[Inclosure No. 1 with No. 17.]

Mr. Dole to Mr. Willis.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 18, 1893.

SIR: I am informed that you are in communication with Liliuokalani, the ex-Queen, with a view of re-establishing the monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands and of supporting her pretensions to the sovereignty. Will you inform me if this report is true or if you are acting in any way hostile to this Government.

I appreciate fully the fact that any such action upon your part in view of your official relations with this Government would seem impossible; but as the information has come to me from such sources that I am compelled to notice it, you will pardon me for pressing you for an immediate answer.

Accept the assurances of disting rished consideration with which I have the honor

to be sir,

Your excellency's obedient, humble servant,

SANFORD B. DOLE, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure No. 2 with No. 17.]

Mr. Willis to Mr. Dole.

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

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I have a communication from my Government which I desire to submit to the President and ministers of your Government at any hour to-day which it may please you to designate.

With high regard and sincere respect, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[Inclosure No. 3 with No. 17.1

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 aquiescence, 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