

ART. 62. Every male resident of the Kingdom, of Hawaiian, American, or European birth or descent, who shall have taken an oath to support the constitution and laws in the manner provided for electors of nobles; who shall have paid his taxes; who shall have attained the age of twenty years; and shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for one year immediately preceding the election, and shall know how to read and write either the Hawaiian, English, or some European language (if born since the year 1840), and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters of his district as may be provided by law, shall be entitled to one vote for the representative or representatives of that district, provided, however, that the requirements of being domiciled in the Kingdom for one year immediately preceding the election, and of knowing how to read and write either the Hawaiian, English, or some European language, shall not apply to persons residing in this Kingdom at the time of the promulgation of this constitution, if they shall register and vote at the first election which shall be held under this constitution.

ART. 63. No person shall sit as a noble or representative in the legislature unless elected under and in conformity with the provisions of this constitution. The property of income qualification of representatives, of nobles, and of electors of nobles may be increased by law, and a property or income qualification of electors of representatives may be created and altered by law.

ART. 80. The cabinet shall have power to make and publish all necessary rules and regulations for the holding of any election or elections under this constitution prior to the passage by the legislature of appropriate laws for such purpose, and to provide for administering to officials, subjects, and residents the oath to support this constitution. The first election hereunder shall be held within ninety days after the promulgation of this constitution, and the legislature then elected may be convened at Honolulu, upon the call of the cabinet council in extraordinary session at such time as the cabinet council may deem necessary, thirty days' notice thereof being previously given.

ART. 82. Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the legislature, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members thereof, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on its journal, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to the next legislature; which proposed amendment or amendments shall be published for three months previous to the next election of representatives and nobles; and if in the next legislature such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members of the legislature, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the constitution of this Kingdom.

These sections disclose:

First. A purpose to take from the King the power to appoint nobles and to vest it in persons having \$3,000 worth of unincumbered property or an annual income above the expense of living of \$600. This gave to the whites three-fourths of the vote for nobles and one-fourth to the natives.

The provisions to the fourth section of article 59 and article 62 have this significant application. Between the years 1878 and 1886 the Hawaiian Government imported from Madeira and the Azores Islands 10,216 contract laborers, men, women, and children. Assume, for convenience of argument, that 2,000 of these were males of twenty years and upward. Very few of them could read and write. Only three of them were naturalized up to 1888, and since then only five more have become so. The remainder are subjects of Portugal. These were admitted to vote on taking the following oath and receiving the accompanying certificate:

No. —.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,

Island of ———, district of ———, ss.

I, ———, aged ———, a native of ———, residing at ———, in said district, do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will support the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom promulgated and proclaimed on the 7th day of July, 1887, and the laws of said Kingdom. Not hereby renouncing, but expressly reserving, all allegiance and citizenship now owing or held by me

Subscribed and sworn to before me this — day of ———, A. D. 18—.

Inspector of Election.

No. —.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,

Island of —, District of —, ss.

I, the undersigned, inspector of election, duly appointed and commissioned, do hereby certify that —, aged —, a native of —, residing at —, in said district, has this day taken before me the oath to support the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom promulgated and proclaimed on the 7th day of July, and the laws of said Kingdom.

—, —,
Inspector of Election.

— — — — 18—.

These ignorant laborers were taken before the election from the cane fields in large numbers by the overseer before the proper officer to administer the oath and then carried to the polls and voted according to the will of the plantation manager. Why was this done? In the language of the Chief Justice Judd, "to balance the native vote with the Portuguese vote." This same purpose is admitted by all persons here. Again, large numbers of Americans, Germans, English, and other foreigners unnaturalized were permitted to vote under the foregoing form.

Two-thirds of this number were never naturalized, but voted under the above form of oath and certificate. They were citizens of the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, invited to vote under this constitution to neutralize further the native voting strength. This same action was taken in connection with other European populations.

For the first time in the history of the country the number of nobles is made equal to the number of representatives. This furnished a veto power over the representatives of the popular vote to the nobles, who were selected by persons mostly holding foreign allegiance, and not subjects of the Kingdom. The election of a single representative by the foreign element gave to it the legislature.

The power of appointing a cabinet was left with the King. His power to remove one was taken away. The removal could only be accomplished by a vote of want of confidence by a majority of all the elective members of the legislature. The tenure of office of a cabinet minister henceforth depends on the pleasure of the legislature, or, to speak practically, on the favor of certain foreigners, Americans and Europeans.

Then it is declared that no act of the King shall have any effect unless it be countersigned by a member of the cabinet, who by that signature makes himself responsible. Power is taken from the King in the selection of nobles, not to be given to the masses but to the wealthy classes, a large majority of whom are not subjects of the Kingdom. Power to remove a cabinet is taken away from him, not to be conferred on a popular body but on one designed to be ruled by foreign subjects. Power to do any act was taken from the King unless countersigned by a member of the cabinet. This instrument was never submitted to the people for approval or rejection, nor was it ever contemplated by its friends and promoters, and of this no man will make issue.

Prior to this revolution large quantities of arms had been brought by a secret league from San Francisco and placed amongst its members. The first election under this constitution took place with the foreign population well armed and the troops hostile to the crown and people. The result was the election of what was termed a reform legislature. The mind of an observer of these events notes henceforth a division of the people by the terms native and foreigner. It does not import race hostility simply. It is founded rather upon the attempted control of the country by a population of foreign origin and zealously holding alle-

giance to foreign powers. It had an alliance with natives of foreign parentage, some of whom were the descendants of missionary ancestors. Hence the terms "foreigner" and "missionary" in Hawaiian politics have their peculiar significance.

Foreign ships of great powers lying in the port of Honolulu to protect the persons and property of their citizens, and these same citizens left by their Governments without reproof for participation in such events as I have related, must have restrained the native mind or indeed any mind from a resort to physical force. Its means of resistance was naturally what was left of political power.

In 1890 a legislature was elected in favor of a new constitution. The calculation of the reformers to elect all the nobles failed, owing to a defection of whites, especially amongst the intelligent laboring classes in the city of Honolulu, who were qualified to vote for nobles under the income clause. The cabinet installed by the revolution was voted out. A new cabinet, in harmony with the popular will, was appointed and remained in power until the death of the King in 1891.

In 1892 another legislature was elected. Thrum's Handbook of Information for 1893, whose author, a reformer and annexationist, is intelligent and in the employ of the Provisional Government, and whose work is highly valued by all persons, says, concerning this election:

The result brought to the legislature three rather evenly balanced parties. This, with an admixture of self-interest in certain quarters, has been the means of much delay in the progress of the session, during which there have been no less than three new cabinets on "want of confidence" resolutions.

Judge Widemann, of the national reform party, divides the legislature up thus: "Three parties and some independents. The national reform, reform, and liberal." There were nine members of the national reform party, fourteen members of the reform, twenty-one liberals, and four independents."

The liberals favored the old mode of selecting nobles; the national reform party was in favor of a new constitution reducing the qualification of voters for nobles, and the reform party was in opposition to both these ideas.

There were a number of members of all these factions aspiring to be cabinet officers. This made certain individuals ignore party lines and form combinations to advance personal interests. The reform party seized upon the situation and made such combinations as voted out cabinet after cabinet until finally what was termed the Wilcox cabinet was appointed. This was made up entirely of reformers. Those members of the national reform and liberal parties who had been acting with the reform party to this point, and expecting representation in the cabinet, being disappointed, set to work to vote out this cabinet, which was finally accomplished.

There was never a time when the reform party had any approach to a majority of members of the legislature.

Let it be borne in mind that the time now was near at hand when the legislature would probably be prorogued. Whatever cabinet was in power at the time of the prorogation had control of public affairs until a new legislature should assemble two years afterwards and longer unless expelled by a vote of want of confidence.

An anti-reform cabinet was appointed by the Queen. Some faint struggle was made towards organizing to vote out this cabinet, but it was abandoned. The legislature was prorogued. The reform mem-

bers absented themselves from the session of that day in manifestation of their disappointment in the loss of power through the cabinet for the ensuing two years.

The letters of the American minister and naval officers stationed at Honolulu in 1892 indicate that any failure to appoint a ministry of the reform party would produce a political crisis. The voting out of the Wilcox cabinet produced a discontent amongst the reformers verging very closely towards one, and had more to do with the revolution than the Queen's proclamation. The first was the foundation—the latter the opportunity.

In the legislatures of 1890 and 1892 many petitions were filed asking for a new constitution. Many were presented to the King and Queen. The discontent with the constitution of 1887 and eagerness to escape from it, controlled the elections against the party which had established it. Divisions on the mode of changing the constitution, whether by legislative action or by constitutional convention, and the necessity for a two-thirds vote of the legislature to effect amendments, prevented relief by either method. Such was the situation at the prorogation of the legislature of 1892.

This was followed by the usual ceremonies at the palace on the day of prorogation—the presence of the cabinet, supreme court judges, diplomatic corps, and troops.

The Queen informed her cabinet of her purpose to proclaim a new constitution, and requested them to sign it.

From the best information I can obtain the changes to the constitution of 1887 were as follows:

ART. 20. By adding to exceptions: Members of the privy council, notary public, agents to take acknowledgments.

ART. 22. By adding Princes Kawanakoa and Kalaniana'ole as heirs to the throne.

ART. 46. Changing the session of the legislature to the month of April.

ART. 49. That the Queen shall sign and approve all bills and resolutions, even to those that are voted when passed over her veto.

ART. 56. Pay of representatives raised to \$500 instead of \$250 for biennial term.

ART. 57. The Queen shall appoint the nobles, not to exceed twenty-four.

ART. 60. The representatives may be increased from twenty-four, as at present, to forty-eight.

ART. 62. Only subjects shall vote.

ART. 65. The term of appointment of the supreme court judges, not for life, as before, but for six years.

ART. 75. The appointment of governors of each island for four-years term.

Her ministers declined to sign, and two of them communicated to leading reformers (Mr. L. A. Thurston, Mr. W. O. Smith, and others) the Queen's purpose and the position of the cabinet. Finding herself thwarted by the position of the cabinet, she declared to the crowd around the palace that she could not give them a new constitution at that time on account of the action of her ministers, and that she would do so at some future time. This was construed by some to mean that she would do so at an early day when some undefined, favorable opportunity should occur, and by others when a new legislature should assemble and a new cabinet might favor her policy, or some other than an extreme and revolutionary course could be resorted to.

It seems that the members of the Queen's cabinet, after much urging, prevailed upon her to abandon the idea of proclaiming a new constitution. The coöperation of the cabinet appears to have been, in the mind of the Queen, necessary to give effect to her proclamation. This method had been adopted by Kamehameha V in proclaiming the constitution of 1864. The constitution of 1887 preserved this same

form, in having the King proclaim that constitution on the recommendation of the cabinet, which he had been prevailed upon by a committee from the mass meeting to appoint.

The leaders of the movement urged the members of the Queen's cabinet not to resign, feeling assured that until they had done so the Queen would not feel that the power rested in her alone to proclaim a new constitution. In order to give further evidence of her purpose to abandon the design of proclaiming it, a proclamation was published on the morning of the 16th of January, signed by herself and her ministers, pledging her not to do so, and was communicated to Minister Stevens that morning.

The following papers were among the files of the legation when turned over to me:

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, H. I., January 16, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose to your excellency a copy of a "By Authority" Notice issued this morning by Her Majesty's ministers under Her Majesty's sanction and approval.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, your excellency's obedient servant,
SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

To His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS,
United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Honolulu.

BY AUTHORITY.

Her Majesty's ministers desire to express their appreciation for the quiet and order which have prevailed in this community since the events of Saturday, and are authorized to say that the position taken by Her Majesty in regard to the promulgation of a new constitution was under stress of her native subjects.

Authority is given for the assurance that any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land will be sought only by methods provided in the constitution itself.

Her Majesty's ministers request all citizens to accept the assurance of Her Majesty in the same spirit in which it is given.

LILIUOKALANI.
SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
W. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.
JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

On the same day a mass meeting of between fifteen hundred and two thousand people assembled, attended by the leading men in the liberal and national reform parties, and adopted resolutions as follows:

Resolved, That the assurance of Her Majesty the Queen contained in this day's proclamation is accepted by the people as a satisfactory guaranty that the Government does not and will not seek any modification of the constitution by any other means than those provided in the organic law.

Resolved, That accepting this assurance, the citizens here assembled will give their cordial support to the administration, and indorse them in sustaining that policy.

To the communication inclosing the Queen's proclamation just cited, there appears to have been no response. On the next day, as if to give further assurance, the following paper was sent to Mr. Stevens:

SIR: The assurances conveyed by a royal proclamation by myself and ministers yesterday having been received by my native subjects, and by them ratified at a mass meeting, was received in a different spirit by the meeting representing the foreign population and interests in my Kingdom. It is now my desire to give to your excellency, as the diplomatic representative of the United States of America at my court, the solemn assurance that the present constitution will be upheld and maintained by me and my ministers, and no changes will be made except by the methods therein provided.

I desire to express to your excellency this assurance in the spirit of that friendship which has ever existed between my Kingdom and that of the Government of the United States of America, and which I trust will long continue.

LILIUOKALANI R.

By the Queen:

SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
WM. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.
JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

IOLANI PALACE,

Honolulu, January 17, 1893.

His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS,

United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Honolulu.

On the back of the first page of this communication written in pencil is the word "Declined." Immediately under the signature of the attorney-general, also in pencil, is written "1.30 to 1.45," and at the end of the second and last page this sentence, written in ink, appears: "Received at the U. S. Legation about 2 p. m."

The cabinet itself could not be removed for two years, and the views of its members were well known to be against establishing a new constitution by proclamation of the Queen and cabinet.

Nearly all of the arms on the island of Oahu, in which Honolulu is situated, were in the possession of the Queen's government. A military force, organized and drilled, occupied the station house, the barracks, and the palace—the only points of any strategic significance in the event of a conflict.

The great body of the people moved in their usual course. Women and children passed to and fro through the streets, seemingly unconscious of any impending danger, and yet there were secret conferences held by a small body of men, some of whom were Germans, some Americans, and some native-born subjects of foreign origin.

On Saturday evening, the 14th of January, they took up the subject of dethroning the Queen and proclaiming a new Government with a view of annexation to the United States.

The first and most momentous question with them was to devise some plan to have the United States troops landed. Mr. Thurston, who appears to have been the leading spirit, on Sunday sought two members of the Queen's cabinet and urged them to head a movement against the Queen, and to ask Minister Stevens to land the troops, assuring them that in such an event Mr. Stevens would do so. Failing to enlist any of the Queen's cabinet in the cause, it was necessary to devise some other mode to accomplish this purpose. A committee of safety, consisting of thirteen members, had been formed from a little body of men assembled in W. O. Smith's office. A deputation of these, informing Mr. Stevens of their plans, arranged with him to land the troops if they would ask it "for the purpose of protecting life and property." It was further agreed between him and them that in the event they should occupy the government building and proclaim a new government he would recognize it. The two leading members of the committee, Messrs. Thurston and Smith, growing uneasy as to the safety of their persons, went to him to know if he would protect them in the event of their arrest by the authorities, to which he gave his assent.

At the mass meeting, called by the committee of safety on the 16th of January, there was no communication to the crowd of any purpose to dethrone the Queen or to change the form of government, but only

to authorize the committee to take steps to prevent a consummation of the Queen's purposes and to have guarantees of public safety. The committee on public safety had kept their purposes from the public view at this mass meeting and at their small gatherings for fear of proceedings against them by the government of the Queen.

After the mass meeting had closed a call on the American minister for troops was made in the following terms, and signed indiscriminately by Germans, by Americans, and by Hawaiian subjects of foreign extraction:

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,
Honolulu, January 16, 1893.

To His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS,
American Minister Resident:

SIR: We, the undersigned, citizens and residents of Honolulu, respectfully represent that, in view of recent public events in this Kingdom, culminating in the revolutionary acts of Queen Liliuokalani on Saturday last, the public safety is menaced and lives and property are in peril, and we appeal to you and the United States forces at your command for assistance.

The Queen, with the aid of armed force and accompanied by threats of violence and bloodshed from those with whom she was acting, attempted to proclaim a new constitution; and while prevented for the time from accomplishing her object, declared publicly that she would only defer her action.

This conduct and action was upon an occasion and under circumstances which have created general alarm and terror.

We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and, therefore, pray for the protection of the United States forces.

HENRY E. COOPER,
F. W. MCCHESNEY,
W. C. WILDER,
C. BOLTE,
A. BROWN,
WILLIAM O. SMITH,
HENRY WATERHOUSE,
THEO. F. LANSING,
ED. SUHR,
L. A. THURSTON,
JOHN EMMELUTH,
WM. R. CASTLE,
J. A. MCCANDLESS,
Citizen's Committee of Safety.

The response to that call does not appear in the files or on the records of the American legation. It, therefore, can not speak for itself. The request of the committee of safety was, however, consented to by the American minister. The troops were landed.

On that very night the committee assembled at the house of Henry Waterhouse, one of its members, living the next door to Mr. Stevens, and finally determined on the dethronement of the Queen; selected its officers, civil and military, and adjourned to meet the next morning.

Col. J. H. Soper, an American citizen, was selected to command the military forces. At this Waterhouse meeting it was assented to by all that Mr. Stevens had agreed with the committee of safety that in the event it occupied the Government building and proclaimed a Provisional Government he would recognize it as a *de facto* government.

When the troops were landed on Monday evening, January 16, about 5 o'clock, and began their march through the streets with their small arms, artillery, etc., a great surprise burst upon the community. To but few was it understood. Not much time elapsed before it was given out by members of the committee of safety that they were designed to support them. At the palace, with the cabinet, amongst the leaders of the Queen's military forces, and the great body of the people who were loyal to the Queen, the apprehension came that it was a move-

ment hostile to the existing Government. Protests were filed by the minister of foreign affairs and by the governor of the island against the landing of the troops.

Messrs. Parker and Peterson testify that on Tuesday at 1 o'clock they called on Mr. Stevens, and by him were informed that in the event the Queen's forces assailed the insurrectionary forces he would intervene.

At 2:30 o'clock of the same day the members of the Provisional Government proceeded to the Government building in squads and read their proclamation. They had separated in their march to the Government building for fear of observation and arrest. There was no sign of an insurrectionary soldier on the street. The committee of safety sent to the Government building a Mr. A. S. Wilcox to see who was there, and, on being informed that there were no Government forces on the grounds, proceeded in the manner I have related and read their proclamation. Just before concluding the reading of this instrument fifteen volunteer troops appeared. Within a half hour afterward some thirty or forty made their appearance.

A part of the Queen's forces, numbering 224, were located at the station house, about one-third of a mile from the Government building. The Queen, with a body of 50 troops, was located at the palace, north of the Government building about 400 yards. A little northeast of the palace and some 200 yards from it, at the barracks, was another body of 272 troops. These forces had 14 pieces of artillery, 386 rifles, and 16 revolvers. West of the Government building and across a narrow street were posted Capt. Wiltse and his troops, these likewise having artillery and small-arms.

