

APPENDIX II

FOREIGN RELATIONS

OF THE

UNITED STATES

1894

AFFAIRS IN HAWAII

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1895

An act was brought before the executive and advisory council "separating the office of minister of foreign affairs from that of the office of president," and providing "that hereafter the department of foreign affairs shall be presided over by an officer called the minister of foreign affairs, who shall be chosen by the executive and advisory councils of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands. The minister of foreign affairs so chosen shall be a member of the executive council of the Government." This act was referred to the judiciary committee, but it was understood to be the unanimous judgment of the councils and that Mr. Hatch will be elected to the position. At present the duties of the minister of foreign affairs are discharged by the president, Mr. Dole. The executive committee now consists of four persons. By the above act it will be increased to five.

With assurances, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 23.]

HONOLULU, January 6, 1894.

Transmits minister's monthly salary account.

Mr. Willis to Mr. Gresham.

No. 24.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 6, 1894.

SIR: I send herewith the petition of the "Hui Aloha Aina" (Hawaiian Patriotic League), an association which claims to represent over 8,000 legal voters. The petition was brought here last night by Hon. J. A. Cummins, the honorary president of the association, and Mr. A. Marques, a member of its "executive council," who stated that they were a committee for that purpose.

With high regard, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Original.]

Petition of the Hawaiian Patriotic League to President Cleveland.

To His Excellency Grover Cleveland, President of the United States of America:

SIR: The Hawaiian people are moved with the deepest concern in view of the delayed and uncertain conditions of affairs in Hawaii, and also of the active hostility that seems to have suddenly developed in the United States against the policy of Your Excellency and the American administration regarding our unhappy little country and the just restoration of our national monarchy. We have noted with anxiety and sorrow the apparent success which a campaign of malign falsehoods has had in the American press to embarrass the administration at Washington, and we reproach the newspapers of America for their unchivalrous and untruthful abuse of our Queen, who, only a year ago, was in the acknowledged lead of the Christian work in Hawaii and the gracious patron of the sycophantic church society that now maligns her. Therefore, in the event of the Hawaiian question having to be discussed before the American Congress, the Hawaiian people have thought it timely to come out of their past reserve and to assert their views, as against those of the Provisional Government, who falsely assume to represent the whole nation.

To this effect, the officers and members of the Hui Aloha Aina (Hawaiian Patriotic League), an association numbering over 8,000 legal voters, created for the purpose of preserving the autonomy of the country under the native Monarchy, have prepared for such use as your Excellency may deem proper the present memorial, for the public ratification of which they can confidently vouch, had the association been permitted to hold public meetings for that purpose, in Honolulu and the other districts.

In this document we aim principally at making patent what the people at large, have suffered and lost since the assumption of the so-called Provisional Government.

MEMORIAL.

Last January, a political crime was committed, not only against the legitimate Sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom, but also against the whole Hawaiian nation, a nation who, for the past sixty years, had enjoyed free and happy constitutional self-government. This was done by a *coup de main* of U. S. Minister Stevens, in collusion with a cabal of conspirators, mainly faithless sons of missionaries and local politicians angered by continuous political defeat, who, as a revenge for being a hopeless minority in the country, resolved to "rule or ruin" through foreign help.

The facts of this "revolution," as it is improperly called, are now a matter of history. Under the false pretense of protecting American interests, which were in no way endangered, troops were landed regardless of international rights from the U. S. S. *Boston* on the afternoon of January 16, 1893, and so placed as to intimidate the Queen and interfere with the forces at her command, which were ample to quell any domestic disturbance. At about 3 o'clock p. m. on the next day, the 17th of January, a mob of a dozen aliens, principally Germans of a desperate character, paid by the conspirators, invaded the Government building, which was virtually commanded by the United States troops. They then went through the farce of proclaiming the Provisional Government, which Minister Stevens hastened to recognize and support before they had obtained possession of any of the other public buildings, all strongly occupied by the armed police and the Queen's guard. The Queen and her Government, realizing the situation, but unwilling to make war with the United States forces and to occasion useless bloodshed of innocent Hawaiian subjects, yielded under protest to the superior force and moral power of the United States. And while waiting for the result of this appeal, with full confidence in the American honor, the Queen requested all her loyal subjects to remain absolutely quiet and passive, and to submit with patience to all the insults that have been since heaped upon both the Queen and the people by the usurping Government.

