.

SEC. 4. Upon the passage by the Legislature of any amendment or revision of the constitution aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the minister of the interior to publish such amendment or revision, in the English and Hawaiian languages, for not less than once a week, for not less than twelve successive weeks, in not less than two newspapers published in Honolulu, next preceding the succeeding general election to the Legislature.

SEC. 5. Such amendment or revision shall be considered by the Legislature at its first regular session following the next general election; and, in order to be finally adopted, shall receive three readings, on different days, in each House, at the first and second of which readings it shall receive an affirmative vote in each House of not less than a majority of the elective members to which such House is entitled; and at the last of which readings it shall receive an affirmative vote in each House of not less than two-thirds of the elective members to which such House is entitled.

The voting shall be taken by a call of ayes and noes, which, together with the proposed amendment or revision, shall be entered in the journal.

SEC. 6. Each amendment shall be considered and voted upon separately in each session of the Legislature in which it shall come up for consideration, as herein provided.

SEC. 7. In case of a proposed revision of the constitution, each component part of such revision forming a separate proposition shall, in like manner, be considered and voted on separately, except upon the final reading at the second session of the Legislature at which such revision shall have been considered, when it shall be voted on as a whole.

SEC. 8. Any amendment or revision which shall have been adopted in manner aforesaid by two successive Legislatures shall thereupon and without further act become a part of the constitution of the Republic.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE 89.—*Constitution supreme law.*

This constitution, when promulgated, shall thereupon become the supreme law of the Republic, and the constitution promulgated on the 7th day of July, 1887, and all other constitutions at any time the supreme law in the Hawaiian Islands are hereby expressly abrogated and are declared to be null and void.

ARTICLE 90.—Existing laws and rights confirmed.

All statutes and enactments in force in the Hawaiian Islands at the time this constitution takes effect, not inconsistent therewith, and all rights, actions, prosecutions, judgments, and contracts then existing and valid, shall continue as if this constitution had not been adopted, unless the same are inconsistent with this constitution, or are herein specifically abrogated, or are otherwise herein provided for.

ARTICLE 91.—All commissions vacated.

All commissions issued by or under authority of the late monarchy or of the Provisional Government of Hawaii are hereby declared to be vacated, null, and void from and after the first day of September, 1894.

ARTICLE 92.—Treaties, bonds, etc., confirmed.

All existing treaties and all bonds and notes heretofore made or authorized under the authority of the late monarchy or of the Provisional Government of Hawaii are hereby recognized, ratified, and confirmed.

ARTICLE 93.—Crown land.

That portion of the public domain heretofore known as crown land is hereby declared to have been heretofore, and now to be, the property of the Hawaiian Government, free and clear from any trust of or concerning the same, and from all claim of any nature whatsoever, upon the rents, issues, and profits thereof. It shall be subject to alienation and other uses as may be provided by law.

ARTICLE 94.—Majority rule.

Wherever in this constitution the Legislature or either house thereof, the executive or advisory council, the cabinet, or other body, is authorized or empowered to do anything, a majority of all the members to which such body is entitled by law shall be sufficient to act, unless otherwise expressly provided.

ARTICLE 95.—Lotteries,

No lottery shall be authorized in this Republic, nor shall the sale of lottery tickets be allowed.

ARTICLE 96.—Government officers not to take foreign employment.

No officer of the Republic nor member of the Legislature shall hold any office or receive any pay from any other government or power whatever.

ARTICLE 97.—Rules and regulations for oaths and elections.

Until otherwise provided by law, the President, with the approval of the cabinet, shall have power to make rules and regulations not inconsistent herewith for administering oaths and holding elections provided for by this constitution.

ARTICLE 98.—First election.

The first election of the Legislature shall take place at such time and place, within three months after the promulgation of this constitution, as shall be directed by the President, with the approval of the cabinet.

ARTICLE 99.—Termination of the advisory council.

Until the convening of the first Legislature, in either special or regular session, under this constitution, the advisory council of the provisional government of Hawaii shall continue to hold and have power to exercise the full authority heretofore held by it, or by this constitution granted to the Senate or to the Legislature as a whole.