The Government building is in a quadrangular-shaped piece of ground surrounded by streets. The American troops were so posted as to be in front of any movement of troops which should approach the Government building on three sides, the fourth being occupied by themselves. Any attack on the Government building from the east side would expose the American troops to the direct fire of the attacking force. Any movement of troops from the palace toward the Government building in the event of a conflict between the military forces would have exposed them to the fire of the Queen's troops. In fact, it would have been impossible for a struggle between the Queen's forces and the forces of the committee of safety to have taken place without exposing them to the shots of the Queen's forces. To use the language of Admiral Skerrett, the American troops were well located if designed to promote the movement for the Provisional Government and very improperly located if only intended to protect American citizens in person and property.

They were doubtless so located to suggest to the Queen and her counsellors that they were in coöperation with the insurrectionary movement, and would when the emergency arose manifest it by active support.

It did doubtless suggest to the men who read the proclamation that they were having the support of the American minister and naval commander and were safe from personal harm.

Why had the American minister located the troops in such a situation and then assured the members of the committee of safety that on their occupation of the Government building he would recognize it as a government *de facto*, and as such give it support? Why was the Government building designated to them as the place which, when their proclamation was announced therefrom, would be followed by his

recognition. It was not a point of any strategic consequence. It did not involve the employment of a single soldier.

A building was chosen where there were no troops stationed, where there was no struggle to be made to obtain access, with an American force immediately contiguous, with the mass of the population impressed with its unfriendly attitude. Aye, more than this—before any demand for surrender had even been made on the Queen or on the commander or any officer of any of her military forces at any of the points where her troops were located, the American minister had recognized the Provisional Government and was ready to give it the support of the United States troops!

Mr. Damon, the vice-president of the Provisional Government and a member of the advisory council, first went to the station house, which was in command of Marshal Wilson. The cabinet was there located. The vice-president importuned the cabinet and the military commander to yield up the military forces on the ground that the American minister had recognized the Provisional Government and that there ought to be no blood shed.

After considerable conference between Mr. Damon and the ministers he and they went to the government building.

The cabinet then and there was prevailed upon to go with the vice-president and some other friends to the Queen and urge her to acquiesce in the situation. It was pressed upon her by the ministers and other persons at that conference that it was useless for her to make any contest, because it was one with the United States; that she could file her protest against what had taken place and would be entitled to a hearing in the city of Washington. After consideration of more than an hour she finally concluded, under the advice of her cabinet and friends, to order the delivery up of her military forces to the Provisional Government under protest. That paper is in the following form:

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 representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893.

LILIUOKALANI, R.
SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
WM. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.
JNO. F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

All this was accomplished without the firing of a gun, without a demand for surrender on the part of the insurrectionary forces until they had been converted into a *de facto* government by the recognition of the American minister with American troops, then ready to interfere in the event of an attack.

In pursuance of a prearranged plan, the Government thus established hastened off commissioners to Washington to make a treaty for the purpose of annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

During the progress of the movement the committee of safety, alarmed at the fact that the insurrectionists had no troops and no organization, despatched to Mr. Stevens three persons, to wit, Messrs. L. A. Thurston, W. C. Wilder, and H. F. Glade, "to inform him of the situation and ascertain from him what if any protection or assistance could be afforded by the United States forces for the protection of life and property, the unanimous sentiment and feeling being that life and property were in danger." Mr. Thurston is a native-born subject; Mr. Wilder is of American origin, but has absolved his allegiance to the United States and is a naturalized subject; Mr. Glade is a German subject.

The declaration as to the purposes of the Queen contained in the formal request for the appointment of a committee of safety in view of the facts which have been recited, to wit, the action of the Queen and her cabinet, the action of the Royalist mass meeting, and the peaceful movement of her followers, indicating assurances of their abandonment, seem strained in so far as any situation then requiring the landing of troops might exact.

The request was made, too, by men avowedly intending to overthrow the existing government and substitute a provisional government therefor, and who, with such purpose in progress of being effected, could not proceed therewith, but fearing arrest and imprisonment and without any thought of abandoning that purpose, sought the aid of the American troops in this situation to prevent any harm to their persons and property. To consent to an application for such a purpose without any suggestion dissuading the applicants from it on the part of the American minister, with naval forces under his command, could not otherwise be construed than as complicity with their plans.

The committee, to use their own language, say: "We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and, therefore, pray for the protection of the United States forces."

In less than thirty hours the petitioners have overturned the throne, established a new government, and obtained the recognition of foreign powers.

Let us see whether any of these petitioners are American citizens, and if so whether they were entitled to protection, and if entitled to protection at this point whether or not subsequently thereto their conduct was such as could be sanctioned as proper on the part of American citizens in a foreign country.

Mr. Henry E. Cooper is an American citizen; was a member of the the committee of safety; was a participant from the beginning in their schemes to overthrow the Queen, establish a Provisional Government, and visited Capt. Wiltse's vessel, with a view of securing the aid of American troops, and made an encouraging report thereon. He, an American citizen, read the proclamation dethroning the Queen and tablishing the Provisional Government.

Mr. F. W. McChesney is an American citizen; was coöperating in the revolutionary movement, and had been a member of the advisory council from its inception.

Mr. W. C. Wilder is a naturalized citizen of the Hawaiian Islands, owing no allegiance to any other country. He was one of the original members of the advisory council, and one of the orators in the mass meeting on the morning of January 16.

Mr. C. Bolte is of German origin, but a regularly naturalized citizen of the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. A. Brown is a Scotchman and has never been naturalized.

Mr. W. O. Smith is a native of foreign origin and a subject of the Islands.

Mr. Henry Waterhouse, originally from Tasmania, is a naturalized citizen of the islands.

Mr. Theo. F. Lansing is a citizen of the United States, owing and claiming allegiance thereto. He has never been naturalized in this country.

Mr. Ed. Suhr is a German subject.

Mr. L. A. Thurston is a native-born subject of the Hawaiian Islands, of foreign origin.

Mr. John Emmeluth is an American citizen.

Mr. W. R. Castle is a Hawaiian of foreign parentage.

Mr. J. A. McCandless is a citizen of the United States—never having been naturalized here.

Six are Hawaiians subjects; five are American citizens; one English, and one German. A majority are foreign subjects.

It will be observed that they sign as "Citizens' committee of safety."

This is the first time American troops were ever landed on these islands at the instance of a committee of safety without notice to the existing government.

It is to be observed that they claim to be a citizens' committee of safety and that they are not simply applicants for the protection of the property and lives of American citizens.

The chief actors in this movement were Messrs. L. A. Thurston and W. O. Smith.

Alluding to the meeting of the committee of safety held at Mr. W. R. Castle's on Sunday afternoon, January 15, Mr. W. O. Smith says:

After we adjourned Mr. Thurston and I called upon the American minister again and informed him of what was being done. Among other things we talked over with him what had better be done in case of our being arrested, or extreme or violent measures being taken by the monarchy in regard to us. We did not know what steps would be taken, and there was a feeling of great unrest and sense of danger in the community. Mr. Stevens gave assurance of his earnest purpose to afford all the protection that was in his power to protect life and property. He emphasized the fact that while he would call for the United States troops to protect life and property, he could not recognize any government until actually established.

Mr. Damon, the vice-president of the Provisional Government, returning from the country on the evening of the 16th, and seeing the troops in the streets, inquired of Mr. Henry Waterhouse, "Henry, what does all this mean?" To which he says, if he "remembers rightly," Mr. Waterhouse replied, "It is all up!" On being questioned by me as to his understanding of the expression, "It is all up," he said he understood from it that the American troops had taken possession of the island.

Mr. C. L. Carter, at the government house, assured Mr. Damon that the United States troops would protect them. Mr. Damon was astonished when they were not immediately marched over from Arion Hall to the government building and became uneasy. He only saw protection in the bodily presence of the American troops in this building. The committee of safety, with its frequent interviews with Mr. Stevens, saw it in the significance of the position occupied by the United States troops and in the assurance of Mr. Stevens that he would interfere for the purpose of protecting life and property, and that when they should

have occupied the government building and read their proclamation dethroning the Queen and establishing the Provisional Government he would recognize it.

The committee of safety, recognizing the fact that the landing of the troops under existing circumstances could, according to all law and precedent, be done only on the request of the existing Government, having failed in utilizing the Queen's cabinet, resorted to the new device of a committee of safety, made up of Germans, British, Americans, and natives of foreign origin, led and directed by two native subjects of the Hawaiian Islands.

With these leaders, subjects of the Hawaiian Islands, the American minister consulted freely as to the revolutionary movement and gave them assurance of protection from danger at the hands of the royal Government and forces.

On January 17 the following communication, prepared at the station house, which is one-third of a mile from the Government building and two-thirds of a mile from the residence of the American minister, was sent to him:

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, January 17, 1893.

His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, etc.:

SIR: Her Hawaiian Majesty's Government, having been informed that certain persons to them unknown, have issued proclamation declaring a Provisional Government to exist in opposition to Her Majesty's Government, and having pretended to depose the Queen, her cabinet and marshal, and that certain treasonable persons at present occupy the Government building in Honolulu with an armed force, and pretending that your excellency, on behalf of the United States of America, has recognized such Provisional Government, Her Majesty's cabinet asks respectfully, has your excellency recognized said Provisional Government, and, if not, Her Majesty's Government under the above existing circumstances respectfully requests the assistance of your Government in preserving the peace of the country.

We have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servants,

SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister Foreign Affairs.
WM. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.
JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

In it will be observed the declaration that the Provisional Government is claiming to have had his recognition. The reply of Mr. Stevens is not to be found in the records or files of the legation, but on those records appears the following entry:

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, January 17, 1893.

About 4 to 5 p. m. of this date—am not certain of the precise time—the note on file from the four ministers of the deposed Queen, inquiring if I had recognized the Provisional Government, came to my hands while I was lying sick on the couch. Not far from 5 p. m.—I did not think to look at my watch—I addressed a short note to Hon. Samuel Parker, Hon. Wm. H. Cornwell, Hon. John F. Colburn, and Hon. A. P. Peterson, no longer regarding them as ministers, informing them that I had recognized the Provisional Government.

JOHN L. STEVENS,
United States Minister.

This communication was received at the station house and read by all of the ministers and by a number of other persons.

After this Mr. Samuel M. Damon, the vice-president of the Provisional Government, and Mr. Bolte, a member of the advisory council, came to the station house and gave information of the proclamation

and asked for the delivery up of the station house, the former urging that the government had been recognized by the American minister, and that any struggle would cause useless bloodshed.

The marshal declared that he was able to cope with the forces of the Provisional Government and those of the United States successfully, if the latter interfered, and that he would not surrender except by the written order of the Queen.

After considerable conference, the cabinet went with Messrs. Damon and Bolte to the Government building and met the Provisional Government, and there indicated a disposition to yield, but said that they must first consult with the Queen.

The members of the Queen's cabinet, accompanied by Mr. Damon, preceded by the police, and met the Queen. There were also present Messrs. H. A. Widemann, Paul Neumann, E. C. Macfarlane, J. O. Carter, and others.

As to what occurred there I invite your attention to the following statement, made by the vice-president of the Provisional Government, and certified by him to be correct:

Q. In that conversation you asked for a surrender of the forces and the ministers advised it?

A. The different ones spoke and they all recommended it. Each one spoke. At first Judge Widemann was opposed to it, but he finally changed his mind on the advice of Mr. Neumann. Mr. Neumann advised yielding. Each one advised it.

Q. Was the advice of Neumann and the cabinet based on the idea that the Queen would have to contend with the United States forces as well as the forces of the Provisional Government?

A. It was the Queen's idea that she could surrender pending a settlement at Washington, and it was on that condition that she gave up. If I remember right I spoke to her also. I said she could surrender or abdicate under protest.

Q. And that the protest would be considered at a later period at Washington?

A. At a later period.

I knew it was the Queen's idea that Mr. Stevens was in sympathy with this movement.

Q. But I am asking now as to what reasons the ministers gave for her acquiescence?

A. It was their idea that it was useless to carry on; that it would be provocative of bloodshed and trouble if she persisted in the matter longer; that it was wiser for her to abdicate under protest and have a hearing at a later time; that the forces against her were too strong.

Q. Did they indicate the United States forces in any way?

A. I do not remember their doing so.

Q. Do you know whether or not at that time they were under the impression that the United States forces were in sympathy with the revolution?

A. Beyond an impression I know nothing definite.

Q. What was the result of this conference with the Queen? What was agreed on?

A. She signed a document surrendering her rights to the Provisional Government under protest.

She was reluctant to agree to this, but was advised that the whole subject would come up for final consideration at Washington.

I did tell her that she would have a perfect right to be heard at a later period.

Q. By the United States Government?

A. Yes.

All the persons present except Mr. Damon formally state and certify that in this discussion it was conceded by all that Mr. Stevens had recognized the Provisional Government. This Mr. Damon says he does not clearly recollect, but that he is under the impression that at that time the Provisional Government had been recognized. Save Mr. Damon, these witnesses testify to the impression made on their minds and on that of the Queen that the American minister and the American naval commander were cooperating in the insurrectionary movement.

As a result of the conference, there was then and there prepared the protest which has been cited.

The time occupied in this conference is indicated in the following language by Mr. Damon:

We went over (to the Palace) between 4 and 5 and remained until 6 discussing the situation.

Mr. Damon and the cabinet returned to the Provisional Government, presented the protest, and President Dole indorsed on the same:

Received by the hands of the late cabinet this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893.

SANFORD B. DOLE,

Chairman of the Executive Council of Provisional Government.

After this protest the Queen ordered the delivery up of the station house, where was an important portion of the military forces, and the barracks, where was another force.

The statements of many witnesses at the station house and at the conference with the Queen, that the reply of Mr. Stevens to the cabinet on the subject of recognition had been received when Mr. Damon and Mr. Bolte called there, and also the statements at the conference with the Queen that the recognition had taken place, are not contradicted by Mr. Damon; but when inquired of touching these matters, he uses such expressions as "I can not remember. It might have been so."

Mr. Damon says that he is under the impression that he knew when he went to this conference with the Queen that the recognition had taken place.

Mr. Bolte, another member of the Provisional Government, in a formal statement made and certified to by him, shows very much confusion of memory, but says: "I can not say what time in the day Mr. Stevens sent his recognition." He thinks it was after sunset.

Mr. Henry Waterhouse, another member of the Provisional Government, says: "We had taken possession of the barracks and station house before the recognition took place."

It will be observed that I have taken the communication of the Queen's ministers and the memorandum of Mr. Stevens as to his reply and the time thereof, to wit: "Not far from 5 p. m. I did not think to look at my watch."

This information was then transmitted to the station house, a distance of two-thirds of a mile, and before the arrival of Messrs. Damon and Bolte. This fact is supported by nine persons present at the interview with Mr. Damon and Mr. Bolte. Then another period of time intervenes between the departure of Mr. Damon and the cabinet, passing over a distance of one-third of a mile to the Government building. Then some further time is consumed in a conference with the Provisional Government before the departure of Mr. Damon and the cabinet to the palace, where was the Queen. The testimony of all persons present proves that the recognition by Mr. Stevens had then taken place. Subsequent to the signing of the protest occurred the turning over of the military to the Provisional Government.

Inquiry as to the credibility of all these witnesses satisfies me as to their character for veracity, save one person, Mr. Colburn. He is a merchant, and it is said he makes misstatements in business transactions. No man can reasonably doubt the truth of the statements of the witnesses that Mr. Stevens had recognized the Provisional Government before Messrs. Damon and Bolte went to the station house.

Recurring to Mr. Stevens's statement as to the time of his reply to the

letter of the cabinet, it does not appear how long before this reply he had recognized the Provisional Government. Some witnesses fix it at three and some at half-past three. According to Mr. Damon he went over with the cabinet to meet the Queen between four and five, and, taking into account the periods of time as indicated by the several events antecedent to this visit to the palace, it is quite probable that the recognition took place in the neighborhood of 3 o'clock. This would be within one-half hour from the time that Mr. Cooper commenced to read the proclamation establishing that Government, and, allowing twenty minutes for its reading, in ten minutes thereafter the recognition must have taken place.

Assuming that the recognition took place at half-past 3, there was not at the Government building with the Provisional Government exceeding 60 raw soldiers.

In conversation with me Mr. Stevens said that he knew the barracks and station-house had not been delivered up when he recognized the Provisional Government; that he did not care anything about that, for 25 men, well armed, could have run the whole crowd.

There appears on the files of the legation this communication:

GOVERNMENT BUILDING,
Honolulu, January 17, 1893.

His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS,
United States Minister Resident:

SIR: I acknowledge receipt of your valued communication of this day, recognizing the Hawaiian Provisional Government, and express deep appreciation of the same.

We have conferred with the ministers of the late government, and have made demand upon the marshal to surrender the station-house. We are not actually yet in possession of the station-house; but as night is approaching and our forces may be insufficient to maintain order, we request the immediate support of the United States forces, and would request that the commander of the U. S. forces take command of our military forces, so that they may act together for the protection of the city.

Respectfully yours,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Chairman Executive Council.

After the recognition by Mr. Stevens, Mr. Dole thus informs him of his having seen the Queen's Cabinet and demanded the surrender of the forces at the station-house. This paper contains the evidence that before Mr. Dole had ever had any conference with the Queen's ministers, or made any demand for the surrender of her military forces, the Provisional Government had been recognized by Mr. Stevens.

On this paper is written the following:

The above request not complied with.—STEVENS.

This is the only reference to it to be found on the records or among the files of the legation.

This memorandum is not dated.

With the Provisional Government and its forces in a two-acre lot, and the Queen's forces undisturbed by their presence, this formal, dignified declaration on the part of the President of the Provisional Government to the American minister, after first thanking him for his recognition, informing him of his meeting with the Queen's cabinet and admitting that the station-house had not been surrendered, and stating that his forces may not be sufficient to maintain order, and asking that the American commander unite the forces of the United States with those of the Provisional Government to protect the city, is in ludicrous contrast with the declaration of the American minister in his

previous letter of recognition that the Provisional Government was in full possession of the Government buildings, the archives, the treasury, and in control of the Hawaiian capital.

In Mr. Stevens's dispatch to Mr. Foster, No. 79, January 18, 1893, is this paragraph:

As soon as practicable a Provisional Government was constituted, composed of four highly respectable men, with Judge Dole at the head, he having resigned his place on the supreme bench to assume this responsibility. He was born in Honolulu, of American parentage, educated here and in the United States, and is of the highest reputation among all citizens, both natives and whites. P. C. Jones is a native of Boston, Mass., wealthy, possessing property interests in the island, and a resident here for many years. The other two members are of the highest respectability. The committee of public safety forthwith took possession of the Government buildings, archives, and treasury, and installed the Provisional Government at the heads of the respective departments. *This being an accomplished fact, I promptly recognized the Provisional Government as the DE FACTO government of the Hawaiian Islands.* The English minister, the Portuguese chargé d'affaires, the French and the Japanese commissioners promptly did the same; these, with myself, being the only members of the diplomatic corps residing here.

