would place in absolute power, backed by a foreign military force, any cabinet for the time being in office. The provisions of the proposed treaty having leaked out mass meetings were held, at which the entire plan was denounced by all classes, and in order to save forcible ejection by the populace the majority of the cabinet were obliged to repudiate the entire undertaking. Later development proved the whole scheme to be one for the establishment of all power in the hands of an oligarchy of the Missionary party, with practical disfranchisement to all other classes of Hawaiians, whether native or foreign. This experience satisfied everybody, including the Missionary party, that any "protectorate," from whatever source, must be imposed upon the Hawaiian people by superior force.

Regarding the protectorate proclaimed by Minister Stevens truth compels the statement that under no rule of international law or military or other necessity was there any cause for such action. On many statements of facts not materially differing the Provisional Government was stronger on February 1st than April 1st, for at the former date all annexationists were united (if the Government's claim is true), while at the last-named day disintegration was fast creeping in as a result of the methods pursued in relation to the annexation question—the opinion being very strong now in Honolulu that the Provisional Government have thus far thrown serious impediments in the way thereof by their treatment of the native side of the question and their mugwumpery, if not, indeed, their treachery, in official appointments. The threatening aspect of the Japanese question had not entered into the calculations, because no knowledge or suspicions existed on February 1st of the pending arrival of the Nanica from Yokohama.

It is not the intention to herein discuss the arguments in favor of annexation from an American standpoint; but in this connection some reference should be made to the attitude of Japan. The possibilities from that quarter, as well as the chances of an English occupation (in case annexation falls through), have no doubt been given due weight from the American side. But observation of developments on the spot has convinced most people here that the invasion from Yokohama, which commenced some seven or eight years since, was designed as a means of turning Hawaii into a Japanese colony. As long as four years ago I had written articles, which appeared in Eastern and European newspapers, pointing out the approaching danger from Japan, and outlining a trend of events which has been fully justified by developments to date.

I notice the American press has not apparently considered that any importance attaches to this question; but nothing seems more certain than this, that these islands must, upon any refusal of the United States to take advantage of the supreme moment now at hand, at once become an advance post of the empire of the rising sun and a hostile sentinel over the American Pacific coast. This is on the supposition that England would not interfere. But supposing she does interfere; what is the difference, in case the United States let go, whether Hawaii falls to a rival (and perhaps hostile) power of the old civilization or the new, when the power which dominates Hawaii will dominate the Pacific, the future home of the world's commerce?

To revert, in conclusion, to the purely Hawaiian side of the case, monarchy is now dead, and Hawaii knocks for admission to America's door. Give us not an oligarchy. Give us democratic government. Give us a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. 

I remain, yours truly,

Volney V. Ashford.