Such convening of the Legislature shall thereby terminate the existence, power, and authority of the said advisory council.

ARTICLE 100.—*Oath of officers, electors, and legislators.*

No person shall be eligible to be an officer, senator, or representative under the Republic, or an elector of senators or representatives until he shall have taken and subscribed the following oath or affirmation, viz: "I do solemnly swear, or affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will support the constitution, laws, and Government of the Republic of Hawaii, and will not, either directly or indirectly, encourage or assist in the restoration or establishment of a monarchical form of government in the Hawaiian Islands."

ARTICLE 101.—*Impeachment.*

SECTION 1. The House of Representatives may impeach any officer of the Republic for misconduct or maladministration in his office.

SEC. 2. The Senate shall be a court, with full and sole authority to hear and determine all impeachments made by the House of Representatives.

SEC. 3. Previous to the trial of any impeachment, the senators shall, respectively, be sworn truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question, according to law and the evidence.

SEC. 4. The judgment of the Senate, in case of the conviction of the person impeached, shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold any place of honor, trust, or profit under the Republic; but the person so convicted shall be nevertheless liable to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to the laws of the land.

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M E S S A G E

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

A dispatch from the U. S. minister at Honolulu.

JULY 24, 1894.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

To the Congress:

I herewith transmit a communication from the Secretary of State covering a dispatch from the U. S. minister at Honolulu.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

Washington, July 24, 1894.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, July 24, 1894.

The PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of State has the honor to lay before the President copy of a dispatch from our minister at Honolulu, No. 61, dated June 23, 1894, reporting the condition of political affairs then existing in the Hawaiian Islands.

Respectfully submitted.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 61.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, June 23, 1894.

SIR: Your dispatch No. 30 of the 2d instant, inclosing the Senate resolution of the 31st ultimo, reached here on the 16th instant. A copy was, on the same day, transmitted by me to the Hon. F. M. Hatch, minister for foreign affairs, for the information of his Govern-

ment. On the 21st instant I received a protest signed "Lilioukalani," reciting from her standpoint the acts and facts prior and subsequent to the overthrow of her Government, protesting against all such acts, and "earnestly requesting" that the United States "will not extend its recognition to any such Government thus formed."

Not feeling at liberty to answer or transmit this communication, I had an interview with Hon. Samuel Parker, the last minister of foreign affairs under the monarchy, to whom, after explaining the present attitude of our Government and my inability to forward any such communication, I handed, for information, a copy of your dispatch hereinbefore mentioned and of the Senate resolution accompanying it. This course was adopted with the knowledge and consent of the Provisional Government. In reply to the direct question from Mr. Parker as to whether this was the final decision of the Senate, I said that in my opinion it was final.

The constitutional convention finished the first reading of the new constitution on the 21st instant. It is thought that it will be promulgated on the 4th of July.

Upon the suggestion of Admiral Walker I submitted a request for the landing of his troops for exercise on every Tuesday. This request was granted. It has been customary here for many years to give such permission to all nationalities. A subsequent request of a similar character in behalf of the British Government was first granted and on the following day refused. It is thought, however, that in view of past precedents, this action will be reversed.

The Japanese cruiser *Takachiho* has returned to Japan. The *Congo* remains.

There has been no disturbance here and no apparent probability of any in the immediate future.

With sentiments of high esteem, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

Dispatches from the U. S. minister at Honolulu.

JULY 31, 1894.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

To the Congress:

I herewith transmit a communication from the Secretary of State covering two dispatches from the U. S. minister at Honolulu.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, July 30, 1894.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 30, 1894.

The PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of State has the honor to lay before the President copies of two dispatches from our minister at Honolulu, Nos. 64 and 65, dated July 8 and 9, respectively, reporting events in the Hawaiian Islands.

Respectfully submitted,

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 64.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, July 8, 1894. (Received July 27.)

SIR: It has been customary in these islands for the citizens of the United States to celebrate the Fourth of July with athletic sports, boat races, fireworks, etc., together with literary exercises, at which the American minister usually presides. The Hawaiians and citizens of all nationalities heartily participate in the observance of the day. Last

year Mr. Blount presided, and prior to that under the monarchy the custom has prevailed for many years. The day was celebrated this year with more than ordinary enthusiasm. The English, Japanese, and American war vessels were dressed, flags were displayed from all the legations and consulates, public buildings and a large number of private residences were elaborately decorated, and the national salute fired at noon.