Read in the light of what has immediately preceded, it is clear that he recognized the Provisional Government very soon after the proclamation of it was made. This proclamation announced the organization of the Government, its form and officials. The quick recognition was the performance of his pledge to the committee of safety. The recognition by foreign powers, as herein stated, is incorrect. They are dated on the 18th, the day following that of Mr. Stevens.

On the day of the revolution neither the Portuguese chargé d'affaires nor the French commissioner had any communication, written or oral, with the Provisional Government until after dark, when they went to the Government building to understand the situation of affairs. They did not then announce their recognition.

The British minister, several hours after Mr. Stevens's recognition, believing that the Provisional Government was sustained by the American minister and naval forces, and that the Queen's troops could not and ought not to enter into a struggle with the United States forces, and having so previously informed the Queen's cabinet, did go to the Provisional Government and indicate his purpose to recognize it.

I can not assure myself about the action of the Japanese commissioner. Mr. Stevens was at his home sick, and some one evidently misinformed him as to the three first.

In a letter of the Hawaiian commissioners to Mr. Foster, dated February 11, is this paragraph:

Sixth. At the time the Provisional Government took possession of the Government buildings no American troops or officers were present or took part in such proceedings in any manner whatever. No public recognition was accorded the Provisional Government by the American minister until they were in possession of the Government buildings, the archives, and the treasury, supported by several hundred armed men and after the abdication by the Queen and the surrender to the Provisional Government of her forces.

Mark the words, "and after the abdication by the Queen and the surrender to the Provisional Government of her forces." It is signed L. A. Thurston, W. C. Wilder, William R. Castle, J. Marsden, and Charles L. Carter.

Did the spirit of annexation mislead these gentlemen. If not, what malign influence tempted President Dole to a contrary statement in his cited letter to the American minister?

The Government building is a tasteful structure, with ample space for the wants of a city government of 20,000 people. It is near the

center of a 2-acre lot. In it the legislature and supreme court hold their sessions and the cabinet ministers have their offices.

In one corner of this lot in the rear is an ordinary two-story structure containing eight rooms. This building was used by the tax assessor, the superintendent of waterworks, and the Government survey office. In another corner is a small wooden structure containing two rooms used by the board of health.

These constitute what is termed in the correspondence between the Provisional Government and the American minister and the Government of the United States "government departmental buildings."

Whatever lack of harmony of statement as to time may appear in the evidence, the statements in documents and the consecutive order of events in which the witnesses agree, all do force us to but one conclusion—that the American minister recognized the Provisional Government on the simple fact that it had entered a house designated sometimes as the Government building and sometimes as Aliiolani Hale (*sic*), which had never been regarded as tenable in military operations and was not so regarded by the Queen's officers in the disposition of their military forces, these being at the station house, at the palace, and at the barracks.

Mr. Stevens consulted freely with the leaders of the revolutionary movement from the evening of the 14th. These disclosed to him all their plans. They feared arrest and punishment. He promised them protection. They needed the troops on shore to overawe the Queen's supporters and Government. This he agreed to and did furnish. They had few arms and no trained soldiers. They did not mean to fight. It was arranged between them and the American minister that the proclamation dethroning the Queen and organizing a provisional government should be read from the Government building and he would follow it with a speedy recognition. All this was to be done with American troops provided with small-arms and artillery across a narrow street within a stone's throw. This was done.

Then commenced arguments and importunities to the military commander and the Queen that the United States had recognized the Provisional Government and would support it; that for them to persist involved useless bloodshed.

No soldier of the Provisional Government ever left the 2-acre lot.

The Queen finally surrendered, not to these soldiers and their leaders but to the Provisional Government on the conviction that the American minister and the American troops were promoters and supporters of the revolution, and that she could only appeal to the Government of the United States to render justice to her.

The leaders of the revolutionary movement would not have undertaken it but for Mr. Stevens's promise to protect them against any danger from the Government. But for this their mass meeting would not have been held. But for this no request to land the troops would have been made. Had the troops not been landed no measures for the organization of a new Government would have been taken.

The American minister and the revolutionary leaders had determined on annexation to the United States, and had agreed on the part each was to act to the very end.

Prior to 1887 two-thirds of the foreigners did not become naturalized. The Americans, British, and Germans especially would not give up the protection of those strong governments and rely upon that of the Hawaiian Islands. To such persons the constitution of 1887

declared: "We need your vote to overcome that of our own native subjects. Take the oath to support the Hawaiian Government, with a distinct reservation of allegiance to your own." Two-thirds of the Europeans and Americans now voting were thus induced to vote in a strange country with the pledge that such act did not affect their citizenship to their native country. The purport and form of this affidavit appear in the citations from the constitution of 1887 and the form of oath of a foreign voter. See page 12.

The list of registered voters of American and European origin, including Portuguese, discloses 3,715; 2,091 of this number are Portuguese. Only eight of these imported Portuguese have ever been naturalized in these islands. To this should be added 106 persons, mostly negroes, from the Cape Verde Islands, who came here voluntarily several years prior to the period of state importation of laborers.

The commander of the military forces of the Provisional Government on the day of the dethroning of the Queen and up to this hour has never given up his American citizenship, but expressly reserved the same in the form of oath already disclosed and by a continuous assertion of the same.

The advisory council of the Provisional Government, as established by the proclamation, consisted of John Emmeluth, an American, not naturalized; Andrew Brown, a Scotchman, not naturalized; C. Bolte, naturalized; James F. Morgan, naturalized; Henry Waterhouse, naturalized; S. M. Damon, native; W. G. Ashley, an American, not naturalized; E. D. Tenney, an American, not naturalized; F. W. McChesney, an American, not naturalized; W. C. Wilder, naturalized; J. A. McCandless, an American, not naturalized; W. R. Castle, a native; Lorrina A. Thurston, a native; F. J. Wilhelm, an American, not naturalized,

One-half of this body, then, was made up of persons owing allegiance to the United States and Great Britain.

The annexation mass meeting of the 16th of January was made up in this same manner.

On the 25th of February, 1843, under pressure of British naval forces, the King ceded the country to Lord George Paulet, "subject to the decision of the British Government *after full information.*" That Government restored their independence. It made a deep impression on the native mind.

This national experience was recalled by Judge Widemann, a German of character and wealth, to the Queen to satisfy her that the establishment of the Provisional Government, through the action of Capt. Wiltse and Mr. Stevens, would be repudiated by the United States Government, and that she could appeal to it. Mr. Damon urged upon her that she would be entitled to such a hearing. He was the representative of the Provisional Government, and accepted her protest and turned it over to President Dole. This was followed by large expenditures from her private purse to present her cause and to invoke her restoration.

That a deep wrong has been done the Queen and the native race by American officials pervades the native mind and that of the Queen, as well as a hope for redress from the United States, there can be no doubt.

In this connection it is important to note the inability of the Hawaiian people to cope with any great powers, and their recognition of it by never offering resistance to their encroachments.

The suddenness of the landing of the United States troops, the reading of the proclamation of the Provisional Government almost in their

presence, and the quick recognition by Mr. Stevens, easily prepared her for the suggestion that the President of the United States had no knowledge of these occurrences and must know of and approve or disapprove of what had occurred at a future time. This, too, must have contributed to her disposition to accept the suggestions of Judge Widemann and Mr. Damon. Indeed, who could have supposed that the circumstances surrounding her could have been foreseen and sanctioned deliberately by the President of the United States.

Her uniform conduct and the prevailing sentiment amongst the natives point to her belief as well as theirs that the spirit of justice on the part of the President would restore her crown.

Attention is now invited to the following table, showing the census of the Hawaiian Islands by districts and islands in 1890:

Latest official census of the Hawaiian Islands, taken December 28, 1890, by districts and islands.

HAWAII.

| | |
|--------------------|---------|
| Hilo | 9, 935 |
| Puna | 834 |
| Kau | 2, 577 |
| North Kona | 1, 753 |
| South Kona | 1, 812 |
| North Kohala | 4, 303 |
| South Kohala | 538 |
| Hamakua | 5, 002 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 26, 754 |
| | <hr/> |

MAUI.

| | |
|---------------|---------|
| Lahaina | 2, 113 |
| Wailuku | 6, 708 |
| Hana | 3, 270 |
| Makawoo | 5, 266 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 17, 357 |
| Molokai | 2, 632 |
| Lanai | 174 |
| | <hr/> |

OAHU.

| | |
|------------------|---------|
| Honolulu | 22, 907 |
| Ewa | 2, 155 |
| Waianae | 903 |
| Waialua | 1, 286 |
| Koolauloa | 1, 444 |
| Koolaupoko | 2, 499 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 31, 194 |
| | <hr/> |

KAUAI.

| | |
|----------------|--------|
| Waimea | 2, 523 |
| Noihau | 216 |
| Koloa | 1, 755 |
| Kawaihau | 2, 101 |
| Hanalei | 2, 472 |
| Lihue | 2, 792 |
| | <hr/> |

11, 859

Total population, 1890, 89,990. Total population, 1884, 80,578.

The island of Oahu, on which Honolulu is situated, appears, then, to have had a population of 31,194. The total population was 89,970. This total has been increased since by adding several thousand Japanese contract laborers. Fifty-eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, a majority of the people, lived on the other islands.

Nothing was known of the revolutionary movement at Honolulu in the other islands until several days after its accomplishment, and no opportunity to consider and approve or reject it has been permitted.

Lieut. Fox, of Admiral Skerrett's staff, furnishes me the following information, in the shape of a memorandum, showing the movements of American troops to and from American vessels in Honolulu:

Account of the forces landed from the U. S. S. *Boston* at Honolulu, January 16, 1893, together with those landed from and returned to the ship at different times:

| | |
|---|-------|
| Landed at 4:30 or 5 p. m., January 16— | |
| Three companies of blue jackets, 36 each..... | 108 |
| One company marines and two musicians..... | 32 |
| Musicians for battalion..... | 12 |
| Officers—9 naval, 1 marine..... | 10 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 162 |

Extra men landed—

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| January 24 for Camp Boston..... | 2 |
| February 16 for Camp Boston..... | 1 |
| March 15 for marine guard..... | 1 |
| March 17 for Camp Boston..... | 14 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 18 |

Total number of men and officers landed for service..... 180

Returned on board:

| | |
|--|-------|
| January 27, men..... | 2 |
| January 30, men..... | 1 |
| February 3, Lieut. Young's company..... | 35 |
| February 3, officers..... | 2 |
| February 23, men..... | 2 |
| February 27, men..... | 2 |
| February 28, one marine and one blue jacket..... | 2 |
| March 1, men..... | 1 |
| March 13, men..... | 1 |
| March 15, men..... | 2 |
| March 18, men..... | 1 |
| March 20, Lieut. Coffin's company..... | 36 |
| March 20, officers..... | 1 |
| March 22, men..... | 1 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 89 |

Total number of men and officers returned before April 1..... 89

Total number of men and officers landed before April 1..... 180

Total number left on shore March 20, 1893..... 91

On February 15 Lieut. Young's company landed for the admiral's review and returned after the review the same day. There were 36 men in the company and 2 officers.

The total number of men at Camp Boston.—

| | |
|--|-------|
| April 1, men..... | 52 |
| April 1, officers..... | 6 |
| April 1, marines at Government building..... | 33 |
| April 1, officers..... | 1 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 92 |

Total force withdrawn from shore April 1, 1893..... 92

The United States troops, it thus appears, were doing military duty for the Provisional Government before the protectorate was assumed, just as afterwards. The condition of the community at the time of the assumption of the protectorate was one of quiet and acquiescence,

pending negotiations with the United States, so far as I have been able to learn.

A few days before my arrival here news of the withdrawal by the President from the Senate of the treaty of annexation and his purpose to send a commissioner to inquire into the revolution was received.

An organization known as the Annexation Club commenced to obtain signatures to a petition in favor of annexation. This work has been continued ever since.

The result is reported on July 9, 1893, thus:

HEADQUARTERS ANNEXATION CLUB,
Honolulu, H. I., July 9, 1893.

Hon. J. H. BLOUNT,
U. S. E. E. & M. P.

In answer to your communication of May I would say that the names on our great register to date are 5,500 and that we are advised of 190 odd on rolls not yet entered on the other islands.

Of those which are entered I would estimate that 1,218 are Americans, being 90 odd per cent of the total number of Americans on the islands and 20 odd per cent of those on the club rolls.

English 251, being 26 per cent of those on the islands and 4 per cent of club rolls.

One thousand and twenty-two Hawaiians, being 11 per cent of those on islands and 18 per cent of club rolls.

Two thousand two hundred and sixty-one Portuguese, being 73 per cent of Portuguese on islands and 41 per cent of club rolls.

Sixty-nine Norwegians, being 50 per cent of those on islands and 1 per cent of club rolls.

Three hundred and fifty-one Germans, being 53 per cent of those on islands and 6 per cent on club rolls.

Others, 328, unclassified.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

J. W. JONES,
Secretary Annexation Club.

Compare this with the exhibit in the following table:

The census of 1890, by age and nationality, showing number of registered voters.

| Nationality. | Under 15 years. | 15 to 30 years. | 30 to 45 years. | Over 45 years. | Total. | Registered voters. |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------|--------------------|
| Natives..... | 10,240 | 9,329 | 6,716 | 8,151 | 34,436 | 8,777 |
| Half castes..... | 3,427 | 1,744 | 742 | 273 | 6,186 | 777 |
| Hawaiian-born foreigners..... | 6,797 | 471 | 143 | 84 | 7,495 | 146 |
| Americans..... | 225 | 554 | 662 | 487 | 1,928 | 637 |
| British..... | 76 | 375 | 515 | 378 | 1,344 | 505 |
| Germans..... | 115 | 293 | 292 | 204 | 1,034 | 382 |
| French..... | | 12 | 22 | 36 | 70 | 22 |
| Portuguese..... | 2,233 | 2,862 | 2,426 | 1,011 | 8,602 | 2,091 |
| Norwegians..... | 27 | 68 | 102 | 30 | 227 | 78 |
| Chinese..... | 261 | 5,951 | 6,919 | 2,170 | 15,301 | |
| Japanese..... | 63 | 7,099 | 5,073 | 125 | 12,360 | |
| Polynesians..... | 25 | 244 | 293 | 86 | 588 | 42 |
| Other nationalities..... | 9 | 116 | 192 | 102 | 419 | 136 |
| Total..... | 23,518 | 29,118 | 24,137 | 13,217 | 89,990 | 13,593 |

Denominations, as shown by the census of 1884, were: Protestants, 29,685; Roman Catholics, 20,072; and unreported, 30,821. Of this latter 17,639 were Chinese and 116 were Japanese. At the recent census this feature of the work was omitted.

This shows the number of registered voters and the looseness of the method of the Annexation Club.

After my arrival the adherents of the Queen commenced to obtain signatures amongst the natives against annexation, under attacks from the press and annexationists of treasonable purposes. They report 7,000 signatures. In addition to this, petition against annexation by whites, little circulated, contains 249 signatures.

The Portuguese have generally signed the annexation rolls. These, as I have already stated, are nearly all Portuguese subjects. A majority of the whites of American and European birth who have signed the same roll are not Hawaiian subjects and are not entitled to vote under any laws of the Kingdom.

The testimony of leading annexationists is that if the question of annexation was submitted to a popular vote, excluding all persons who could not read and write except foreigners (under the Australian-ballot system, which is the law of the land), that annexation would be defeated.

From a careful inquiry I am satisfied that it would be defeated by a vote of at least two to one. If the votes of persons claiming allegiance to foreign countries were excluded, it would be defeated by more than five to one.

The undoubted sentiment of the people is for the Queen, against the Provisional Government and against annexation. A majority of the whites, especially Americans, are for annexation.

The native registered vote in 1890 was 9,700; the foreign vote was 3,893. This native vote is generally aligned against the annexation whites. No relief is hoped for from admitting to the right of suffrage the overwhelming Asiatic population. In this situation the annexation whites declare that good government is unattainable.

The controlling element in the white population is connected with the sugar industry. In its interests the Government here has negotiated treaties from time to time for the purpose of securing contract laborers for terms of years for the plantations, and paid out large sums for their transportation and for building plantation wharves, etc.

These contracts provide for compelling the laborer to work faithfully by fines and damage suits brought by the planters against them, with the right on the part of the planter to deduct the damages and cost of suit out of the laborer's wages. They also provide for compelling the laborer to remain with the planter during the contract term. They are sanctioned by law and enforced by civil remedies and penal laws. The general belief amongst the planters at the so-called revolution was that, notwithstanding the laws against importing labor into the United States in the event of their annexation to that Government, these laws would not be made operative in the Hawaiian Islands on account of their peculiar conditions. Their faith in the building of a cable between Honolulu and San Francisco, and large expenditures at Pearl Harbor in the event of annexation have also as much to do with the desire for it.

In addition to these was the hope of escape from duties on rice and fruits and receiving the sugar-bounty, either by general or special law.

The repeal of the duty on sugar in the McKinley act was regarded a severe blow to their interests, and the great idea of statesmanship has been to do something in the shape of treaties with the United States, reducing their duties on agricultural products of the Hawaiian Islands, out of which profit might be derived. Annexation has for its charm the complete abolition of all duties on their exports to the United States.

The annexationists expect the United States to govern the islands by so abridging the right of suffrage as to place them in control of the whites.

The Americans, of what is sometimes termed the better class, in point of intelligence, refinement, and good morals, are fully up to the best standard in American social life. Their homes are tasteful and distin-

guished for a generous hospitality. Education and religion receive at their hands zealous support. The remainder of them contain good people of the laboring class and the vicious characters of a seaport city. These general observations can be applied to the English and German population.

The native population, numbering in 1890 40,622 persons, contained 27,901 able to read and write. No country in Europe, except perhaps Germany and England, can make such a showing. While the native generally reads and writes in native and English, he usually speaks the Kanaka language. Foreigners generally acquire it. The Chinese and Japanese learn to use it and know very little English.

Among the natives there is not a superior class, indicated by great wealth, enterprise, and culture, directing the race, as with the whites. This comes from several causes.

In the distribution of lands most of it was assigned to the King, chiefs, some whites, and to the Government for its support. Of the masses 11,132 persons received 27,830 acres—about two and a half acres to an individual—called Kuleanas. The majority received nothing. The foreigners soon traded the chiefs out of a large portion of their shares, and later purchased from the Government government lands and obtained long leases on the crown lands. Avoiding details it must be said that the native never held much of the land. It is well known that it has been about seventy years since he commenced to emerge from idolatry and the simplicity of thought and habits and immoralities belonging to it. National tradition has done little for him, and before the whites led him to education its influence was not operative. Until within the last twenty years white leaders were generally accepted and preferred by the King in his selections of cabinets, nobles, and judges, and native leadership was not wanted.