The necessity of this attitude of absolute inactivity on the part of the Hawaiian people was further indorsed and emphasized by Commissioner Blount, so that, if the Hawaiians have held their peace in a manner that will vindicate their character as law-abiding citizens, yet it can not and must not be construed as evidence that they are apathetic or indifferent, or ready to acquiesce in the wrong and bow to the usurpers. No; the traditional virtue of the aborigines is respect and obedience to their rulers, and it has been fully tested in the present crisis; and when the Hawaiian Patriotic League, whose representatives the present memorialists are, formed its enthusiastic branches all over the islands, the first watchword was to maintain a dignified peace pending the arbitration of the United States. Had it not been for this request of our Sovereign, there would doubtless have been a tremendous uprising throughout the islands to crush the usurpers, but it would have been a sad tale of blood and destruction, which, from the first, it was sought to avoid if possible.

The advent of Mr. Blount as a special commissioner was hailed with satisfaction by both contending factions. His course in Hawaii was marked by a dignity, courtesy, and discretion that was highly creditable to his country, and gained for him at the time the respect and confidence of all classes. His report to the President has been characterized by the greatest impartiality and absolute respect for truth, so that this Patriotic League have fully indorsed it and can solemnly testify to its veracity and reliability.

The letter of Secretary Gresham to the President and the instructions to Minister Willis to request the Provisional Government to relinquish its power to our legitimate Sovereign have created a deep feeling of gratitude in the minds and hearts of the Hawaiian people, and a still more profound respect for the American Government, who now appears to be acting with the same spirit of justice and friendship that has always characterized its actions in the past toward this little nation. And the policy therein outlined, though quite expected, has caused us to honor and respect Your Excellency as a distinguished, firm, and just ruler, worthy of a great people.

But, in the meantime, a number of the American people, deceived by the most astounding and unblushing falsehoods disseminated through the States by the papers

supporting the plotters, do not realize the wrongs and sufferings that the true people of these islands have undergone for the past eleven months under the shield of American prestige. In fact, it ought to be understood that the people have suffered even more than the Sovereign. The Queen was simply deprived of her throne, power, and revenues, while, under the pretense of obtaining American liberty, the people have lost their dearest liberties and civil rights, many their livelihood, and were on the eve of losing even their nationality, their country having been offered without their assent as a barter by the filibusterers who owe their power to Minister Stevens.

The Provisional Government, its leaders, and their defenders claim abroad to represent the Hawaiian nation. This we most *emphatically deny*; they represent only a clique bent upon oppressing the masses, they are only a fractional portion of the population, wealth, intelligence, and civilization of Hawaii, and even a fraction only of the American colony, and the fact of there being among the usurpers some men of intelligence and capital makes their conduct only more odious, because in direct violation of those American principles for which Americans have repeatedly shed their blood, viz, the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and the rule of the majority. The presence of men of intelligence and capital among the usurpers only shows that even in those classes there can be found depraved men and moral criminals. We assert that any trial at the ballot box would show that the native Hawaiians and the rapidly increasing class of halfwhites, both claiming to be the equal in intelligence of any electorate in the United States, are virtually, as a unit, "Royalists" and opposed politically to the P. G. and its self-appointed dictators; moreover, fully one-half of the foreign merchants, capitalists, planters, and mechanics are also opposed to the same and are avowed sympathizers of the monarchy. And we solemnly declare that unless crushed by force, as old Poland was, the Hawaiian people will never be conciliated to the present misrule. This the P. G. so well know that they have persistently refused to have their tenure of power legalized and ratified by public vote, even on a restricted basis of property qualification; and ever since Mr. Stevens's *coup de main* to maintain themselves in power they have depended, as proved by their military display, not on the sympathies, confidence, and good will of the people, but on the force of alien bayonets and of Draconian laws. How can they have the insolence to call themselves "the people" when they exist solely as a military despotism and oligarchy, which defies all public opinion and constitutional ideas? They are common pirates, and cling to their ill-gotten power as freebooters.