The reception at the United States legation was attended by several hundred persons, including representatives of the home and foreign governments and prominent citizens of all political parties.

I inclose newspaper clippings, giving some of the particulars of the celebration and also the principal address on the occasion.

With sentiments of high esteem, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 64.]

A FITTING CELEBRATION—THE GREAT HOLIDAY OF AMERICA AND OF HAWAII—EXERCISES AT LITTLE BRITAIN—THE FULL TEXT OF THE ORATIONS MADE BY VARIOUS SPEAKERS—PATRIOTIC SPEECHES WHICH ALL HAVE THE RING OF TRUE REPUBLICANISM—A LARGE AUDIENCE.

The one hundred and eighteenth anniversary of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States was marked, besides the one great event of the day, the forming of the Republic, by enthusiastic ceremonies at J. N. Wright's place, Little Britain. At half after 10, the hour set for the literary exercises to commence, the large pavilion was filled with those who came to celebrate the day in the good old way by listening to patriotic speeches, and hearing the Declaration of Independence, one of, if not the grandest of the world's documents, read.

The pavilion had been gaily decorated with American flags and with ferns. On the platform were President Dole, Minister Willis, Admiral Walker, Capt. Barker, Capt. Cochrane, J. B. Atherton, P. C. Jones, Prof. W. W. Lovejoy, Leo Cooper, and the newspaper representatives.

Minister Willis, the president of the day, was introduced by J. B. Atherton. He said:

"I thank the committee for having given me the honor of presiding on this occasion, and in the name of the great Republic whose representative I am, I extend to the citizens of the United States and to all others who sympathize with republican institutions, a heartfelt welcome."

Prof. Lovejoy then offered a prayer, after which the song "The Battle Cry of Freedom" was sung by the audience. Mr. Leo Cooper then read the Declaration of Independence, which was greeted with much applause.

J. B. Castle was next introduced, and said that the paper he was going to read had been prepared by W. N. Armstrong, who had asked him to read it, as he was away

[Inclosure 2 in No. 64.]

CAPT. COCHRANE'S ADDRESS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: I would that I could also say "fellow-citizens," but I see so many here who are not yet Americans that perhaps it were better to employ a new expression—fellow-denizens. [This reference to possible annexation, and to the article so much discussed by the late convention, met with instant recognition.] When your committee did me the honor to invite me to address you upon this famous anniversary, I accepted with much pleasure. It was understood that I was to make a short address on the Declaration of Independence, and that the oration—a larger contract—was to be awarded to another. Later, I was asked if I would change places, and as the difference was only one of degrees, I readily consented. I met the gentleman who was to be my colleague, ex-Attorney-General Armstrong, and we agreed to have a conference, that we might not collide. Next I learned that Mr. Armstrong was going to Hilo and that there would be no other speaker. You can therefore imagine my surprise at learning just now that friend Armstrong had left his oration behind.

In order to ascertain what was done on the last Fourth of July, I went to your very excellent public library and looked over a file of old papers. There I saw that you had had a spread-eagle oration, and that a Mr. P. C. Jones had made a very interesting and pleasing address. I felt thankful that Mr. Jones was not to compete this year. Now, where do I find myself? Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Jones are both in the field, and some of my thunder is surely stolen. Anyhow, I had the usual assortment of grandfathers, as well as Mr. Jones, but they had the misfortune to land at Philadelphia instead of Boston, and though they did not help to throw any tea overboard they had the Declaration of Independence and plenty of dried-apple pies.

My gray head and scanty locks reveal the fact that I have seen many Fourths of July, and I may add—thanks to the wandering life those of my profession necessarily lead—that they have been celebrated in different foreign countries and in many of the States of the American Union.

On the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, on the shores of the Great Lakes and the yet greater Gulf of Mexico, on the Mississippi, in the West Indies, in Central and South America, in Europe, in Africa, and on the high seas have I passed Independence Day, but never before in Polynesia. Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Years, yes, but not the "glorious Fourth;" so I am especially glad to be with you on this delightful and memorable occasion.