Their religious affiliations are with the Protestant and Catholic churches. They are over-generous, hospitable, almost free from revenge, very courteous—especially to females. Their talent for oratory and the higher branches of mathematics is unusually marked. In person they have large physique, good features, and the complexion of the brown races. They have been greatly advanced by civilization, but have done little towards its advancement. The small amount of thieving and absence of beggary are more marked than amongst the best races of the world. What they are capable of under fair conditions is an unsolved problem.

Idols and idol worship have long since disappeared.

The following observations in relation to population are presented, though some repetition will be observed:

The population of the Hawaiian Islands can best be studied, by one unfamiliar with the native tongue, from its several census reports. A census is taken every six years. The last report is for the year 1890. From this it appears that the whole population numbers 89,990. This number includes natives or, to use another designation, Kanakas, half-castes (persons containing an admixture of other than native blood in any proportion with it), Hawaiian-born foreigners of all races or nationalities other than natives, Americans, British, Germans, French, Portuguese, Norwegians, Chinese, Polynesians, and other nationalities.

(In all the official documents of the Hawaiian Islands, whether in relation to population, ownership of property, taxation, or any other question, the designation "American," "Briton," "German," or other foreign nationality does not discriminate between the naturalized citi-

zens of the Hawaiian Islands and those owing allegiance to foreign countries.)

Americans number 1,928; natives and half-castes, 40,612; Chinese, 15,301; Japanese, 12,360; Portuguese, 8,602; British, 1,344; Germans, 1,034; French, 70; Norwegians, 227; Polynesians, 588, and other foreigners, 419.

It is well at this point to say that of the 7,495 Hawaiian-born foreigners 4,117 are Portuguese, 1,701 Chinese and Japanese, 1,617 other white foreigners, and 60 of other nationalities.

There are 58,714 males. Of these 18,364 are pure natives and 3,085 are half-castes, making together 21,449. Fourteen thousand five hundred and twenty-two (14,522) are Chinese. The Japanese number 10,079. The Portuguese contribute 4,770. These four nationalities furnish 50,820 of the male population.

| | Males. |
|----------------------|--------|
| The Americans | 1, 298 |
| The British..... | 982 |
| The Germans | 729 |
| The French..... | 46 |
| The Norwegians | 135 |

These five nationalities combined furnish 3,170 of the total male population.

The first four nationalities when compared with the last five in male population are nearly sixteenfold the largest in number.

The Americans are to those of the four aforementioned group of nationalities as 1 to 39—nearly as 1 to 40.

Portuguese have been brought here from time to time from the Madeira and Azores islands by the Hawaiian Government as laborers, on plantations, just as has been done in relation to Chinese, Japanese, Polynesians, etc. They are the most ignorant of all imported laborers, and reported to be very thievish. They are not pure Europeans, but a commingling of many races, especially the negro. They intermarry with the natives and belong to the laboring classes. Very few of them can read and write. Their children are being taught in the public schools, as all races are. It is wrong to class them as Europeans.

The character of the people of these islands is and must be overwhelmingly Asiatic. Let it not be imagined that the Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese disappear at the end of their contract term. From the report of the inspector-in-chief of Japanese immigrants on March 31, 1892, it appears that twenty "lots" of Japanese immigrants have been brought here by the Hawaiian Government, numbering 21,110. Of these, 2,517 have returned to Japan; 8,592, having worked out their contract term, remain, and 9,626 are still working out their contract term. More than 75 per cent may be said to locate here permanently.

There are 13,067 Chinamen engaged in various occupations, to wit: 8,763 laborers, 1,479 farmers, 133 fishermen, 74 drivers and teamsters, 564 mechanics, 42 planters and ranchers, 776 merchants and traders, 164 clerks and salesmen, 12 professional men and teachers, and 1,056 in various other occupations.

The number of merchants and traders in the entire country is 1,238. Of this number 776 are Chinamen and 81 are Americans.

The largest part of the retail trade seems to be conducted by Chinamen.

Of 20,536 laborers on sugar plantations only 2,617 are Chinese. Of this latter number only 396 are contract laborers.

The Portuguese population in 1884 amounted to 9,377 and in 1890 to 8,602, a loss of 775. These have been leaving in considerable numbers

for the past eighteen months, making their way generally to the United States. In 1890 the males were classified as to occupation thus: Laborers, 2,653; farmers, 136; fishermen, 3; mariners, 10; drivers and teamsters, 63; mechanics, 167; planters and ranchers, 17; merchants and traders, 56; clerks and salesmen, 13; professional men and teachers, 11; other occupations, 123; total, 3,266. On the cane plantations there are of male Portuguese 277 under contract and 1,651 day laborers.

Of the population in 1892, 20,536 were laborers on sugar-cane plantations, 16,723 being Portuguese, Japanese, and Chinese. Of the whole number, 10,991 are contract laborers. The remainder are designated as day laborers. The total number of laborers in the islands by the census of 1890 was 25,466.

In 1890 there were 23,863 male laborers. Of this number, 18,728 were Chinese and Japanese. At this period there were 41,073 persons of all occupations. Of this number, 24,432 were Chinese and Japanese.

Of the total number of persons of European and American origin in the various avocations, it appears that 1,106 were Americans, 819 British, 518 Germans, 45 French, and 200 Norwegians, making a total of 2,688 persons.

The natives furnished 8,871 persons and the half-castes 884.

The Hawaiians, therefore, may be said to have furnished 9,755.

There are 196 persons designated as planters and ranchers. Of this number, 18 are Americans, 30 are British, and 6 are Germans. The remainder are principally Japanese, Portuguese, Chinese, and Hawaiians.

There are 5,181 persons designated as farmers. Of these 3,392 are natives and half-castes and 1,500 are Chinese. These two furnish 4,779, leaving a residue of 402 taken from all other nationalities. Of these, 26 are Americans.

It will be interesting if not pleasing to examine the number of the sexes by nationalities.

The grand total of the population is 89,990. The male population is 56,714, the females are 31,276.

The natives and half-castes furnish 21,449 males and 19,174 females.

The Chinese furnish 14,522 males and 779 females.

The Japanese furnish 10,079 males and 2,281 females.

The Portuguese furnish 4,770 males and 3,832 females.

The American males are 1,293, females 630.

The British males are 982, females 362.

The German males are 729, females 305.

This disparity of the sexes applies to all nationalities save the native race.

The most striking feature is that the Chinese men outnumber their women by more than 18 to 1.

The Japanese men outnumber their women by nearly five to one.

In all foreign nationalities the males largely exceed the females in numbers.

The natives and half-castes furnish nearly two-thirds of the women.

For a moment let us see how far this disparity of sexes in 1884 compares with that of 1890:

In 1884 there were 51,539 males, 29,039 females, and a total population of 80,578.

In 1890 the males numbered 58,714, the females 31,276, and the total number was 89,990.

The males increased from 1884 to 1890, 7,175; the females increased from 1884 to 1890, 2,237.

During this period there appears to have been the following gains and losses by nationalities:

Gains: Half-castes 1,968; Hawaiian-born foreigners (mostly Portuguese), 5,455; British, 62; Japanese, 12,244.

Losses: Natives, 5,578; Americans, 138; Germans, 566; French, 122; Portuguese, 775; Norwegians, 135; Chinese, 2,638; Polynesians, 368.

The net gain is 9,412. Had it not been for the large importation of Japanese for plantation laborers there would have been a net loss of 2,832.

There was a net loss of Europeans and Americans combined numbering 899.

While the population is increasing in numbers the per cent of females is largely decreasing.

In 1866 the percentage of females was 45.25; in 1872 it was 44.37; in 1878, 41.19; in 1884, 36.04; in 1890, 34.75.

This condition has been reached by the importation of contract labor by the Hawaiian Government for the sugar plantations.

In 1890 there was in the island of Oahu a population of 31,194. Of this number 1,239 were Americans.

There was in the island of Hawaii a population of 26,754. Of this number 289 were Americans.

In the islands of Molokai and Lanai there was a population of 2,826. Of this number 23 were Americans.

In the island of Maui there was a population of 17,357. Of this number 211 were Americans.

In the islands of Kauai and Niihau there was a population of 11,859. Of this number 112 were Americans.

The total population was 89,990. Of this number 1,928 were Americans.

It appears that in 1890, the period of the last census, in a population of 89,990 persons 51,610 were unable to read and write. The natives and half-castes, numbering 40,622, had 27,901 able to read and write.

The Chinese, with a population of 15,301 persons, had 13,277 unable to read and write.

The Japanese, with a population of 12,360, had 12,053 persons unable to read and write.

The Portuguese, with a population of 8,602, had 6,276 unable to read and write.

The minister of finance informs me that the taxes paid by Americans and Europeans amount to \$274,516.74; those by natives, \$71,386.82; half-castes, \$26,868.68; Chinese, \$87,266.10; Japanese, \$67,326.07; other nationalities, \$729.82.

He also informs me that the acreage on which taxes are paid by various nationalities is:

Europeans and Americans, 1,052,492 acres; natives, 257,457 acres; half-castes, 531,545 acres; Chinese, 12,324 acres; Japanese, 200 acres; other nationalities, none.

The surveyor-general reports the Crown lands for 1893 as containing 915,288 acres. Of these he reports 94,116 acres available for lease. Of this latter number only 47,000 acres are reported to be good arable land. He likewise reports the Government land as containing 828,370 acres. He reports these estimated in 1890 to be worth \$2,128,850. The annual income from them is \$67,636. Of this income, \$19,500 is from wharfage and \$7,800 from rent of land with buildings thereon.

The cane and arable land is estimated at 35,150 acres.

It is important here to recall his statement made to the legislature in 1891, in the following language:

Most Government lands at the present time consist of mere remnants left here and there, and of the worthless and unsalable portions remaining after the rest had been sold.

And in the same communication he declares that between the years 1850 and 1860 nearly all the desirable Government land was sold, generally to natives.

In 1890 the census report discloses that only 4,695 persons owned real estate in these islands. With a population estimated at this time at 95,000, the vast number of landless people here is discouraging to the idea of immigrants from the United States being able to find encouragement in the matter of obtaining homes in these islands.

The landless condition of the native population grows out of the original distribution and not from shiftlessness. To them homesteads should be offered rather than to strangers.

The census reports of the Hawaiian Islands pretend to give the native population from the period when Capt. Cook was here until 1890. These show a rapid diminution in numbers, which, it is claimed, indicate the final extinction of the race. Very many of these reports are entirely conjectural and others are carelessly prepared. That of 1884 is believed by many intelligent persons here to overstate the native strength and, of course, to discredit any comparison with that of 1890.

All deductions from such comparisons are discredited by an omission to consider loss from emigration. Jarvis, in his history of the Hawaiian Islands, published in 1847, says:

Great numbers of healthy Hawaiian youth have left in whale ships and other vessels and never returned.

The number annually afloat is computed at 3,000. At one time 400 were counted at Tahiti, 500 in Oregon, 50 at Paita, Peru, besides unknown numbers in Europe and the United States.

In 1850 a law was passed to prohibit natives from leaving the islands. The reason for it is stated in the following preamble:

Whereas, by the census of the islands taken in 1849, the population decreased at the rate of 8 per cent in 1848, and by the census taken in 1850 the population decreased at the rate of 5½ per cent in 1849; whereas the want of labor is severely felt by planters and other agriculturists, whereby the price of provisions and other produce has been unprecedentedly enhanced, to the great prejudice of the islands; whereas, many natives have emigrated to California and there died, in great misery; and, whereas, it is desirable to prevent such loss to the nation and such wretchedness to individuals, etc.

This act remained in force until 1887. How effective it was when it existed there is no means of ascertaining. How much emigration of the native race has taken place since its repeal does not appear to have been inquired into by the Hawaiian Government. Assuming that there has been none and that the census tables are correct, except that of 1884, the best opinion is that the decrease in the native population is slight now and constantly less. Its final extinction, except by amalgamation with Americans, Europeans, and Asiatics, may be dispensed with in all future calculations.

My opinion, derived from official data and the judgment of intelligent persons, is that it is not decreasing now and will soon increase.

The foregoing pages are respectfully submitted as the connected report indicated in your instructions. It is based upon the statements

of individuals and the examination of public documents. Most of these are hereto annexed.

The partisan feeling naturally attaching to witnesses made it necessary for me to take time for forming a correct judgment as to their character. All this had to be done without the counsel of any other person.

Mindful of my liability to error in some matters of detail, but believing in the general correctness of the information reported and conclusions reached, I can only await the judgment of others.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES H. BLOUNT,
Special Commissioner of the United States.

No. 18.

Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,

July 19, 1893.

No. 14.]

SIR: On the 28th ultimo I sent through Mr. Mills a communication to President Dole, a copy of which is inclosed herewith.

Mr. Mills reported that President Dole said he did not remember the letter to Mr. Stevens; that he would examine his papers and see if a reply to such communication could be found. He asked if such a paper was in the legation.

A copy of the letter in question was sent to you with my No. 11 of the 28th ultimo.

The omission of a reference to the admission of Mr. Stevens's recognition was done to avoid informing him of my knowledge of this fact.

A great effort has been continuously made to suppress such information. Absolute falsehoods have in some instances been resorted to by men of whom better conduct would have been expected.

Since Mr. Mills's conversation with President Dole I called on him in person and asked him if he would not give me a reply to my letter. He said he desired to talk with Mr. Damon, who had charge of some of their private papers, which he had locked up in his bank, before he answered me.

This was several days ago and I presume I shall hear nothing further from him on the subject.

Mr. W. O. Smith said to me on one occasion that he thought Mr. Stevens had given to President Dole the letter of recognition of the Provisional Government to be used on the happening of some event. He represented that the matter was in his mind vaguely. This was repeated on another occasion. It is quite possible that this reply may in some way bring out other facts, and for that reason it is not desired to furnish it.

There is a habit of mind amongst all people here, no matter how careful of their conduct in other respects, to exaggerate and mislead in political questions, and especially in relation to the present condition of affairs.

Some of the papers from the United States arriving here contain a letter of ex-Queen Liliuokalani to Mr. Stevens, dated January 17,

1893, published as part of his speech in Augusta, Me., on the 29th ultimo.

It was a legation paper, and I can not understand by what means he acquired permission to make it public, and so have deemed it my duty to call your attention to it.

I am, etc.,

JAMES H. BLOUNT,
Special Commissioner of the United States.

[Inclosure in No. 14.]

Mr. Blount to Mr. Dole.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Honolulu, June 28, 1893.

SIR: Please be kind enough to send me a copy of Mr. Stevens's reply to a letter addressed to him by you as chairman of the executive council on the 17th of January last, in which you request the immediate support of the United States forces, and that the commander of those forces take command of your military forces so that they may act together for the protection of the city.

I am, etc.,

JAMES H. BLOUNT,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

His Excellency SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

No. 19.

Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,
July 26, 1893.

No. 15.]

SIR: On the 28th ultimo I forwarded to you a copy of a letter from President Dole to Mr. Stevens. On it was the entry, "The above request not complied with. Stevens."

On the same day I addressed a communication to Mr. Dole, asking for Mr. Stevens's reply to this letter.

On the 20th instant Mr. Dole inclosed me the communication annexed hereto, (Inclosure No. 1).

This reply of Mr. Stevens is nowhere to be found in the legation records or files.

I inclose also a communication (Inclosure No. 2) containing information from the archives of the Hawaiian Islands, sent me by Mr. W. D. Alexander, at my request, thinking it might be of some historical value.

The public in the United States has been led to believe that Mr. Marcy had shown great individuality and sagacity as secretary of state in his well-nigh consummated treaty of annexation of these islands.

These Hawaiian papers disclose that the project originated with the King of the Hawaiian Islands from fears of the loss of their independence through various causes.

I am, etc.,

JAMES H. BLOUNT,
Special Commissioner of the United States.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 15.]

*Mr. Dole to Mr. Blount.*DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands July 20, 1893.

SIR: Your communication of June 28, requesting a copy of Mr Stevens's reply to a letter addressed to him by me, as chairman of the executive council, on the 17th of January last, in which I request the immediate support of the United States forces and that the commander of these forces take command of our forces, so that they may act together for the protection of the city has been received. My delay in replying has been in consequence of my failure to find the letter mentioned and my hope of eventually procuring it. To-day I have succeeded in finding this letter and herewith forward you a copy thereof.

I have, etc.,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
*Minister of Foreign Affairs.*His Excellency JAMES H. BLOUNT,
United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Honolulu.

[Inclosure in inclosure 1 in No. 15.]

*Mr. Stevens to Mr. Dole.*UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, January 17, 1893.

Think Capt. Wiltse will endeavor to maintain order and protect life and property, but do not think he would take command of the men of the Provisional Government.

Will have him come to the legation soon as possible and take his opinion and inform you as soon as possible.

Yours, truly,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

[Inclosure 2 to No. 15.]

W. D. Alexander to Mr. Blount.

SIR: I have the honor to submit to you the following account of the circumstances attending the uncompleted treaty of annexation, negotiated in 1854 between Hon. D. L. Gregg, representing the United States, and his excellency, R. C. Wyllie, representing the King of the Hawaiian Islands.

I will first briefly mention some of the causes which led to the application made by Kamehameha III and his cabinet in 1854 for annexation to the United States.

THE APPLICATION FOR A PROTECTORATE IN 1851.

The subject of annexation to the United States was first seriously considered in the islands in 1851. M. Em. Perrin had been sent to Honolulu as commissioner of France, in the corvette *Serieuse*, which arrived at Honolulu December 13, 1850, and remained in port three months without exchanging salutes with the fort.

He persisted in pressing again the famous ten demands, presented by Admiral De Tromelin in 1849, and his attitude was so menacing that the King and privy council were finally driven to seek protection from the United States.

As is stated in my "Brief History of the Hawaiian People," p. 270, they passed a proclamation, March 10, 1851, placing the islands provisionally under the protection of the United States.

On the next day a conditional deed of cession of the Kingdom to the United States was drawn up, signed, and delivered in a sealed envelope to Hon. L. Severance, the commissioner of the United States, by two of the King's ministers. This was to be opened and acted upon only in case of an emergency, the signal of which was to be the raising of the flag of the United States above that of Hawaii over the fort. In that case the sovereignty of the islands was to be ceded to the United States, to be held in trust until a settlement of their relations with France, "compatible with the King's rights as an independent sovereign," could be made, and if this should be found to be impracticable the said protectorate was to be declared perpetual.

The U. S. S. *Vandalia*, Capt. Gardner, was in port at the time. The deed of cession was accepted by Mr. Severance provisionally, and referred to his Government. Mr. W. C. Park, the marshal, was directed to have the Hawaiian and American flags sewed together, and kept in readiness to be hoisted at a moment's notice. He remained in the fort night and day, on the watch, during the 15th and 16th of March. By some means, the British consul-general learned of what had been done, and informed M. Perrin, who thereupon withdrew the most obnoxious of his demands; and a joint declaration, comprising four articles, was signed by both parties March 25.