Furthermore, the Provisional Government now claim their right (through might) to perpetuate themselves, to declare themselves permanent without any reference to the people or to the taxpayers, although the American Government have very correctly declared that the only excuse to their existence (viz, the negotiations for annexation to the U. S.) was at an end. This is the greatest of all the aggravations and provocations to the Hawaiians that have been accumulated against them, on account probably of their peaceful and patient attitude. And here a short *exposé* of our grievances, as resulting from our patient confidence in the justice and honor of the American nation, will not be out of place:

(1) Through Minister Stevens's premeditated conspiracy the Hawaiian people have been deprived of all their political rights, and the Provisional Government have emphatically declared that no more elections would be held as long as they could keep control of the country; thus sixty years of recognized rights are swept away at the whim of a selfish and small minority.

(2) The legal constitution having been virtually abrogated, as declared by judicial decisions, the inhabitants of Hawaii now really live under the arbitrary suzerainty of the Provisional Government and under the laws which an irresponsible "advisory council," recruited between themselves, chose to enact or to cancel to satisfy the prejudices and whims of their little clique, and it is only the fear of the foreign representatives that deters them from absolute star-chamber rule.

(3) The people have lost all confidence in the administration of justice, as the supreme bench—formerly the model of integrity and the pride of the country—as well as all the lower courts, have been filled by adventurers with no other claim than partizanship, whereby crimes are conveniently condoned when committed by followers or sympathizers of the P. G., while honest citizens known to be Royalists, have been harshly treated or denied justice and satisfaction.

(4) The public funds have been outrageously squandered for the maintenance of an unnecessary large army, fed in luxury, and composed *entirely* of aliens, mainly recruited from the most disreputable classes of San Francisco. To face the expenditures of this force and the arms that have been imported by thousands, nearly all the public works have been suspended; and yet in presence of the country's impending bankruptcy, the taxes (which have already been largely increased) will have to be doubled or more.

(5) All the natives and the foreign Royalists have been disarmed, while arms have been distributed wholesale to all aliens who profess sympathy to the P. G. and

principally to the Portuguese element, who form a large but ignorant and vicious part of our population; and this alone constitutes a permanent menace to the security and peace of the community.

(6) Several clubs and leagues, composed mostly of Germans, Portuguese, and Scandinavians, with really very few American citizens, have been called into existence for the support of the revolutionary government, and these organizations, with socialistic tendencies, have become an uncontrollable power, this fact being recognized and admitted by the executive council, who are intimidated by their clamors for the dismissal from public service of all Hawaiian or Hawaiian born subjects, to be replaced by the newly arrived adventurers, at their nomination.

(7) These clubs and their organs have repeatedly threatened murder, violence, and deportation against all those not in sympathy with the present state of things, and the police being in their control, intimidation is a common weapon, under various forms, even that of nocturnal searches in the residences of peaceful citizens, so that, were it not for the presence in port of foreign men-of-war, the population would be living under a hopeless reign of terror.

(8) The situation may be summed up by saying that never before in these islands, under what our filibusterers are pleased to refer to as the rule of heathenism, have we had such an unruly, despotic, unrepresentative, and squandering government, whose chief supporters are from the disorderly and adventurous foreign element, not from the natural inhabitants with families and property. And never before have the lives and peace of inoffensive citizens been so jeopardized, all of this under the pretense of American peace and civilization!!!

The above is but a faint outline of what the Hawaiian have suffered and are now suffering under the régime imposed on them by the alleged Christians of Mr. Stevens's following. And while the Hawaiians, disarmed by American intervention, have been patiently and peacefully waiting the judgment of your administration, the Provisional Government, actually under American protection, have diligently employed the long delay and used the people's money in fortifying themselves. They have grown desperate, so that when the arbitration of the United States is decided against them, those very men who appealed to America and claimed American citizenship for the furtherance of their selfish ends, turn around ready with their alien soldiers imported for the purpose to fight against their own Government and the soldiers of their nation. These unholy "patriots" are ready and willing to commit, against their own country, the crimes of rebellion and high treason, all the more heinous in this case, since the Hawaiians, who might have some right to fight in their own country for their own independence, have always declared their unchangeable resolution not to lift an aggressive hand against the great nation which, in the past, has so befriended Hawaii, and their readiness to abide by its decision, be that what it may.