Yesterday I thought that there was but one other country on earth where the Fourth is more highly regarded or more generally celebrated than in Hawaii. To-day I am not sure that there is any. I have seen great Paris ablaze, but it was the work of the State and not the people.

It seems strange that one, 2,000 miles and more from home, can be in an atmosphere so overwhelmingly American as this. Where in all Yankeedom, or in all Christendom, is there a community of this size, or any size for the matter of that, which is honoring the Declaration of Independence, that colossal indictment and grand compendium of human rights, with greater zeal and enthusiasm than is the community of Honolulu? Where else is such a mixing of races agog and afoot with such hearty and simple impulse? I've just left a thousand "tars" wild with excitement, and a Yankee man-of-war proselyting the entire harbor.

Where else, Mr. Chairman, is the day too short for all of the exercises, sports, and festivities which it is desired to crowd into it? Where else are the decorations of streets and houses more lavish or more beautiful; where are handsomer prizes offered to the decorators, and where is there a more magnificent flag than that of the American League?

Where, also, have the subscriptions been so liberal that they had to be stopped; and, finally, let me ask, where else has there been promulgated, as the first act after the guns of dawn, and in especial honor and recognition of this great day, a national constitution, bringing into being a new republic?

The banks, stores, warehouses, and schools are closed, the water craft and plantations are resting, the stars and stripes are flying, and the people are rejoicing. I hope that the gentlemen of the press, if there be any here, will let the vast and friendly population of the States distinctly know that they are not all Americans who are doing this. Please tell them that the German, the Dane, the Greek, the Portuguese, the Frenchman, the children of Asia, the gentle Hawaiian and the irrepressible Irishman are "assisting," and I strongly suspect that some of the hardy sons of Great Britain, who are pleased to say that "blood is thicker than water," are taking a quiet hand to-day at Little Britain.

The stranger may say that the celebration of the Fourth of July in the Hawaiian Islands is a new thing, born of revolution or gotten up for dramatic effect, but such is not the case. One learns upon inquiry that "it has always been so" and that the tie which binds multitudes of this people, rich and poor, brown as well as white, to the land of liberty is stronger perhaps than any of them fully realize. If I mistake not, the day is not far distant when this feeling will assert itself with a unanimity and result alike amazing in every island of the banner group of the Pacific.

Fully eighty years ago it first began, and that was six years before the missionaries first arrived. The idols had not yet been destroyed when Kamehameha I, surnamed the Great, began the custom of celebrating the Fourth of July.

There was a joyousness in the proceedings which commended them to native tastes, and the custom took hold and grew until it became the holiday of all the year. The Kamehameha folks, if not misrepresented by the esteemed historian, Prof. Alexander, fully understood the art of celebrating, and could put a cardinal hue on a village of grass huts with "neatness and dispatch."

Though not exactly a Kamaaina, I am far from being a stranger here. Four and twenty years have passed since I first beheld the bold front and rugged sides of Diamond Head, but my recollections of these charming islands remain clear and strong, and my interest in them has never flagged. As I had resided for some time with the ex-queen, then Mrs. Dominis, and her sister, the Princess Likelike, at

Washington Place, and had assisted Prince David Kalakaua, their brother, with some military instruction for the funeral of the Dowager Queen Kalama when he was a clerk in the foreign office and an officer of the volunteers, their subsequent careers always excited a friendly interest. Kamehameha V (Prince Lot) was king during that visit, and although there appeared to be then profound content, the seed had been sown and the American leaven was working.