It appears, however, that M. Perrin used language in his later dispatches which threatened to reopen questions that had been supposed to be closed. An appeal to the President of the United States was therefore drawn up and presented to Mr. Severance, which was taken to Washington by Hon. E. H. Allen, then United States consul, who sailed on this mission April 4. M. Perrin left for Paris May 24 to obtain fresh instructions, and did not return until January 8, 1853. Nothing more was ever heard of the rest of the ten demands. Mr. Webster, the United States Secretary of State, made strong representations to the French Government on the subject, but directed Mr. Severance to return to the Hawaiian Government the deed of cession, which had been placed in his keeping.

A joint resolution was passed by both houses of the Hawaiian Legislature June 21, 1851, confirming the action of the privy council, and empowering the King and privy council to place the Kingdom under the protection of some friendly power, if necessary, "to shield it from insult and oppression."

In the following year, in framing the new constitution, a clause was inserted in Article 39, which empowered the King, by and with the approval of his cabinet and privy council, to even alienate his Kingdom "if indispensable to free it from the insult and oppression of any foreign power." This shows that the apprehension of some impending danger was still present to the minds of the King and his advisers.

FILIBUSTERS.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848, which led to the speedy settlement of that State and to the opening of new routes across the American continent, ushered in a new era in the history of the Hawaiian Islands. It opened a new market for their productions, and brought them into closer commercial relations with the United States. Communication became frequent between them and California, and American capital began to be largely invested here.

At that time California was resorted to by numerous lawless adventurers, who planned a number of raids or filibustering expeditions into the neighboring countries. The notorious Gen. Walker headed a raid of this kind into Lower California in 1853, and others into Nicaragua in 1855 and in 1861, in the last of which he was taken prisoner and shot.

The Hawaiian Government received many warnings in the fall of 1851 that a band of filibusters was being organized to invade this Kingdom. At the request of the cabinet the U. S. S. *Vandalia*, Capt. Gardner, was kept at Honolulu ready to seize any suspicious vessel, and a body of 100 native troops was drilled for several months by Lieut. Read of the *Vandalia*.

About 25 suspicious characters, headed by Sam Brannan, came down from San Francisco in November 1851, in the ship *Game Cock*. During the voyage the mail bag was rifled by members of the party and the letters thrown overboard. They were under the false impression that this country was ripe for revolution, and that the King was ready to sell his Kingdom and to retire from the cares of state. But they soon found that they had been deceived in regard to the feeling of the natives, and that the officers and men of the whaling fleet were also hostile to them. They were closely watched; the King declined to see them, and the expedition ended in a fiasco.

During the years 1853-'54 the country was disquieted by frequent rumors of filibustering expeditions being fitted out, and British and American ships of war were kept in port much of the time as a safeguard. Mr. Wyllie strongly advocated the plan of organizing a force of 5,000 militia, to consist of natives armed with pikes, and a small contingent of cavalry, together with 100 regular troops, for defense against filibusters, but it was rejected by the privy council.

THE POLITICAL AGITATION OF 1853.

During the years 1851-'54 a considerable immigration from California took place. It embraced many restless, ambitious spirits, some of whom came for the purpose of exciting revolution. They found the foreign community already split into factions, between which bitter feuds existed of long standing. Many of the newcomers naturally joined the opposition party, which claimed to be the liberal and progressive element in the country.

The plan of the leaders of the new movement seems to have been to reconstruct the Government, and then to turn it over to the United States. A secret committee of thirteen was appointed to carry out their designs. Their first object was to bring about the removal of two of the ministers, viz: Messrs. Armstrong and Judd. The unsuccessful attempt to make political capital out of the smallpox epidemic of 1853 was disgraceful to all engaged in it. At the same time an active agitation was commenced in favor of annexation, and the two obnoxious ministers were accused of being an obstacle in the way of it.

Threats were freely used to intimidate the King and chiefs into dismissing them.

In August a memorial in favor of annexation was presented to the King, which was signed by seventeen respectable residents, who were supporters of the cabinet. This called out a card, published September 10, signed by Revs. E. W. Clark and P. J. Gulick, declaring that "the Protestant missionaries at the islands have never engaged in any scheme of annexation. It has been their cherished wish that the Government may remain independent under the present constitution and rulers. Whatever may have been done by merchants, planters, and others, the Protestant clergymen at the islands have neither advised nor signed any memorial to the King touching annexation." In a letter published in August, 1864, Mr. Clark stated that at the annual convocation in May, 1853, he had frequent conversations with other missionaries on this engrossing subject. "Not one of them expressed an opinion in its favor, but on the contrary, they did express doubts as to its expediency, and grave apprehensions of disaster to the natives from the influx of lawless and unprincipled foreigners." With this agreed the known views of the French Catholic priests.

The memorial created no little excitement among the British and French residents. The representatives of Great Britain and France solicited an audience with the King and privy council, which was granted September 1, when they presented a joint address to the King, protesting against any attempt to annex the islands to any foreign power as in contravention of existing treaties, as well as unconstitutional. This was replied to in an able dispatch addressed to the minister of foreign affairs by the United States commissioner, September 3.

A few days later the whole Cabinet resigned, but were all reappointed, with the exception of Dr. Judd, who was succeeded by Hon. E. H. Allen, whose appointment gave general satisfaction, and caused no change in the policy of the cabinet. The result was a virtual defeat of the schemes of the "thirteen."

GROWTH OF ANNEXATION SENTIMENT, 1854.

Hon. L. Severance, the United States commissioner, returned to the United States in December, 1853, and was succeeded by Hon. D. L. Gregg, of Illinois, who arrived in Honolulu January 6, 1854.

Meanwhile the sentiment in favor of annexation seems to have been growing in strength. There were strong commercial reasons in its favor. Three-fourths of the business was in the hands of Americans, and the chief market of the islands was then, as now, the Pacific coast of the United States. The hope of it stimulated speculation, and led to new enterprises, some of which were afterwards abandoned.

The fearful decrease of the native population (several thousands of whom had been carried off by the fatal epidemic of 1853), the rapid extinction of the order of chiefs, who were the natural leaders of their race, the relapse of the King into habits of gross intemperance, and the perils from without overhanging the feeble Government disheartened many true friends of the nation and led them to favor the preliminary steps then taken towards annexation. The objections of the missionaries to that measure have already been stated. They feared that the rights of the natives might be trampled upon and their interests sacrificed. A new and liberal constitution had just been adopted (in 1852) and they fondly hoped that the natives would soon learn how to use their newly-granted lands and political rights.

The ministry, as a whole, favored annexation, but Mr. Wyllie acquiesced in it unwillingly and only as a last resort in the case of an emergency. During the two following reigns he developed a decided antipathy to American influence and American ideas.

The King, however, strongly favored annexation. He had long been harassed by the threats of foreign powers; he had once been dethroned by a British naval force; he had repeatedly been compelled to make humiliating concessions at the cannon's mouth; he had recently seen his fort dismantled and his beautiful yacht carried off, and his difficulties with France still remained unsettled. At the same time he was kept in a state of alarm by rumors of filibusters from abroad and threats of conspirators at home to overturn his Government. He was deeply grateful for the constant and generous friendship of the United States and for the benefits which his people had received from American citizens. Besides, he had reason to expect for himself and his chiefs a sum equal to the revenue of his Kingdom and for his people all the rights of a free State in the Union. As far as is known, most of the high chiefs agreed with him.

The heir apparent, Prince Alexander Liholiho, however, was at heart opposed to the treaty, and interposed every possible delay to its completion. It is said that he and his brother, Lot Kamehameha, never forgave some incivility which they had experienced on account of their color when traveling in America. He was also moved by a laudable pride of country, a natural desire to reign, and a partiality to England and her institutions.

The mass of the native population was never consulted, and was indifferent on the subject. Race antagonism had not yet been developed to any extent. A newspaper in the Hawaiian language, called the *Nuhou*, edited by a Mr. Marsh, was started in February, 1854, to prepare the native mind for annexation, and was continued for six months. Another memorial on the subject, numerously signed, was presented to the King in January, 1854. It is singular that hardly an allusion to the subject can be found in the Honolulu papers of the time, and none in any of the official reports of the minister of foreign affairs.

NEGOTIATION OF THE TREATY.

In February, 1854, the matter took a more definite shape. On the 6th of that month, in view of danger from filibusters and conspirators, the King commanded Mr. Wyllie to ascertain on what terms a treaty of annexation could be negotiated to be used as a safeguard to meet any sudden danger that might arise. Every proposition was to be considered by the cabinet and Prince Liholiho, and the treaty as a whole was to be submitted to His Majesty for his approval, modification, or rejection.

The negotiations were carried on between Mr. Wyllie and Mr. Gregg with the utmost secrecy. At the second meeting, February 11, Mr. Gregg agreed to proceed with a negotiation *ad referendum*, and wrote to the United States Secretary of State for instructions.

A basis for negotiations, framed by Judge Lee and approved by the King and his ministers, was afterwards presented to Mr. Gregg, guarantying to Hawaiian subjects all the rights of American citizens, providing for the admission of the Hawaiian Islands as a State into the Union, for a due compensation to the King and chiefs, and a liberal sum for the support of schools. The amount of compensation to be asked for had been referred to a committee, who recommended that a lump sum, viz, \$300,000, be distributed in the form of annuities by the King and his council. At their sixth meeting, June 1, Mr. Gregg stated that he had received full powers and instructions from his own Government. At Mr. Wyllie's request he then proceeded to draft an outline of the treaty. He was furnished with detailed statements of the property owned by the Hawaiian Government and of the salaries paid by it. An interval of two months followed, during which the treaty made very little progress.

In a private letter from Mr. Wyllie to Judge Lee, dated June 23, he says: "The treaty is now before Prince Liholiho, with all the amendments suggested by you. To be able to save the King and chiefs and people at a moment's warning it is desirable that the treaty should be concluded diplomatically—I mean signed by the plenipotentiaries, but subject to future ratification." Again, July 11, Mr. Wyllie writes to Judge Lee as follows: "Liholiho keeps out of the way, and he has not returned the treaties, though I have often asked him for them. Of my draft I have no copy."

The Fourth of July was celebrated at Honolulu this year with unusual enthusiasm, and in Mr. Gregg's oration allusion was made to the prospect that a new star would soon be added to the constellation of States.

On the 17th of July a combined British and French fleet of eight vessels arrived from Callao, on their way to attack the Russian fortress of Petropaulovski. The two admirals and their officers had a reception at the palace, at which the French admiral said, at M. Perrin's suggestion, that he hoped there was no thought of alienating the sovereignty of the Kingdom, as that would lead to difficulties with France and England, which it would be wise to avoid. The King made no reply.

In a letter from Mr. Gregg to the United States Secretary of State, dated July 26, he states that "a meeting was held on the 17th, at which Prince Alexander was present, when it was agreed that the minister of foreign affairs should immediately proceed, if possible, to arrange and sign a treaty to be submitted to the King for ratification. Mr. Wyllie called on me the next day and we had several conferences, but without as yet arriving at any definite result. Prince Alexander is responsible for all past delay and he will not hesitate to incur the responsibility of still more, unless his mind is brought to the conviction that it is impossible for him ever to wear a crown. * * * If a treaty is once signed he will not oppose its ratification directly and openly, but strive to postpone it to the last moment compatible with safety."

The two principal difficulties were, first, the objection of the Hawaiian authorities to a territorial form of government, and, secondly, the question as to the amount of the annuities to be paid, the Hawaiian Government insisting on \$300,000 as a *sine*

qua non. One article provided for the payment of \$75,000 *per annum* for ten years for educational purposes, one-third of which was to be capitalized for the support of a college or university.

Judge Lee expressed his views in regard to the treaty in a letter to Mr. Wyllie, dated August 29, in which he stated that it was "the wish of the King and chiefs to be admitted as a *State*, and they must not be deceived by any ambiguity in the phraseology of the treaty. They wish by this article to shield the nation from *slavery*, and it would be dishonorable to leave so vital a question involved in any doubt." At that time the repeal of the Missouri compromise had begun to be agitated in Congress and party feeling was intense. It is said that Senator Sumner wrote to an influential missionary in the islands warning the King and natives against annexation on the ground that it would lead to the introduction of slavery into their country. An article to this effect appeared in the New York Tribune of July 20, 1854, and caused much excitement at the islands.

Mr. Gregg conceded the two disputed points, "*ad referendum*," and a copy of the treaty as completed was laid before the King in cabinet council September 4 and fully explained to him in all its details. He fully approved of it, but wished to consult a few of his chiefs before taking final action. Near the close of the legislative session of 1854, August 4, Mr. Kaholeku offered a resolution in the house of representatives requesting the minister of foreign affairs to inform the house whether the King had applied for annexation to the United States on account of trouble with France and England, as reported in the New York Herald. The subject was referred to the committee on foreign relations, who never reported on it.

On the 26th of August Prince Liholiho, in the house of nobles, asked the minister of foreign affairs whether it was true that England and France were making trouble, so as to force the King to annex his Kingdom to the United States.

In reply, Mr. Wyllie denied the statement, asserting that those powers were anxious to maintain the independence of the islands, but he said that in the internal condition of the Kingdom there was danger, and there was no saying what changes that danger might lead the King to submit to.

PROCRASTINATION AND FAILURE OF THE TREATY.

On the 18th of September Gen. Miller, the consul-general of Great Britain, had an audience of the King, when he delivered a tirade of more than an hour in length against annexation and in denunciation of the Government and people of the United States.

He read in full the article in the New York Tribune of July 20, to show that the designs of the United States were unfriendly to Hawaiian interests. The King in his reply said that he much preferred that such communications should be made in writing, in order to prevent misunderstandings.

Meanwhile the Crown Prince Alexander remained at Hawaii to avoid signing the treaty. Weary of the delay, Mr. Gregg wrote, September 12, complaining of the procrastination and threatening to withdraw from further negotiations and to declare those which had already taken place to be at an end. The prince was sent for, but did not come.

Mr. Gregg wrote again November 1, remonstrating against further delay in the conclusion of the treaty. He used the following language: "The strong arm of the United States has been solicited for your protection. It has been kindly extended and held out until at length self-respect must soon dictate its withdrawal." This was regarded as a menace and gave much offense.

The U. S. S. *Portsmouth*, Capt. Dornin, and the *St. Mary's*, Capt. Bailey, were in fact detained in port during the fall of 1854, awaiting the result of the negotiations. The United States frigates *Susquehannah* and *Mississippi* also called on their way home from Japan, in the latter part of October, 1854, and remained a week off the port of Honolulu.

It would seem that an attempt was now made to intimidate the King into signing the treaty at once. Mr. Wyllie afterwards stated that on the 12th of November he was informed that there was imminent danger of a revolution; "that there were dangerous men from California, well armed, who insisted on the King's immediate sanction of annexation to the United States, without waiting for the arrival of the Crown Prince or the consent of the Legislature; that they would be joined by 300 or more of the American residents here; that, if unsuccessful then, they would be joined by 300 men of the same dangerous character, who were to arrive from California by the *America*, and 50 who would arrive by the *Ianthe*; that if we attempted to resist a force so determined, the King's Government would be upset, private and public property plundered, and perhaps the town set on fire." "That three individuals should have a private conference with the King instantly, so as to convince His Majesty of the truth of these dangers, and that he could only avoid them by annexation to the United States." A cabinet council was then called, at which Mr

Wyllie was ordered to make these threats known to the representatives of the three great maritime powers. Mr. Gregg had already written to Mr. Wyllie to assure him that the forces of the United States were ready to cooperate "in repressing any unlawful attempts of reckless adventurers, claiming to be American citizens, against the peace and dignity of His Majesty's Government." Mr. Wyllie immediately applied to the representatives of France, Great Britain, and the United States, and was promised the aid of 200 men from the United States ships *Portsmouth* and *St. Mary's*, of 100 men from Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Trincomalee*, and of 500 men from the French frigate *Artemise*.

He further improved the opportunity to declare that "negotiations should be suspended until they could be honorably resumed after every trace of coercion had been removed." (See his letter of November 26, to Judge Lee.) On the 13th of December he issued a proclamation in the King's name, declaring that His Majesty had accepted the assistance of the three powers named above, and that his "independence was more firmly established than ever before." This called out from Mr. Gregg a dispatch denying that the United States had any intention of entering into any tripartite protectorate of the King's Government, or that his and Capt. Dornin's offers should be taken as equivalent to a permanent guaranty of its independence.

The expected filibusters never appeared. The Crown Prince Alexander Liholiho arrived at last from Hawaii December 1, and it is stated on good authority that he agreed to sign the treaty and that a day was set for the ceremony.

The King is said by Mrs. Judd to have been "more eager than ever" to complete the business, when he was suddenly taken ill, and expired in five or six days, on the 15th of December, 1854, in the forty-second year of his age. His untimely death was undoubtedly hastened by excessive intemperance towards the last. Aside from this unfortunate failing he had many noble traits.

As Mr. Severance truly said, "his partiality to Americans has always been strong, and it will be universally conceded that by his death they have lost a faithful and honorable friend."

His adopted son and heir, Alexander Liholiho, was immediately proclaimed King, under the title of Kamehameha IV. Soon afterwards he expressed his wish that the negotiations that had been begun with Mr. Gregg should be broken off, which was done.

As Mr. Marcy afterwards stated, in his letter to Mr. Gregg of January 31, 1855, the President would never have approved of a treaty admitting the islands into the Union as a *State*, to say nothing of other objections of minor importance. In fact, the whole movement, as we now look back upon it, seems to have been premature and unnecessary. But, as I have elsewhere said of Kamehameha III, "his purpose, though it happily fell through, yet insured to his successor a more secure possession of their inheritance."

W. D. ALEXANDER.

HONOLULU, July 18, 1893.

APPENDIX.

PROTECTORATE PROCLAMATION.

HONOLULU, March 10, 1851.

We, Kamehameha III, by the grace of God, of the Hawaiian Islands King:

By and with the advice and consent of our Kuhina Nui and council of native chiefs, finding our relations with France so oppressive to our Kingdom, so inconsistent with its rights as an independent state, and so obstructive of all our endeavors to administer the government of our islands with equal justice to all nations and equal independence of all foreign control, and despairing of equity and justice from France:

Hereby proclaim as our royal will and pleasure that all our islands, and all our rights as a sovereign over them, are from the date hereof placed under the protection and safeguard of the United States of America until some arrangements can be made to place our said relations with France upon a footing compatible with our rights as an independent sovereign under the law of nations and compatible with our treaty engagements with other foreign nations; or, if such arrangements should be found impracticable, then it is our wish and pleasure that the protection aforesaid under the United States of America be perpetual.

And we further proclaim as aforesaid, that from the date of the publication hereof the flag of the United States of America shall be hoisted above the national ensign on all our forts and places and vessels navigating with Hawaiian registers.

