

# 1893 Cleveland—Lili`uokalani Agreement to Restore the Hawaiian Kingdom government

December 18<sup>th</sup> 1893

## ABSTRACT

On October 18<sup>th</sup> 1893, the U.S. government concluded an investigation of its role in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government, and negotiation for settlement with Queen Lili`uokalani began on November 13<sup>th</sup> 1893 at the U.S. Legation in Honolulu. At this meeting, U.S. Minister Albert Willis notified the Queen of 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.”* Willis then asked, by direction of the President, *“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 may have been instrumental in the overthrow of your government.”* In this initial meeting, the Queen refused to grant amnesty, but after several additional meetings with Willis she accepted the conditions of restoration and she signed a declaration on December 18<sup>th</sup> 1893, which was forwarded to Secretary of State Walter Gresham on December 20<sup>th</sup>. The Congress was notified of this agreement on January 13<sup>th</sup> 1894 by Presidential message. Therefore, by virtue of this executive agreement, the President, and his successors in office, remain legally bound to restore the Hawaiian Kingdom government and to return the executive power to Hawai`i’s chief executive.

APPENDIX II

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FOREIGN RELATIONS

OF THE

UNITED STATES

1894

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AFFAIRS IN HAWAII



WASHINGTON  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
1895

MESSAGE  
FROM THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
TRANSMITTING

*Certain further information relating to the Hawaiian Islands.*

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

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*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.*

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*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 Nawahi 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.

## HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

*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 Crighton, calling his (Crighton's) attention to the improper and unauthorized use of Mr. Blount's name and asking an apology therefor. He also inclosed Mr. Crighton'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. Crighton, 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	
<b>Total treasury balance.....</b>		<b>\$136,850.73</b>

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

## RECEIPTS.

Interior department.....	\$2,988.00	
Customs.....	7,274.25	
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	
	<hr/>	\$14,913.25
		<hr/>
		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	
	<hr/>	\$4,221.25
Current account balance.....	147,173.84	
Loan fund account balance.....	368.89	
	<hr/>	147,542.73
		<hr/>
		151,763.98
Outstanding bonds.....	2,653,200.00	
Treasury notes.....	40,000.00	
Due postal savings bank and Postmaster-General's notes.....	705,416.95	
	<hr/>	3,398,616.95
Less loan fund balance.....	368.89	
	<hr/>	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
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Cash on hand, Postal Savings Bank.....	29,381.15
Road board fund in treasury.....	51,624.03
School board fund in treasury.....	38,143.48
Available cash, as above.....	147,542.73
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	266,691.39

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.

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#### 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 of "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 arbitrament 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; not

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 behooves 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 C sar 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.

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[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 Liliuokalani, 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 form 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.

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[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.

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[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 Maui

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, Kaunamao, 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, Kaulomano, 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. Trouseau (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. Cuiha, 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.

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*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.

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*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.

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*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.

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*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 cooperation, 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 cooperation;" 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 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.,

LILIUKALANI.

[Inclosure 2 with No. 16.]

I, Liliukalani, 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.

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*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.

## HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

[Inclosure No. 1 with No. 17.]

*Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.*DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 18, 1898.*

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, 1898.*

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?"

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*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 25, 1895.*

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.

"HONOLULU, *January 18, 1893.*"

"LILUOKALANI R.

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 predicated. 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, 1893, 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 1837, which suppressed the insurrection of 1839, 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 deeming 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 cannot 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.*

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*Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.*

No. 19.]

DECEMBER 23, 1893.

This communication simply transmits minister's salary account.

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[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,

WASHINGTON, *January 12, 1894.**Minister, Honolulu:*

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.