I remember particularly a visit made to Hilo in the old *Kilauea*, the pioneer and only inter-island steamer then plying. Now you have two fleets. Her speed, never alarming, had become so reduced that they could see her smoke at Lahaina seven or eight hours before she arrived, and it was decided to overhaul her. Maj. C. H. Judd, better known to you as "Charley Judd," was then her agent, and after she was restored to 8 knots on a level he advertised her for a trip to Hilo if enough passengers could be had who wanted to visit the volcano. Enough were booked, and we rolled over there in the month of October, 1870. There were several young officers in the party who belonged to the U. S. sloop *Jamestown*, then in this port, and finding no hotel in Hilo, we were very thankful to be invited by the veteran Capt. Tom Spencer to make our headquarters at his hospitable house. After a grand bath in a running stream of cold water, and an excellent dinner, we were treated to a serenade by a small band composed of some native boys, friends of poor Bill Ragsdale. The music would not have suited Mozart or Beethoven, perhaps, but we liked it. Was it the melodious "Aloha Oe," or "Ahi Wela," you ask. No, not a bit of it. Those boys made the cocconut palms and bamboo clumps rustle with "John Brown's Body," "Sherman's March to the Sea," and "Columbia's the Gem of the Ocean," and we felt that it was only a couple of miles from Rainbow Falls to the Golden Gate.

About eighteen months ago I was announced to lecture in Metropolitan Temple, San Francisco. On my way to the building in a street car, on January 27, I saw hanging in a great plate-glass window of the Chronicle office, on Market street, a small placard which made known to passers-by that James G. Blaine, the distinguished statesman and friend of Hawaii, had died that morning, in Washington. The sad news was the topic of conversation everywhere, and I referred to it in my lecture, which was attended by about 1,700 people. Among those people there were several newspaper men, and one especially well-known was Mr. M. H. DeYoung. I mention this because his presence aroused in me considerable interest to see what criticism of my humble effort his paper, the Chronicle, might contain next day. Immediately after breakfast I bought a copy and found that I had been crowded out. A black, schooner-rigged, iron steamer, called the *Claudine*, had unexpectedly arrived in the night and the Chronicle and San Francisco were alike taken up with the news of "A revolt in Hawaii." Even Blaine was for the time being forgotten, and column after column was filled with the details of the incidents which led up to the crisis of January, 17, 1893. I bear no malice.

Picking up a back number of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser a few days since I noticed in its short article which again suggested that time often invests with peculiar interest things once laid aside as of little moment. The article in question was copied from a great Democratic newspaper, the New York Sun, and seems very appropriate to this occasion. It is entitled "Free Hawaii's birthday," and says:

"To-day is the first anniversary of the establishment of the provisional government in Hawaii on the ruins of monarchical and despotic ideas. We congratulate President Dole and his able and patriotic associates upon the success of their administration, and upon the strength of their position before the world.

"Probably never in the course of the ages have the affairs of any infant nation been managed more ably, wisely, or honestly. These men of American blood and American sympathies are of the same sort as those who founded our own Republic. No wonder the hearts of the people of the United States have gone out towards them.

"For a time, longer or shorter, according to circumstances which it is now impossible to foresee, January 17 will hold in Hawaii's calendar similar to the Fourth of July in our own. Then in the inevitable progress of destiny January 17 in Hawaii will be merged in July Fourth, and islands and continent will celebrate together and in common the nation's birth."—New York Sun.

How little did that able writer know that but half a year would be needed to witness the beginning of the fulfillment of his prophecy, and that the very next succeeding Fourth of July would find what he calls the "inevitable progress of destiny" so far advanced that "the islands" could celebrate the birthday of two nations instead of one.

It was only by dint of most diligent effort on the part of the late convention that this has been made a doubly great historic day, not for Hawaii alone, but for all of the earth, for when at eventide the life-giving sun shall sink below the horizon it will set for the first time upon a hemisphere of independent republics.

The vast Empire of Brazil was thought stable and secure. It long held its own by reason of the personality of its estimable monarch, but suddenly the end came. Almost as suddenly the end came here. Vain efforts have been made to restore "the

divine right of kings," but "revolutions rarely go backward." Kind friends rise up and extend a helping hand to those who struggle for liberty, fraternity, and equality, and the good Lord seems to approve.

At 8 o'clock this morning the Provisional Government stepped down and out, and the infant Republic stepped in. As I stood in front of the Executive building and gazed upon the great, orderly, clean, well-dressed, and intelligent assemblage that occupied the steps and portico and surrounded your distinguished President as he proclaimed the new constitution and was sworn in by the chief justice to support it, I saw a scene of which any country might well be proud.