(Signed by the King and Kuhina Nui.)

MARCH 10, 1851.

B.

Resolution about the joint declaration March 20, 1851.

Whereas in view of the declaration of the commissioner of France in his memorandum of Feb. 1st, and in his dispatch No. 12 of Feb. 27th, that the difficulties with France are reduced to two, viz, the liberty of Catholic worship and the trade in spirits; and

Whereas the joint declaration sanctioned comprises a settlement of these two questions in the view of the King and council:

Resolved, That the minister of foreign relations is authorized and instructed to sign the four articles of the said declaration, and to refer to the sole decision of the President of the French Republic the question of indemnity to the King, as transmitted to Mr. Perrin in Mr. Wyllie's despatch No. 21, on the understanding that this reference is to be acted upon only after the President shall have admitted that all pending difficulties are thus settled.

C.

Joint declaration.

The President of the French Republic and the King of the Hawaiian Islands, animated by an equal desire to terminate the adjustment of pending difficulties between the two countries, and to prevent their return for the future by assuring the just and complete execution of the convention of the 26th of March, 1846, in regard to the points in controversy, through a new official act, destined to interpret it, have chosen for this purpose the undersigned commissioner of the French Republic and the minister of foreign affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the signers of the treaty above mentioned, who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good form, have agreed to the terms of the following declaration:

1. The treaty of the 26th of March, 1846, will be faithfully adopted and interpreted in the two texts, French and Hawaiian, the only ones officially signed. It remains agreed in all the cases where the foreign judges not understanding French have to decide the text of the English treaty, officially declared identical, under reserve of the III article, shall be considered as an exact translation.

2. Without admitting that by the establishment of a custom-house duty of \$5 per gallon upon spirits the Hawaiian Government have gone beyond the exclusive power which France herself has granted to them, through the means of the wording of the VI article of the treaty above mentioned (an assertion in regard to which the undersigned French commissioner makes all reserves), and after having proved that the effects of that duty have been profitable to France and hurtful to the English and American trade in spirits, the King of the Sandwich Islands declares himself disposed to submit the question of the reduction of duty to \$2.50 per gallon, as a *maximum* to the legislature, which is to assemble next month, as a measure of political economy, which the chamber of commerce of Honolulu have recommended on strong grounds.

3. The Government of the King can not recognize, on the part of any foreign nation, the right of dictating or prescribing laws to them on matters which affect only the religious belief or secular education of the native subjects of the King. Nevertheless, disposed to admit the third of the demands presented by M. Perrin, on the 1st of February last, as a friendly suggestion, destined for the examination of the Legislature which is to assemble this year, the Hawaiian Government will place these assemblies in a position to decide whether the equality between the Protestants and the Catholics, under the protection of the constitution and the laws, of which numerous proofs have been furnished, does not yet require something for its perfect application.

4. Documents presented by French citizens, in their own language, will be received in all the cases in which documents in the English language are received; but in the cases where the employees whose duty it is to make use of these documents do not understand French it shall be incumbent, provisionally, on the party interested to furnish a translation of the document produced, which, to prevent all error and discussion, shall be certified by him as true.

Honolulu, 25th March, 1851.

R. C. WYLLIE,

Minister of Foreign Relations.

La Commissaire de la République Française, EM. PERRIN.

D.

Appeal to the President of the United States.

The undersigned, minister of foreign relations of His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands (having), unavoidably produced to the undersigned, commissioner of the United States, an imperative order, under the great seal of the Hawaiian Kingdom, in Hawaiian and English, signed both by His Majesty and sealed by the royal signet and countersigned by His Highness Keoni Ana, the "Kuhina Nui," and both dated the 28th of this month, proceeded to make the following statement to the undersigned commissioner:

That the King and chiefs, remembering the events of 1839 and 1849, distrust France and fear her.

That they consider that France has not kept her engagement with Great Britain of the 28th November, 1843, and does not mean to treat this Kingdom as under the protection of international law.

That their fears had been abated, but were again revived by Monsieur Perrin's despatch No. 18, of the 22d inst., and his "verbal note" of the 15th, to the undersigned minister, which were laid before His Majesty and his cabinet on the 28th.

That the King from a conversation with Her Britannic Majesty's consul-general, believes that Great Britain is so fettered with France that she can afford him no certain hope of present relief.

That the King, therefore, unable to protect the large American and other national interests in this Kingdom, appealed in his helplessness to the Commissioner of the United States, and now solemnly appeals to the President.

The King would prefer the following alternatives in the order in which they are placed:

1. To secure those large interests equally against all possible danger from foreign powers, under the safeguard of the Republic of the United States, and (if it can be arranged by the President of the United States without unsafe delay), under the safeguard of Great Britain, also, and of France.

2. Unless the last conform with the other two, then under the protection of the United States and England only.

3. If England do not consent, then of the United States only.

4. The King would prefer that this Kingdom be received as an independent state, under protection merely from foreign aggression.

If that can not be done, rather than continue to be the victim of foreign aggression, the mere shadow of a King without the power, but with responsibilities measured out by the arbitrary rule of the strong, we will resign the sovereignty of these islands into the hands of the United States, under their guaranty of his private rights and hereditaments, a due provision for himself, his Queen, the heir apparent, his chiefs, his high officers, all private property and rights, and of all engagements of whatsoever kind lawfully incumbent upon him to fulfill and discharge.

6. The King desires that a secret arrangement be made with the authority and consent of the United States on the basis of one or other of these alternatives, to be instantly acted upon on the emergency of any sudden danger, and not to be acted upon or even mentioned, if through the good offices of the President of the United States, France and other maritime powers will engage to let him alone, with power to govern and seek the protection of his people in his own way, and to protect foreign residents and their interests, without persisting in exacting of him greater responsibilities than can be required of any sovereign under the laws of nations.

7. The King, with the full experience of Capt. Laplace in 1839 and of Admiral de Tromelin in 1849, acknowledges his utter want of power to protect the citizens of the United States and their large interests in his islands under a repetition of such lawless invasions; and as he has no confidence that they will not be repeated on the most trifling complaint against his Government, His Majesty would be glad to see such a provisional occupation of his islands by the armed forces of the United States, as may in the judgment of the President be adequate to the protection of all citizens of the United States and their interests, until time be afforded to mature some permanent arrangement in one or other of the ways hereinbefore mentioned.

The undersigned, Commissioner of the United States, having heard and considered these solemn proposals made in the name and by imperative order of His Majesty King Kamehameha III, agrees to transmit a copy thereof immediately to the Government of the United States, asking for full power and authority how to act, and that in the meanwhile the utmost possible secrecy shall be observed, and that he will continue to do all in his power for the protection of American interests and to uphold the King's dignity and rights as an independent sovereign in friendly relations with the United States and appealing to them for protection.

Done in duplicate in the city of Honolulu this 31st day of March, 1851.

[His official seal.]

[Seal of foreign office.]

LUTHER SEVERANCE.

R. C. WYLLIE,

Minister of Foreign Relations.

E.

Joint resolution.

Be it resolved by the Nobles and Representatives of the Hawaiian Islands in legislative council assembled, That in the sense of this House the demands of France are so clearly unjust and contrary to the laws of nations and to treaty, and the course pursued by her so incompatible with the existence of a regular independent government in these islands, if France should persist in such a course it will be the duty of the King to shield himself and his Kingdom from insult and oppression by placing this Kingdom under the protection of some friendly state; and that should such emergency be so urgent as not to admit of the legislative council being convened, it shall be left to His Majesty by and with the advice of his privy council, under such emergency, to consult the honor and safety of his Kingdom according to his Majesty's best judgment; and that whatever he may do will be binding upon the nation.

Passed both houses of the Legislature June 21, 1851.

W. L. LEE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
KEONI ANA,
President of the House of Nobles.

Approved by the King August 4, 1851.

KAMEHAMEHA.
KEONI ANA.

F.

Order of the King to Mr. Wyllie, February 6, 1854.

Whereas it has come to our knowledge through the communications made to us by divers discreet men, who we have reason to believe are true friends to the Hawaiian nation, and through various other sources, that plans are on foot inimical to the peace of our Kingdom and the welfare of our people, and such as if carried out would be wholly subversive of our sovereignty, and would reduce us to the most deplorable of all states, a state of anarchy; and

Whereas exigencies may arise of such a nature as to render it imperative upon us for the security of the just rights of our chiefs and people that we should seek the alliance of the United States of America:

We do hereby command you, our minister of foreign relations, to take such immediate steps as may be necessary and proper, by negotiation or otherwise, to ascertain the views of the United States in relation to the annexation thereto of these islands, and also the terms and conditions upon which the same can be effected, with the object of being fully prepared to meet any sudden danger that may arise threatening the existence or independence of our Kingdom.

(Signed)

KAMEHAMEHA III.
JOHN YOUNG.

Liholiho consents to the above royal command.
Approved by Wm. L. Lee.

G.

Extract from instructions of February 21, 1854.

You will immediately enter upon a negotiation *ad referendum* with the Commissioners of the United States, the object of which is the annexation of our Kingdom to the United States of America, in case of necessity, and which shall fully secure *our rights and the rights of our chiefs and people, being assured by the protocol No. 2, submitted to us, of the willingness of the Commissioner of the United States to enter upon such negotiation.* The constitution of our Kingdom has made our ministers special advisers in the executive affairs of the Kingdom, and therefore you will submit to their consideration every proposal and every proposition that may be interchanged between you and the Commissioner of the United States, and your conduct will be governed by their decision.

Prince Liholiho will join in the deliberations of the cabinet council, vote therein, and make his views known to us. When the treaty *ad referendum*, as aforesaid, is

completed, you will submit the same to us, which will be subject to our approval, modification, or rejection, and, in case we shall deem it wise and necessary, to submit it to the representatives of our people, subject also to their approval.

(Signed)

KAMEHAMEHA III.

I hereby approve of the above instructions.

LIHOLIHO.

Signed by KEONE ANA,
and all the ministers.

H.

PROTOCOLS.

Protocol No. 1.

WEDNESDAY, February 8th, 1854.

The undersigned met this day at 12 noon in the house of the commissioner of the United States. Mr. Wyllie submitted the written commands of the King to him of the 6th instant, also the letter of same date from the Hon. Wm. L. Lee, chancellor of the Kingdom, and invited Mr. Gregg to exchange powers with him, with a view to the objects expressed in the King's command aforesaid.

Mr. Wyllie further submitted to Mr. Gregg the appeal to the President of the United States of March 31st, 1851, signed by him and the late commissioner, Mr. Severance.

Mr. Gregg stated to Mr. Wyllie that he was in possession of no formal powers to negotiate or declare the views of the Government of the United States upon the matter submitted for his consideration; that from the peculiar circumstances of the case it was impossible for the Government of the United States to anticipate the necessity of special replies to such questions, or the existence of a state of affairs making it desirable on the part of the King to bring up for discussion with him (Gregg) a subject of such magnitude and interest to both nations, without an opportunity of referring to the authorities at Washington, which he trusted could readily be done without prejudice. But if the exigencies of the present or future should demand it, he was willing to negotiate *ad referendum* on the subject embraced in the commands of the King, but not otherwise.

Mr. Gregg further stated, that having been verbally informed yesterday by Mr. Wyllie of this matter, he had written to the State Department at Washington relative thereto, with the expectation of obtaining the views and instructions of his Government as early as might be practicable. Mr. Wyllie begged Mr. Gregg to send a duplicate of his letter and to enclose copy of the commands of the King, that the President might understand exactly what His Majesty desired, for which purpose he left a certified copy with Mr. Gregg. Mr. Wyllie also left with Mr. Gregg the appeal of 31st March, 1851, before alluded to, for Mr. Gregg's fuller information.

The undersigned, on behalf of their respective Governments, agreed to consider the protocol as the initiation of a negotiation with the Government of the United States for the purpose expressed in the King's command to his minister of foreign affairs.

The undersigned agreed to adjourn till they should have occasion to meet again.

D. L. GREGG, etc., etc.

R. C. WYLLIE, etc., etc.

Protocol No. 2.

SATURDAY, February 11, 1854—1½ p. m.

The undersigned met in the house of the Commissioner of the United States. Mr. Wyllie stated that he had, by the advice of Prince Liholiho and the cabinet, to add to the King's orders of the 6th instant the signatures of His Majesty's chief justice and of his ministers approving thereof.

Mr. Gregg, with reference to what he said in protocol No. 1, stated that in view of his declaration therein contained, and the matters contained in the preamble to the King's commands to Mr. Wyllie, bearing date on the 6th instant, he felt himself justified in declaring explicitly that if it was the wish of His Majesty's Government to negotiate *ad referendum* he was willing to enter upon such negotiation at any time that might be agreed on for that purpose.

He also said that although he had no formal powers to that effect, yet from his knowledge of the views and policy of his Government, derived from the highest sources, he considered himself warranted, under the state of facts expressed in said preamble and by the exigency of the case, to discuss for reference, the terms of an

arrangement between the two powers of the character indicated in such commands. Mr. Gregg further remarked to Mr. Wyllie that after careful consideration he had deemed it advisable to make this specific declaration in order that no wrong impression might exist as to the nature of the authority with which he regarded himself invested on the part of his Government, to act *ad referendum*, in regard to the exigencies contemplated in His Majesty's commands to Mr. Wyllie.

R. C. WYLLIE.
D. L. GREGG.

Additional instructions.

HONOLULU, February 21st, 1854.

SIR: We have examined the protocols, numbers 1 and 2, executed by our minister of foreign affairs and the Commissioner of the United States initiated by our minister, in pursuance of our commands of the 6th of February; and more fully to carry out the purposes and intentions thereof, we hereby give you the following instructions additional. You will immediately enter upon a negotiation with the Commissioner of the United States of a treaty *ad referendum*, the object of which is the annexation of our Kingdom to the United States of America, in case of necessity, and which fully secure our rights and the rights of our chiefs and people, being assured, by the protocol No. 2, submitted to us, of the willingness of the Commissioner of the United States to enter upon such negotiation.

The constitution of our Kingdom has made our ministers special advisers in the executive affairs of the Kingdom, and therefore you will submit to their consideration every proposal and every proposition which may be interchanged between you and the Commissioner of the United States, and your conduct will be governed by their decision.

Prince Liholiho will join in the deliberations of the cabinet council, vote therein, and make its views known to me.

When the treaty *ad referendum*, as aforesaid, is completed, you will submit the same to us, which will be subject to our approval, modification, or rejection, and in case we shall deem it wise and necessary to submit it to the representatives of our people, subject also to their approval.

(Signed)

KAMEHAMEHA.

Approved by Liholiho, W. L. Lee, and the cabinet.

Protocol No. 3.

THURSDAY, March 23rd, 1854—2 P. M.

The undersigned met at the house of the Commissioner of the United States, and after comparing the two originals of Protocol No. 2 of the date of February 11th, 1854, which since that time had been in the hands of His Majesty the King for consideration and approval, respectively, signed and exchanged the same.

Mr. Wyllie at the same time communicated to Mr. Gregg the further orders of the King to him (Mr. Wyllie), bearing date on the 21st day of February last, but signed by His Majesty yesterday, and countersigned by His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, His Highness the Kuhina Nui, the chief justice, and by His Majesty's minister of state.

Mr. Gregg having heard the same, expressed a wish to have a copy thereof for transmission to his Government on account of the close relation of such instructions to the royal commands of the 6th of February last, a copy of which he had already transmitted.

The undersigned then adjourned to meet again as occasion might require.

(Signed)

R. C. WYLLIE.
D. L. GREGG.

Protocol No. 4.

SATURDAY, March 25th, 1854—10 A. M.

The undersigned met at the house of the Commissioner of the United States, and after comparing the originals of protocol No. 3, respectively signed and exchanged the same.

Mr. Wyllie, in accordance with Mr. Gregg's request as expressed in protocol No. 3 produced the King's additional orders of the 22nd of February last, of which a copy was taken for Mr. Gregg's use, and duly verified by comparison with the original

Mr. Wyllie then read the following brief memorandum, submitted to him yesterday by Mr. Gregg, for consideration, viz:

"1. The cession of the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.
 "2. The most ample guarantee of all the personal and private rights of the King, the chiefs, and people, securing to them the footing of citizens of the United States, on terms of perfect equality with all other American citizens.

"3. As a consideration in part for such cession, a suitable provision for the King, the Queen, the Crown Prince, those declared next in succession, the chiefs, etc.

"4. A provision for the support of schools and education.

"5. A provision for the fulfilment of all engagements lawfully incumbent upon the King's Government to fulfil or discharge. Mr. Gregg said he had submitted the preceding brief memorandum for Mr. Wyllie's consideration in order to elicit his views on the subject and as a very general basis of the discussions between them, which must necessarily arise in providing for the objects expressed in the King's commands of the 6th and 21st of February last.

"Mr. Wyllie then presented and read a memorandum, which he proposed as a basis for negotiation in the following terms:

"1. The admission of the Hawaiian Islands as a sovereign State into the American Union, subject to the Federal Government, the same as the State of Massachusetts, and extending to the King and chiefs, and all his subjects, the same rights, civil, political, and religious, as are enjoyed by that State.

"2. The same provision to be made for the King, the Queen, the proclaimed heir to the throne, those declared next in succession by the King's will, the high chiefs enjoying salaries, all the salaried officers of the King, with some regard to the length of service, and for the exercise of the King's bounty in those cases where he may wish to exercise it.

"3. All rights of possession, inheritance, or expectancy to be respected and provided for.

"4. All engagements, of whatever kind, lawfully incumbent upon the King or the nation to discharge, to be religiously fulfilled.

"5. The existing constitution to be maintained, subject only to those alterations without which the islands could not be admitted as a sovereign State into the Union."

(Signed)

R. C. WYLLIE.

D. L. GREGG.

Protocol No. 5.

FRIDAY, April 21st, 1854—9 a. m.

The undersigned met in the house of the commissioner of the United States, and signed protocol No. 4.

Mr. Wyllie submitted the following bases of arrangement which had been framed by the King's chief justice and had been approved of by the Princes of the blood, the Kuhina Nui, and the members of the King's cabinet, viz:

"1. The admission of the Hawaiian Islands into the American Union as a sovereign State, subject to the Federal Government, the same as any other State of the Union.

"2. The most ample guarantee of all the rights of the King, the chiefs, and the people, whether civil, political, or religious, and securing to them all the privileges of citizens of the United States, on terms of perfect equality with other American citizens.

"3. A suitable provision to be made for the King, the Queen, the proclaimed heir to the throne, those declared next in succession by the King's will, the chiefs, and all other persons for whom provision should be made.

"4. A provision for the faithful fulfilment of all engagements of whatsoever kind lawfully incumbent upon the King's government or the Hawaiian nation to discharge.

"5. A provision for the support of schools and education."