Will it now appear a wonder that the Provisional Government have rendered themselves odious to all classes except their immediate supporters?

We shall not dwell on the fact that the Provisional Government have never been a legally constituted administration, but merely a temporary *de facto* police organization to preserve the peace pending the action of the United States; their power could only come from the people, who have not been consulted, because a public meeting of less than 1,000 foreigners, mostly nonvoters, out of a total voting population of 13,000 and a total number of inhabitants of 92,000 can not be said to constitute the nation.

Yet we hear that the principal objection raised, by otherwise well-meaning Americans, against your excellency's policy of doing justice to our cause is the apparent inconsistency of a republican form of government restoring a monarchy. But we claim that our case is really a question of right and equity, and not one of a form of government; it is the matter of a peaceful monarchy, friendly to the United States, invaded by the hostile forces of that Republic to assist a revolutionary *junta* who verily intended to use America only as a convenient cat's-paw for their personal interests.

The principle of monarchical government may be distasteful to the radical democracy of America. But it is the chosen and preferred form of the Hawaiian people, under which, with its constitutional limitations, they and the foreign settlers have prospered and enjoyed, equally as well as any Republic, all the advantages and democratic privileges of popular government. Why should the Americans in Hawaii, who constitute only the small portion of 2.14 per cent of our population, or the people in America, 2,000 miles away, object to a monarchical form of government in Hawaii, popular with the great majority of the population who have here their only home and country?

Therefore the Hawaiians, as a nation, appeal for justice and redress to the impartiality of the American nation, in whose honor, integrity, and love of fair play we have so long and so patiently trusted. As peaceful and law-abiding citizens, ever ready to submit to the constitutional rule of the majority, duly expressed through

an untrammelled ballot box, we ask that, in the place of the present temporary usurpers who are hostile to the native race, our own government, in the person of Queen Liliuokalani, be restored to us, with a new constitution more equitable to us than the one that was wrested from the late King Kalakaua in 1887 through force of arms.

To this effect we now pray the God of a common faith, that, right, justice, and honor prevailing, Hawaii, our home and country, be allowed again to enjoy the blessings of the independent autonomy and constitutional régime which were so infamously subverted on the 17th day of January last; and we also earnestly pray that the Almighty may grant all His blessings on yourself, Mr. President, and on the noble American nation.

And your memorialists, Mr. President, have the honor to be, of your excellency, most humble and obedient servants,

J. A. CUMMINS,
Honorary President.
JOSEPH NAWAHI,
President.
JNO. E. BUSH,
Vice-President.
JOHN LOT KAULUKOU,
Vice-President.
J. K. KAUNUMANO,
Vice-President.
J. W. BIPIKANE,
Vice-President.
JAS. K. KAULIA,
Secretary.
ENOCH JOHNSON,
Treasurer.
JNO. UAHIAI KANEAKUA,
Executive Councilor.
D. W. PUA,
Executive Councilor.
J. K. MERSEBURG,
Executive Councilor.
W. H. RICKARD,
Executive Councilor.
JOHN ROSS,
Executive Councilor.
JOHN K. PRENDERGAST,
Executive Councilor.
ABRAHAM K. PALEKALUHI,
Executive Councilor.
J. KAHAHAWAI,
Executive Councilor.
A. MARQUES,
Executive Councilor.
W. T. SEWARD,
Executive Councilor.

HONOLULU, this 27th day of December, 1893.

PACIFIC STATION, OFFICE OF THE
COMMANDER IN CHIEF, U. S. NAVAL FORCE,
U. S. F. S. PHILADELPHIA,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 2, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to submit the following report in regard to the situation since the departure of the *Corwin* on the 24th ultimo.

The military preparations for defense continue to be made by the Provisional Government and the excitement is unabated.

The newspapers assume that I, as the military representative of the U. S. Government, intend to use force to restore the Queen, at the same time they quote me as saying that I would not obey any order which I