It speaks volumes for the good sense and love of order of those who entertain different views from the party in power that they have thus far confined their objections to lawful protests. It is to be hoped that they will adhere to this course. Nothing is so illogical as war, and few things more costly than undertakers' charges. All know that perfect men and perfect governments do not exist and it is idle to expect them. A fair and patient trial of the new constitution and Government should not be denied. Your universally esteemed President expects, in due time, to have a successor, and I venture to say that he desires that successor to be in every way a worthy man. I understand that an ex-premier has recently considered the possibility of his tilling the place. It is a legitimate ambition, and the political movement essential to that end might prove no disadvantage to the nation. Two healthy political parties are, indeed, the salvation of a republic. It may seem a little out of place for me, a soldier, to plead thus, but I was raised among Wilham Penn Quakers, and they cultivated peace. I remember when it was believed that the civil troubles in America could never be composed; and later, when it was boldly asserted that the clashing in France between royalty and democracy would utterly destroy that wonderful nation; but those opinions were ill founded.

The outcome in each case was of special interest, because I was engaged in the four years of our sad and bloody conflict and, by a strange coincidence, had the distinguished honor of welcoming, five years later, the advent of the great French Republic with a short address on French soil. This happened at Tahiti, in the Society Islands, in November, 1870. That address was partly in French and partly in English, but there was one sentence in it that everybody understood—and that was *Vive la Republique!*

Mr. T. B. Murray, President of the American League, then proposed three cheers for Capt. Cochrane, which were given with a will and followed by a "tiger."

Mr. Willis being about to step to the front, Capt. Cochrane arose and begged him to delay a moment, adding: "Fellow denizens [laughter]: If it is not altogether improper, let us give three cheers for the latest addition to the family—the infant Republic."

The grandest song possible to sing—the song that will move anyone with a drop of American blood in his veins—was next sung by the audience. The strains of "America" rolled out upon the air and sent a thrill through all those who heard it. The band played a melody of American airs, and the people left the building. The exercises of the day were over.

[Inclosure 3 in No. 64—From the Hawaiian Gazette.]

THE EVENTS OF THE DAY.—THE VARIOUS DOINGS OF THE PEOPLE YESTERDAY.—WHAT THERE WAS TO SEE AND DO.—AQUATIC AND ATHLETIC SPORTS, BASEBALL, A RECEPTION AND THE FIREWORKS IN THE EVENING KEEP EVERYONE BUSY ON THE GREATEST OF ALL HOLIDAYS.

The stores and dwelling places in Honolulu were never decorated as they were yesterday. The patriotic feeling made itself felt in all quarters and the result proved to many strangers that Honolulu has as much love for the great American holiday as any other of its size in the United States. Along the business streets nothing but flags and bunting greeted the eyes, and the captains of the merchant vessels in the harbor did their share toward making the decorative feature a success. Every vessel, with one or two exceptions, was decorated with all the bunting available, and conspicuous among them were the ships *Marie Hackfeld* and the schooner *R. W. Bartlett*. Of course the war vessels were decorated from stem to stern and each presented a pretty sight.

The Fourth of July committee offered 5 prizes for the best decorated buildings, and it was left with the Art League to decide. D. Howard Hitchcock was the chairman. The members of the league visited every portion of the city, and finally decided that the house of Castle & Cooke was entitled to the first prize. They considered that, as an emblematical design and as an artistic decoration, it was far and

away the finest displayed. The following is a brief description of the decoration: Crowning the center is a large silver star over the legend "Hawaii," flanked by a number of banners in red, white, and blue. Draped across the center of the building are large American and Hawaiian flags balanced by tricolored draperies. Offsetting the whole is a base of dark-blue cloth trimmed with green maile and finished at either corner with Hawaiian and American shields. The second prize was awarded to the Inter-Island Steamship Company; third prize, Oahu jail; fourth prize, Safe Deposit Company; fifth prize, Pantheon saloon. A number of other buildings were wondrously decorated. Lewers & Cooke had a gorgeous display, and No. 2 engine house deserves special mention.

SPORTS IN THE HARBOR.