Mr. Wyllie stated that the members of the King's cabinet on the 29th of March had agreed to refer the amount of compensation to be determined by a select committee composed of the two Princes of the blood, the Kuhina Nui, and the King's chancellor and chief justice, the Hon. W. L. Lee, who had reported yesterday as follows:

"The undersigned, a committee appointed to fix upon the amounts to be asked for compensation to the King and chiefs, under the new treaty contemplated with the United States, beg to report: That they have found great difficulty in every attempt they have made to fix a just compensation for the several chiefs, who, including the second class, number upwards of thirty persons; and therefore they would respectfully recommend that a gross sum, say three hundred thousand dollars, be asked for, to be distributed among the King and chiefs, in the form of annuities, as they may determine, it being expressly understood that from the above sum of three hundred

thousand dollars no deduction whatever shall be made on the plea of any claim or claims alleged against the Hawaiian Government or authorities by any American citizen, or on any other pretense whatever.

"Signed by Liholiho, Lot Kamehameha, Keoni Ana, and W. L. Lee."

Mr. Gregg remarked to Mr. Wyllie that, so far as the basis of arrangements just submitted was concerned, he had then no objection to interpose, unless it might be to the first clause, which he thought was capable of a construction inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States (act 4, section 3). But if, as he supposed probable, its intention was simply to provide for the admission of the Hawaiian Islands into the American Union as a State, as soon as might be consistent with the principles of the American Constitution, it was free from the difficulty suggested. For the purpose, however, of removing all cause of doubt, he would propose as a substitute for such clause the following:

"The incorporation of the Hawaiian Islands into the American Union, and their admission, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of a sovereign State, the same as any other State of the Union."

Mr. Gregg further remarked that, although the amount fixed by the committee as a compensation was considerably higher than he had anticipated, and more, he feared, than would be regarded reasonable by his Government, yet he would for the present assent to it as the basis for the formation of a treaty *ad referendum*, reserving to himself the right, however, of submitting a counter proposition, if he should deem it incumbent upon him so to do, at any time before the final arrangement of the terms of such treaty.

For the purpose of enabling him to form a satisfactory opinion on this subject of compensation, he begged Mr. Wyllie to cause him to be informed as to the names and ages of the parties to whom annuities were proposed to be paid, the quantity and character of the public land and other public property, the resources and capacities of the islands, &c., &c. The undersigned adjourned to meet as occasion might require.

(Signed)

R. C. WYLLIE.
D. L. GREGG.

Protocol No. 6.

The undersigned met at the house of the Commissioner of the United States at 2 p. m. on the 1st of June. The undersigned compared the two originals of Protocol No. 5, but agreed not to sign it till the King's pleasure thereon be made known to them. Mr. Gregg stated that since the date of Protocol No. 5 he had been advised of the views of his Government in regard to the King's orders of the 6th of February last, and had received full powers, which he now produced in exchange for those previously presented by Mr. Wyllie. The undersigned proceeded to verify and compare their respective powers and exchange the same. Mr. Gregg stated to Mr. Wyllie that, under the powers now conferred upon him, he was ready to proceed immediately to the discussion of the measure contemplated alike in the powers held by him and in the powers held by Mr. Wyllie, and to conclude the same in conformity with the wish of the two high contracting parties.

Mr. Wyllie replied that so soon as he could obtain the *data* requested by Mr. Gregg in protocol No. 5, he would be prepared to enter upon the negotiation, and with a view to save time suggested that Mr. Gregg should draft the outline of a treaty, leaving blanks for the details which were wanting, so as that Mr. Wyllie, knowing Mr. Gregg's views, might carefully consider them with the assistance of his colleagues, of the princes of the blood, and of the King's chief justice, for submission to His Majesty the King, along with protocol No. 5, to which his sanction was still to be obtained.

(Signed)

R. C. WYLLIE.
DAVID L. GREGG.

Protocol No. 7.

The undersigned met in the house of the Commissioner of the United States on Wednesday, the 7th of June, at 1 p. m.

The undersigned compared and executed protocol No. 6, leaving it and protocol No. 5 still unsigned, until after the approval of the King shall have been obtained.

Mr. Wyllie stated that the King's chief justice and the other ministers of the King, on the 2nd of June, had concurred in the view that the powers of Mr. Gregg and Mr. Wyllie, which they had exchanged on the 1st of June, were equal and sufficient

for the formation of a treaty *ad referendum* for the annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the United States of America, agreeable to the King's instructions to Mr. Wyllie of the 21st of February, 1854, approved by the Crown Prince, by the Kuhina Nui, by the King's chancellor and chief justice, and by all of His Majesty's ministers on the 22nd of March, 1854.

With a view to enable Mr. Gregg to proceed in the preparation of the draft of such a treaty, so as that the transfer of sovereignty may be beneficial to the King and all his subjects, and if possible, not prejudice the interests of any of such subjects, Mr. Wyllie with the full approval of the Kuhina Nui and of his colleagues, delivered to Mr. Gregg the following, viz:

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| No. 1. Civil list..... | \$32,900.00 |
| 2. List district justices..... | 9,550.00 |
| 3. List circuit judges..... | 4,800.00 |
| 4. List clerks of governors..... | 1,200.00 |
| 5. List tax collectors..... | 7,000.00 |
| Total..... | 55,450.00 |

Also No. 6, a statement of Government houses, forts, lands, bonds, &c., transferable to the sovereignty of the islands, amounting to \$1,522,379.

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| No. 7. Claims on France..... | \$462,372.73 |
| 8. Claims on Great Britain..... | 32,101.61 |
| Total of Nos. 6, 7, and 8..... | 2,016,853.34 |

Mr. Wyllie begged Mr. Gregg to understand distinctly that he could neither make himself nor the Hawaiian Government responsible for the *correctness* of the items forming the above sum of \$2,016,853.34.

Mr. Wyllie further delivered to Mr. Gregg No. 9, being a list of annuities payable by this Government, amounting to \$2,040.00 per annum; and stated that he had still to receive and deliver to Mr. Gregg a list of natives employed in the department of public instruction, who would lose the amounts of their respective salaries under a surrender of the native sovereignty. To save time Mr. Wyllie delivered all these documents in the original requesting Mr. Gregg to return them after making the use of them intended in protocol No. 6.

(Signed)

R. C. WYLLIE.
DAVID L. GREGG.

Protocol No. 8.

The undersigned met at the house of the Commissioner of the United States on Thursday, the 17th day of August, 1854.

Mr. Wyllie begged to make known to Mr. Gregg the following *agenda* founded on instructions from his colleagues and the Crown Prince, viz:

1st. That a treaty should be forthwith concluded according to diplomatic usage, and submitted to the King.

2. That the second article of Mr. Wyllie's draft of a treaty should be adopted with the addition of the following words, viz: "But the King of the Hawaiian Islands reserves to himself the power to ratify it, in any moment of danger." Such article also to express in clear and specific terms, the admission of said islands, as a sovereign State in the usual sense of State sovereignty.

3. The payment of seventy-five thousand dollars per annum, for a period of *ten years*, for the benefit of schools, one-third of which to be capitalized, and the interest annually applied to the support of a college or university, and fifty thousand dollars appropriated to the use of common schools, in the discretion of the legislative authority of the Hawaiian Islands, when admitted into the Union as a State.

The substitution in Article VIII of the words "and all others whom the King may wish to compensate or reward," in place of the words "and other persons now in the service of the Hawaiian Government or formerly in such service."

Mr. Gregg thereupon stated that he would take into consideration the different points contained in such *agenda*, and submit his remarks and conclusions thereon with the least possible delay. The undersigned then adjourned, to meet as occasion might require.

(Signed)

R. C. WYLLIE,
D. L. GREGG.

Protocol No. 9.

The undersigned met at the house of the Commissioner of the United States on the 18th of August, 1854, at 9 a. m. Mr. Gregg read a memorandum on Mr. Wyllie's agenda, which he had submitted to Mr. Wyllie yesterday afternoon, as follows viz:

"Mr. Gregg has carefully considered the agenda submitted to him by Mr. Wyllie this day as expressing the views of the Hawaiian cabinet and of the Crown Prince upon the drafts of a treaty of annexation under consideration. From conversations with Mr. Wyllie and other members of the cabinet he fully understands and appreciates the object proposed to be accomplished by the addition of the following words, viz: "But the King of the Hawaiian Islands reserves to himself the power to ratify it in any moment of danger." There are grave and serious objections, as he believes, not only to the article as originally drawn up, but to the vagueness and indefiniteness of the additional clause. In regard to the former he has already taken occasion to indicate to Mr. Wyllie his views.

He is convinced that the President and Senate of the United States would regard it as so objectionable that any treaty containing it would be rejected on that account, and he can not, therefore, assent to it. He suggests that the object pointed at in the clause proposed to be added could be better reached by the protocols of the negotiation, or by a separate and perhaps secret article, and he submits to Mr. Wyllie a proposition to that effect, and also a modification of said article No. II, as follows, viz:

"The Kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands shall be incorporated into the American Union as soon as, in the judgment of Congress, it can be done in consistency with the principles and requirements of the Federal Constitution, with all the rights, privileges, and sovereignty of a State, the same as, and on terms of perfect equality with, the other States of the United States." To this part of Mr. Gregg's memorandum Mr. Wyllie replied that no disrespect or distrust whatever was intended to apply to the United States in the words which the colleagues and the Crown Prince had agreed should be added to the second article of his draft of the treaty. The intention was to provide instantly and effectually for the sudden danger contemplated in the preamble. He admitted that that great object could be as well or better effected by a separate and secret article; but he added that his instructions having been precise as to the addition of these *ipsissims verba*, he could not take upon himself to make any change without a further reference to his colleagues and to the Crown Prince. Mr. Gregg then continued his memorandum as follows, viz:

Mr. Gregg has no hesitation in assenting to the substitution in Article VIII of the words "and all others whom the King may wish to compensate or reward," in place of the words "and other persons now in the service of the Hawaiian Government, or formerly in such service." In order to approach more nearly to the views of Mr. Wyllie, the cabinet, and the Crown Prince he (Mr. Gregg) is willing to modify the latter part of said article so as to make it read as follows:

As a further consideration for the session herein made, and in order to place within the reach of the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands the means of education, present and future, so as to enable them the more perfectly to enjoy and discharge the rights and duties consequent upon a change from monarchical to republican institutions, the United States agree to set apart and pay over the sum of \$75,000 *per annum*, one-third of which shall be applied to constitute the principal of a fund for the benefit of a college or university, or colleges and universities, as the case may be, and the balance for the support of common schools to be invested, secured, or applied as may be determined by the legislative authority of the Hawaiian Islands, when admitted into the Union as aforesaid."

Mr. Gregg thinks the term of *five years* ample to secure an adequate provision for schools, especially in connection with the appropriation of lands to a similar object. But few states are as well provided for in this respect. He can not recognize the propriety of limiting the proceeds of this college or university fund to a single institution, but he is willing to leave their appropriation open to legislative discretion. So far as other questions were concerned, Mr. Wyllie was in possession of his views already, and he did not deem it necessary to enter upon their discussion at present. Aug. 17, 1854.

The undersigned then adjourned to meet again when Mr. Wyllie had consulted his colleagues and the Crown Prince in regard to the foregoing views of Mr. Gregg.

Protocol No. 10.

The undersigned resumed their meeting at the house of the commissioner of the United States on the 18th of August 1854, at 4 p. m. Mr. Wyllie stated that, having conferred with his colleagues on the subject of Mr. Gregg's observations in Protocol No. 9, he had to make known their views as follows, viz:

1. That the amount of seventy-five thousand dollars (\$75,000) for schools must be for ten instead of five years.

2. That his colleagues and the Crown Prince decline to admit Mr. Gregg's proposed substitute for Mr. Wyllie's recent article, and propose the following amendment to stand in its place, viz:

"The Kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands shall be incorporated into the American Union as a sovereign State and admitted as such as soon as it can be done in consistency with the principles and requirements of the Federal Constitution to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of a State, as aforesaid, and perfect equality with the other States of the Confederation."

Mr. Gregg expressed dissatisfaction with the phraseology of the proposed amendment, but promised to take the subject into early consideration and to advise Mr. Wyllie fully of his views thereon. Mr. Wyllie then stated that Protocols 5, 6, and 7 had been submitted to the King, and they were therefore signed in accordance with Protocol No. 6. The undersigned thereafter adjourned to meet again as soon as Mr. Gregg has maturely considered the amendment proposed to the second article.

Honolulu, 27th September, 1854.

(Signed)

R. C. WYLLIE.

D. L. GREGG.

Protocol No. 11.

The undersigned met at the office of the minister of foreign affairs at 10 a. m., on August 19th, 1854, and proceeded to settle the terms of the treaty of annexation referred to and discussed at the preceding conferences.

Mr. Gregg expressed himself still dissatisfied with the terms of the amendment submitted to him yesterday as the agreement of the cabinet and Crown Prince for the second article of the treaty. He did not object to the omission of the words "*in the judgment of Congress*," as contained in his original draft and the one Mr. Wyllie had proposed, as it was well understood and agreed by all the parties to the negotiation that the power of admitting new States into the Union is vested by the Constitution solely in the Congress, and it was not intended to attach to the article any other sense.

He thought the expression "sovereign State" inaccurate and exceptional. The states were, it is true, sovereign in a limited sense; they had full jurisdiction and control over their own local and domestic affairs. But the *national sovereignty* was vested in the General Government alone, and he thought it improper to designate a State, in a public treaty, by terms not strictly applicable in the sense of the Federal Constitution. He also objected to the word "confederation," as being at least of doubtful propriety, and proposed "union" as a substitute. The following was finally agreed upon and adopted, as being within the meaning of and subordinate to section III of Article IV of the Constitution of the United States, viz:

"The kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands shall be incorporated into the American Union as a State, enjoying the same degree of sovereignty as other States; and admitted as such, as soon as it can be done, in consistency with the principles and requirements of the Federal Constitution, to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of a State, as aforesaid, with the other States of the Union."

When Article VIII came up for consideration, Mr. Gregg renewed the proposal heretofore made by him to insert \$100,000 instead of \$300,000 as a suitable amount to be paid in annuities. Mr. Wyllie stated in reply that the revenue of the Kingdom was in rapid augmentation; from \$48,842 in 1843, it had increased in only 8 years to \$315,735 in 1851; that in 1853, notwithstanding the fearful ravages of the smallpox, it was \$326,620; that this increase had taken place without any development of the agricultural resources of the country worthy of the name; that only capital and labor were wanted to develop them to a great extent whereby the revenue would be proportionately increased, and that he (Mr. Wyllie) saw no reason to doubt that in ten years from this date the revenue of the islands would exceed \$1,000,000 annually.

Mr. Wyllie added that for this reason he did not consider \$300,000 an extravagant demand for compensation, considering the present and prospective value of the islands *intrinsically*, and much less in view of their political value to any great naval and commercial power, since the treaty effected with Japan. Mr. Wyllie added his belief that this value was fully understood, and that a higher compensation for thirty years might be procured by a surrender of the sovereignty to another great nation. Besides the \$300,000 had been fully agreed upon by the King's cabinet and the crown prince, and further \$75,000 for the purpose of education, to be continued for 10 years, and he (Mr. Wyllie) did not think they would recede from these terms.

Mr. Gregg said that, as the negotiation was *ad referendum*, he felt himself, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, authorized to assent, although he did

it with reluctance, to the insertion of the sums proposed by Mr. Wyllie, leaving his Government to consider and determine whether they were responsible and proper or not. The same consideration would lead him to agree to the time fixed by the cabinet and Crown Prince for the continuance of the payment for the benefit of schools, etc.

But he objected to the phraseology of the the first paragraph of this Article VIII, which he thought did not express clearly and definitely enough the idea which was in the mind of all parties, viz, that the aggregate amount of annuities should be apportioned once for all by the King and privy council and to remain apportioned forever—each annuity falling off on the death of the party entitled to it and the aggregate sum being diminished to the extent of such annuity or as each life falls in. Any other construction would be different from that intended and lead to misunderstanding and difficulties, which should be clearly provided against.

Mr. Wyllie stated that it undoubtedly was the understanding that the annuities were to be strictly life annuities, terminable with the life of each annuitant, although he himself would have preferred that the annuities should have been for a given period of time, so as that in the probable case of the early death of any annuitant, the benefit of his or her annuity might go to his or her children or other heirs for the years or period of time that the annuity might still have to run. But as his colleagues and the Crown Prince had waived the point, Mr. Wyllie had yielded to the general sense that the annuities were to be life annuities only, with the sole exception of that of the immediate heir to the throne which is specially provided for.

The article was finally, after some amendments, assented to by Mr. Gregg. The draft of a treaty having been completed to the mutual satisfaction of the undersigned, it was agreed that three copies should be made in English and three in Hawaiian, and that the same should be signed and sealed as soon as convenient in the presence of the Crown Prince and members of the cabinet, and if possible, with the approval of the chief justice. The said treaty having been negotiated and drawn up in the English language, it was understood and agreed that all disputes arising under it, should be decided by the English text.

The undersigned further agreed that a separate and secret article should be framed and added to the treaty, providing effectually for the prevention of anarchy and the preservation of peace and order, in case the emergency contemplated in the preamble should suddenly occur, without which the treaty itself would fail in one of its main objects.

Honolulu, 27th of September, 1854.

(Signed) R. C. WYLLIE,
D. L. GREGG.

Protocol No. 12.

The undersigned met in the office of the minister of foreign affairs at 2 p. m. on Monday, September 4th. The undersigned compared their respective copies of the treaty, which they had agreed to, subject to the King's approval on the 19th of August.

Immediately afterwards they discussed and agreed to the *separate and secret article* provided for in Protocol No. 11, and added the same to the said copies of the treaty.

Whereupon the undersigned agreed that the treaty was completed for submission to the King, in conformity with His Majesty's instructions to Mr. Wyllie of the 21st of February, 1854, and they adjourned to meet again as occasion may require.

(Signed)

HONOLULU, September 27, 1854.

From appendix to Protocol 7, containing civil list, as follows:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| The King..... | \$10, 000 |
| The Queen..... | 1, 000 |
| H. R. H. Liholiho..... | 2, 000 |
| Prince Lot Kamehameha..... | 800 |
| C. Kanaina..... | 800 |
| K. Kopaakea..... | 800 |
| B. Namakeha..... | 800 |
| I. Kaeo..... | 800 |
| A. Paki (chamberlain)..... | 1, 000 |
| John Young (minister of interior)..... | 4, 000 |
| M. Kekuanaoa (governor of Oahu)..... | 2, 500 |
| P. Nahaolelua (governor of Maui)..... | 1, 500 |

| | |
|---|----------|
| G. L. Kapeau (governor of Hawaii)..... | \$1, 200 |
| P. Kanoa (governor of Kauai)..... | 1, 200 |
| John Li (second associate justice supreme court)..... | 2, 000 |
| J. Kekaulahao (second associate justice supreme court)..... | 1, 500 |
| J. Piikoi (clerk Honolulu Market)..... | 1, 000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 32, 900 |

CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter from Wyllie to Lee of March 8, 1854.