The sports on the bay drew a large crowd to the water front yesterday. The decks of every vessel from which a good view could be obtained were crowded with people. The officers of the war vessels in port invited their friends to go on board, and the invitation was accepted by a great many. The programme as a whole was interesting and was well carried out. The most exciting race of the day was the 12-oar barge race between a native crew and crews from both the *Champion* and the *Philadelphia*.

The course was around the spar buoy, the natives winning in 19 minutes and 40 seconds, followed 14 seconds later by the *Philadelphia* crew.

A great deal of interest was centered in the race between the Myrtle and Healani boat clubs. The crew of the first-named club won easily in 17 minutes and 8 seconds.

The following is the full programme of the day and the winners:

The first race between the Myrtles and the Healanis over the spar buoy course was won as previously mentioned.

The second race was between a number of boat boys in single-oared boats. The course was around a buoy fastened in the neighborhood of the Myrtle boathouse. The race was won by John Mahuku in 14 minutes.

The third race was contested for by crews of the war vessels in port, in cutters, 12 men in each, around the spar buoy; won by the *Philadelphia* crew in 21 minutes and 13 seconds.

The fourth race was in six-oared gigs from the American and Japanese men-of-war. Owing to an accident, which laid up the *Champion's* gig for repairs, the Englishmen did not participate. The *Philadelphia's* crew won again. Time, 21 minutes and 41 seconds.

The fifth race was in shells. The contestants were R. Dexter and W. Harris. Dexter won in 9 minutes and 36 seconds.

The sixth race was won by a native crew in 24 minutes and 16 seconds. It was a four-oared race between three crews—the natives, a crew from the *Philadelphia* and a crew from the *Kongo*.

The catamaran race was the next on the programme. It was contested for by men from the *Champion* and the *Kongo*. It was easily won by the Japanese.

The swimming race was won by a native named Pua. He was followed closely by a seaman named Skuse, belonging to the *Champion*. The distance was about one-eighth of a mile.

The second-class yacht race had four entries: *Edith L.*, *Coral Queen*, *Pokii*, and *Mary Walding*. It was won by the *Mary Walding*.

The sailing-launch race between the *Philadelphia* and *Champion* was won by the *Champion* boat.

The following gentlemen had charge of the aquatic sports: Judges, Lieut. W. M. Wood, Lieut. F. K. C. Gibbons, Lieut. R. Ide, Capt. Campbell, and Capt. Fuller; starter, C. B. Wilson; timekeeper, Frank Kruger.

THE ATHLETIC SPORTS.

The literary exercises were not all, by any means, that occurred at Little Britain during the day. In the afternoon the dancing pavilion and the athletic sports drew a big crowd in that direction, in spite of the other events. Dancing was kept up in the pavilion until nearly 6 o'clock.

The sports were very interesting and were greatly enjoyed. The winners of the different events, and the time and distances made, follows:

One hundred yards race—Tom Pryce, J. I. Richardson, 11½ seconds.

Standing broad jump—John Caustino, Tom Pryce, 11½ feet.

Running broad jump—A. Tyrrell, H. Hapai, 18 feet 10½ inches.

Basket potato race (juvenile)—John Aylett, Schichi.

One hundred yards race (juvenile)—Arthur Giles, Reuben Kinney, 12 seconds.

Pole vault—G. Angus, W. Halstead, 8 feet 7 inches.
 Quarter-mile race—J. L. King, W. D. Armstrong, 1 minute and 1 second.
 Boot and shoe race (juvenile)—W. Roland, J. Aylett.
 Hop, step, and jump—A. Tyrrell, T. White, 38 feet 7½ inches.
 Match race, 100 yards—W. B. Bolster and C. J. Dietz. Boltzer won. Time, 12½ seconds.
 Three-legged race (juvenile)—W. Austin and J. Aylett, M. Botelho and J. Suarez.
 One hundred and twenty yards hurdle race—Vida Thrum, J. Wright, 18 seconds.
 Running high jump—A. Tyrrell, J. Caustino, 4 feet 9 inches.
 Potato race (juvenile)—J. Santos, Kamañao.
 Jim Kahama race—F. Ferreira.

THE AFTERNOON RECEPTION.

The public reception held by Minister Willis and his charming wife in the afternoon was certainly not less successful than the other events of the glorious Fourth. The reception took place in the parlors of the Hawaiian Hotel, and from 3 o'clock until 5 a host of people streamed in, all eager to pay their respects to the American minister. The band of the *Philadelphia* was stationed in the stand in the hotel grounds, and the Hawaiian Quintette Club were in attendance on the Lanai, where an elegant collation was served.

THE BASEBALL GAME.

The Kamehamehas added to their laurels again yesterday, beating the Hawaiis by a score of 7 to 4, 5 of the 7 being made in one inning. There was a very large attendance. The game was not a brilliant one, but was marked by the steady playing of the Kamehamehas.

	Games won.	Games lost.	Games played.	Percentage.
Kamehamehas	6	2	8	.750
Hawaiis	3	4	7	.428
Crescents	2	5	7	.286

AT THE BUTTS.

The Hawaiian Rifle Association held its regular semiannual shoot at its range near King street yesterday. The attendance was not as large as usual, owing to the large number of counter attractions. The heavy wind blowing made high scores almost an impossibility, especially at the long ranges. No records were broken in the association matches, and only one prize was won for the last time, the Queen's trophy. In the citizens' match the honors were easy, there being a large list of prizes.

THE FIREWORKS.

The display at the executive building in the evening was magnificent. The grounds were hung with Chinese lanterns. The building itself was beautifully decorated. A long row of electric lanterns had been stretched from either side over the tops of the three front flag poles, and each balcony had rows of lanterns. The chef-d'œuvre of the decorations, however, was a large 8-pointed star, in different colors, that was placed on the front of the building. In its center, in blue lights, were the figures "94." The whole star was most brilliant.

The fireworks were, of course, the feature of the evening. The grounds, the balconies, and the streets outside were crowded with people watching the beautiful pyrotechnic display. The Japanese fireworks seemed to be the favorites, though there were some beautiful rockets and Roman candles. The display was continued until about 9 o'clock.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 65.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, July 9, 1894. (Received July 27.)

SIR: The constitutional convention adjourned *sine die* on the 5th instant, having been in session twenty-four days. Many important changes were made in the original draft submitted by the executive committee, among which were those in regard to the qualifications of voters. These are for senators now the same as they were for nobles under the constitution of 1887. By article 23, Mr. Dole is declared first President, to hold office until December 31, 1900. I inclose under separate cover three copies of the constitution.

By section 8 of article 103 it was—

declared, enacted, and proclaimed by the executive and advisory councils of the Provisional Government and by the elected delegates constituting said constitutional convention, that on and after the fourth day of July, A. D. 1894, the said constitution shall be the constitution of the Republic of Hawaii and the supreme law of the Hawaiian Islands.

By act 85 the executive and advisory councils of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, provided for the "Proclamation of the Republic of Hawaii; and the enactment of the constitution thereof, and a transfer of the sovereignty, property, and authority of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands to the Republic of Hawaii." I inclose copy of the act and of the proclamation to which it refers.

In pursuance of the above enactments, the constitution was promulgated and the Republic of Hawaii proclaimed at the executive building on the 4th instant. A telegram to this effect is forwarded to you by this mail. I inclose newspaper clippings describing the proceedings.

On the 4th instant I received a note from Hon. Francis M. Hatch, minister of foreign affairs, setting forth the foregoing facts and stating that he and the ministers of the late Provisional Government had been appointed to the same positions under the Republic of Hawaii.

I inclose copy of the note of Mr. Hatch, with my reply of the 5th instant, stating that—

I hereby, as far as I have the right so to do, extend to the Republic of Hawaii, the recognition accorded its predecessor, the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands. I do this in the belief that I represent the President of the United States, to whom, as the Executive Chief of the Government, my action in the premises will be promptly submitted for his necessary approval.

With sentiments of high esteem,

I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 65.]

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAWAII.

[Promulgated July 4, A. D. 1894.]

RIGHTS OF PERSON AND PROPERTY.

ARTICLE I.—*Rights of the person.*

SECTION 1. God hath endowed all men with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the right of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining happiness.