[Extract.]

At the last privy council on the 6th I announced the fact that the consul-general Miller and Mr. Perrin had received by last mail dispatches from their respective Governments fully approving of their joint address of the 1st of September, stating that each Government had written to the United States Government on the subject, inviting the latter to join Great Britain and France in a tripartite treaty to support the independence and neutrality of this Kingdom, and ordering the consul-general and Mr. Perrin to act in concert.

Mr. Wyllie then speaks of an alleged conspiracy of Government clerks in the legislature to oust him from office, of which C. C. Harris was said to be the leader. He adds: "I think a feeling is being industriously propagated that I am the only bar to annexation. Upon that point, I believe, my opinion and sense of duty agree fully with your own, and, as far as I can judge, Prince Liholiho and all my colleagues agree with us."

Wyllie to Lee, June 23, 1854.

The treaty is now before Liholiho, with all the amendments suggested by you. To be able to save the King and chiefs and people at a moment's warning, it is desirable that the treaty should be concluded diplomatically, I mean signed by the plenipotentiaries, but subject to future ratification. Armstrong's zeal presses the letter with indiscreet haste, and I fear makes everything known to J. and B. Armstrong's grand idea is that you and I should go to Washington with the treaty ratified here, to have it ratified there.

It would, no doubt, be very convenient to some people to get rid both of you, me, and of Allen, too; but the question is, would the King's honor and the rights of the natives be as safe in other hands, or when a treaty is made as a safeguard against sudden treason or rebellion, is there any place so proper for the King's ratification as his own court, where the danger would first be felt, or any form more proper or decorous than that the act of ratification should be witnessed and signed by all who have signed the powers and protocols from the first by the King's own desire. To my mind the treaty admits of no dispute whatever, but I should like to know yours.

Lee to Wyllie, July 5, 1854.

[Private.]

The treaty should be concluded at once, so that we may be prepared for emergencies, but I agree with you about the final ratification.

Wyllie to Lee, July 11, 1854.

[Extract.]

Liholiho keeps out of the way and has not returned the treaties, though I have often asked for them. Of my draft I have no copy. Unless I perform the duty which on the 6th of February was imposed on me imperatively, if any sudden emergency were to occur, I would be subject to blame. Therefore one of two things;

either I must perform that duty or the royal order must be withdrawn. The final ratification is quite another matter. That I would be as unwilling to press on the King, except in the presence of an immediate emergency, as you would be.

Under such a *clear necessity* colonial subjection to any European power would not be so favorable to the interests of the islands as their admission as a sovereign State of the United States. There are no markets in Europe likely to afford such a consumption of island produce at high prices as those of California and Oregon.

Besides, *contiguity* and the superior magnitude of present interests in the islands are considerations not to be overlooked. This view of mine I made known to the consul-general fully and frankly in 1851 or 1852. In judging of such abstract questions I know of no nationality whatever. Under a *pressing necessity* I would advise the King to annex himself and his Kingdom to *Japan* if I thought that it would be best for him, the prince, the chiefs, the Hawaiians generally, and the future interests of the islands as an agricultural and mercantile state.

But to the *treasonable creation* of a necessity for the extinction of the native sovereignty I never will be a party. As the house of representatives is going on it appears to me that they will bring on the *necessity* soon enough, although all we ministers remain faithful to our oaths up to the very moment of its supervention.

Such are my views, and from what I can recollect of our confidential conference at Rosebank, in January last, I think you will not be far different. Hoping soon to hear that you are better or to see you here, I remain, my dear Lee,

Yours, truly,

R. C. WYLLIE.

P. S.—Before the 6th of February last my idea of saving the King from sudden treason and rebellion was always to hoist the united flags of the United States, Great Britain, and France. But our dangers are internal, and a tripartite treaty would fail to keep the King permanently on his throne unless each of the powers were to consent to keep up a permanent garrison of, say, 100 men, in all 300.

Wyllie to Lee, August 23, 1854.

MY DEAR LEE: * * * I am anxious to have your approval before I sign. Reflecting upon the matter, it is a most deplorable thing that we should be driven to *give up* at the time when our means of governing independently, and that well, too, are so much greater than they were in 1843, our revenue being increased from \$18,842 yearly to \$326,620.

Our constitution, our laws, and our land tenure are vastly improved since you have been the King's chief justice. The administration of justice compares favorably with that of California or any of the Southwestern States. Education is more generally diffused than it is in many old nations of great civilization, and the King's rights of sovereignty and neutrality are fully acknowledged by the great powers of the earth.

Yet all these advantages and ameliorations go for nothing against the secret machinations and agitation of wretches whose loyalty, whose conscience, and whose religion are at the bottom of their pockets, instigated by some half dozen traitors that one month of a strong, energetic government would clear the country of forever. Yet, looking to the King's safety, and the absence of all physical force to insure it, we have yet to take things *as they are*, not as they *ought to be*.

Mem.—Letter about annexation in the New York Tribune July 20, 1854. Gen. Miller and Mr. Perrin much excited by it.

From the King to Wyllie, August 29, 1854.

SIR: Referring you to my orders and instructions relating to the treaty with Mr. Gregg, hearing that it is nearly completed, I order you to send me a copy in native, and a copy of all the protocols in native, that I may consider what amendments and suggestions I may have to make before you sign the treaty.

(Signed)

KAMEHAMEHA III.

Lee to Wyllie, August 29, 1854. Torbertrille. (Ulupalakua, Mani.)

MY DEAR WYLLIE: Mr. Ii has just touched here on his way to Hilo, leaving me your notes of August 20 and 23, with a copy of the treaty. You wish, before signing, to have my views of the treaty, and I will give them to you, though I have very little time for reflection. They are briefly as follows: I see no objection to the treaty, except the second article, which strikes me as being indefinite, ambiguous, and, to a certain extent, contradictory. This article is intended to secure a very important point, the most important, in my opinion, involved in the whole treaty, and, as it is now framed, it seems to me to dodge the question, or at least to leave room for future controversy.

It is the wish of the King and chiefs, so far as they have spoken on the subject, to be admitted as a *State* and not as a *Territory*, and they must not be deceived by any uncertainty of expression in the treaty. They wish by this article to shield the nation from slavery, and it would be as dishonorable to us as unjust to them to leave so vital a question involved in doubt.

I may not rightly understand this article, but, as I read it, it is left to the American Congress to say when we may be admitted as a State, and that may be one, ten, or twenty years hence. Much as I am in favor of a treaty of this kind, yet knowing as I do the views of the King, chiefs, and people on this subject, it would be treacherous and criminal in me to let this point pass unnoticed. In my opinion the article should read that the Hawaiian Islands shall be incorporated into the American Union, not as a *Territory*, but as a *State*, etc., and omitting the clause "and admitted as such as soon," etc.

The conditions and requirements precedent to our admission as a State, if any, should be *distinctly specified*. In my opinion, as the article now stands, it leaves room for any amount of delay and double dealing, and does not meet the wishes of the King and chiefs.

In what I have said I mean no reflection whatever on Mr. Gregg, who doubtless intended and understands this article in a sense fair and just to the Hawaiian nation, but it may be left to others, perhaps less honorable than himself, to give it a construction. I can not tell you how much I should regret throwing the slightest obstacle in the way of the conclusion of this treaty, but I should be false to my own conscience and to the nation I serve, to keep silence.

The treaty has been greatly modified since I saw it, and perhaps for the better in all respects, except the article above mentioned. I am sorry you did not send me a copy of it at an earlier date. I shall write to Liholiho, giving him authority to act as my proxy, and referring him to this letter for my views. I shall return to Honolulu in two or three weeks, and if there is no pressing emergency, why not postpone the matter until I can make my views more fully known? Of course I write you this in confidence, but I wish you to show it to Mr. Allen, Mr. Armstrong, Liholiho, and Mr. Young. I should not say "in confidence," if I had not heard from several sources that the doings of the cabinet and Mr. Gregg in this matter were town talk.

Wyllie to Lee, November 14, 1854.

[Extract.]

We seek from the United States some other remedy than revolvers at our ears and bowie knives at our breasts. If the United States authorities can not protect us from such comforters *before annexation*, what hope we reasonably *after annexation*? This is the common-sense view of the case, and I wonder that Gregg and Dornin don't see it.

Wyllie to Lee, November 15, 1854.

MY DEAR LEE: While in the middle of my preceding note of this same date Mr. Young brought down a fresh order from the King dated yesterday, suggesting certain amendments in the treaty. We had a meeting of the cabinet upon the order, and have requested Armstrong to prepare a careful translation of it, to be considered to-morrow at 10 a. m.

The effect will be to justify Mr. Gregg in assuming that if the amendments suggested by the King be adopted he virtually pledges himself to ratify the treaty.

Now, are we prepared for this, after the new phase given to things by Mr. Gregg and Capt. Dornin themselves, well known to you—commented on in my accompanying note, especially after the alternative, put to us by Mr. Gregg himself in the

separate dispatch of the 22d September (which you saw), to be either *off* or *on* with the treaty?

How otherwise can we understand the following:

"I am authorized to insist upon the conclusion of such negotiations according to diplomatic usage. The alternative seems to me plain and imperative. This result must be consummated or I shall feel myself obliged to withdraw from any further negotiations, and to declare those which have already taken place at an end."

And still more objectionable is the following, *because* it seems to imply a threat and license for the fillibusters to overthrow us: "The strong arm of the United States has been solicited for your protection. It has been kindly extended and held out, until at length self-respect must soon dictate its withdrawal." What think you of that? I must confess that I regret that the King has sent me the order (which, however, with the consent of my colleagues, I will respectfully obey) before we had all in presence of the King, Liholiho, and yourself, considered whether "self-respect" after undisguised intimidation attempted, does not require us to do something very different to what they would drive us to by intimidation.

We never in this world will have such an opportunity to take dignified ground. We can take it *now* with absolute safety to the King and national sovereignty. But good has arisen out of intended evil. Are we to miss the opportunity or turn it to the King's advantage? I have no time to write to Liholiho, but you will inform him of everything. Let me know as soon as possible what you think. Mr. Young and I unite in begging you not to attempt so much labor in one day. Calculate carefully your strength, and measure your work accordingly.

Yours, truly,

R. C. WYLLIE.

P. S.—Yesterday Consul-General Miller and Perrin promised to send instantly, when required, all the disposable force of the *Trincomalee* and *Artemise*, and to-day Mr. Gregg handed to me a note from Capt. Dornin, promising to land 200 men, fully armed.

Wyllie to Lee, November 26, 1854.

The effect of the application authorized by the cabinet and by the King for assistance, when the danger threatened, has been to elicit from the commissioners of France and the United States and the consul-general of Great Britain such assurances as to amount *virtually* to a tripartite military protectorate of the King, if His Majesty should be pleased so to understand the official offers severally made.

Would it not be well for the King to take that ground, to proclaim the fact, to make the treaty public (which Mr. Gregg, it appears, has already submitted, to the cognizance of the United States officers here, of American residents here, and even of fillibusters from California), and to advise as to his present and future policy with the Governments of the three great naval powers of the world? If we take this ground we sacrifice no right of the King, we do not necessarily lose the treaty, we free ourselves effectually from all violence and threatenings of violence, and we obtain another and, I think, a very good chance of preserving the King and the native dynasty in the enjoyment of their natural rights as the sovereign rulers of this land.

After the *threats* made and the *ridicule* thrown upon our means of resistance, we have agreed to make something of a military demonstration on the anniversary of the 28th.

There is not one of us who doubts our present perfect safety, and the promises officially made to us. We now stand on strong ground; we can breathe freely; we can efficiently put down all fillibusters, rebels, and traitors. Are we to show ourselves equal to the emergency or not? This is for you and the privy council to consider, and for us all to consider. * * *

If the negotiation is to go on with Mr. Gregg one thing I must insist upon, which is, that *pending the negotiation* he, as Commissioner of the United States, must bind himself to keep American citizens quiet. No treaty can be made under *duress*. If made so it is not valid.

R. C. WYLLIE.

Letter from Mr. Gregg of September 12.

[Memoranda.]

Complaining of procrastination in regard to the treaty which he said was completed August 19 satisfactorily.

Remonstrates again November 1 as above.

Wyllie to Capt. Dornin, November 27, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR: It was only this day that I heard that you were to leave us so soon. I am sorry that your departure has become necessary, and having the utmost regard for you personally I am anxious that you should not retire under a wrong impression of my feeling in consequence of the communications made to me on the 11th and 12th instant.

The one hundred and fifty-seventh section of Vattel, chapter 12, book 2, is as follows:

"A treaty is valid if there be no defect in the manner in which it has been concluded; and for this purpose nothing more can be required than a sufficient power in the contracting parties, and their mutual consent sufficiently declared."

Therefore, by international law the highly confidential and delicate negotiation between Mr. Gregg and me, in progress since the 6th of February, became suspended under the coercion made known on the 11th and 12th instant.

Who is it who has seen the proclamation of the President against filibustering to Cuba, his proclamation of the 18th of January, 1854, against unlawful expeditions in the Pacific, his inaugural message, and the official declarations of preceding administrations relating to these islands in particular, that could doubt for one moment that if the President, had he heard what I heard on the 11th and 12th, he would not instantly have ordered that all negotiations should be suspended until they could be honorably resumed after every trace of coercion had been removed and the King's liberty to consent or not to consent fully and unquestionably re-established.

The only course that I could pursue under circumstances, the parallel of which, as far as I know, is not to be found in the history of any other nation, and certainly never in the past experience of this humble Kingdom, is unmistakably designated in the above quotation of Vattel, and in Chapter XVIII, sections 200, 201, 202.

Respect to the United States Government, duty to the King and to my colleagues, and, I may add, to myself, all alike required, in the most imperative manner, that the unlawful threats of foreign intruders should be instantly met by the most determined resistance.

In less than forty-eight hours we were prepared *effectually and certainly* to put down the insurrectionary attempt that was threatened, even had it come upon us in the formidable shape in which it was represented. With the assistance kindly promised by yourself, through the Hon. David Gregg, and that which was promptly promised by others, the result of a struggle could not have been doubtful, the rights of the King would have been vindicated, and from all I have seen of the generous and merciful character of His Majesty I would venture to say that the prisoners would have experienced at his hands a clemency so much beyond what the law and usage of nations allow in such cases as would have filled them with remorse for having ever attempted and conspired to overturn his throne.

I speak in the supposition that such men can be susceptible of generous and ennobling sentiments, which, considering the designs imputed to them *where they neither had suffered nor could have suffered any wrong whatever*, may be very doubtful. Ever since I have been on these islands I have welcomed the ingress of American citizens; I have made it a rule, even in political debate, never to be wanting in personal respect to those who held diplomatic or consular commissions from the President; but I have no such feeling of respect or consideration for filibusters; and if for that I am to be blamed, then let the censure commence with the President himself, for my sentiments correspond with *his* proclamations, and so, I hope, *will* ever my acts.

In a private note like this I am forced to speak of myself only; I have no right to put words in the mouths of my colleagues, but I know them to be *at heart gentlemen and men of honor*, and if you believed them to be such in every point of their official duty to the King, you can foretell precisely what course they will pursue. I am quite sure that you, whose prompt and energetic conduct in the Peninsula of "Bassa California" will be recorded in history as one of the brightest pages, in a moral sense, of the annals of the brave American navy, can never blame those gentlemen born in your own country, who act with me as the joint depositaries of the confidence of King Kamehameha III, for uniting their efforts with mine, with the protection of God and of all the friends whom the Almighty had given to us to repel with *loathing, disgust, and indignation* all filibusters who may come among us with the insolent pretension of throwing the weight of their revolvers into the balance of our honorable deliberations.

Since the 12th you have several times remarked that I was too much excited. I beg to assure you that neither then nor since have I known any excitement whatever, beyond that of a strong indignation. As for fear, I never had one particle of it; but I can assure you that, had I yielded to such an unworthy impulse and debased myself to the degree of surrendering the King's rights under the threats of filibusters, and in accordance with the advice of those residents, seemingly act-

ing in connivance with them, my own dearest relations in Scotland would have shunned me as a *filthy thing*, and if my American-born colleagues had permitted me to make that ignominious surrender, more plainly to perpetrate the treason, the stigma of Arnold would have clung to them and to me in every part of the United States during life.

I hope negotiations will soon be resumed on the honorable basis on which they were commenced, and free from the influence or control of parties who never ought to have known anything about them. It was to you only that I approved of cognizance being given.

I remain, my dear sir, yours ever truly,

R. C. WYLLIE.

Gregg to Wyllie, January 26, 1856.

SIR: It is my duty to inclose to you a copy of a letter addressed to me yesterday by Commander Bailey, of U. S. S. *St. Mary's*, relative to the proclamation of the late King, issued on the 8th of December last. I can not suppose that there is any misunderstanding on the part of the Hawaiian Government as to the precise extent and meaning of Capt. Dornin's offer of aid. It had reference to the special emergency apprehended about the middle of November, and, of course, fell to the ground with the dangers which it was designed to ward off. Neither he nor I had any authority to enter into an arrangement looking beyond the crisis then supposed to be immediately impending.

Our action was strictly *pro hac vice* and to that extent alone. Popular construction gives to the proclamation a sense which could never have been officially intended. It bears date long after the apprehensions of violence had ceased to exist, and when the independence of the Islands was supposed to be "more firmly established than ever before." The formal acceptance of offers of assistance made three weeks previously could only have been designed as an act of courtesy and acknowledgment to the powers whose friendly intentions had been manifested on an occasion when they were peculiarly acceptable.

Such was my view of it, founded, as I supposed, upon a just appreciation of facts. Had I thought that the existence of a permanent tripartite protection was designed to be intimated, my protest against such an inference would have been prompt, imperative, and unqualified. Such a thing was never thought of on my part, and could not have been understood from any circumstance which transpired, officially or otherwise. As the proclamation is still kept standing in the columns of the "Polynesian" newspaper, I must beg to inquire how far it is to be understood as assuming an existing guaranty of protection by the United States of America. I am anxious to remove all occasion of misapprehension and to preserve unimpaired not only the substance but the semblance of entire good faith and perfect concord, etc.

(Signed.)

DAVID L. GREGG.

Capt. Bailey wrote as follows:

"It would appear from the proclamation that England, France, and the United States had agreed to a joint protectorate of the late King. Such an agreement would have been directly opposed to the policy that has ever been maintained by the United States, and would be in direct violation of the course adopted in refusing to unite with England and France in securing the possession of Cuba to Spain.

* * *"

Proclamation.

Whereas it has come to my knowledge from the highest official sources that my Government has been recently threatened with overthrow by lawless violence, and whereas the representatives at my court of the United States, Great Britain, and France, being cognizant of these threats, have offered me the prompt assistance of the naval forces of their respective countries, I hereby proclaim my acceptance of the aid thus proffered in support of my sovereignty. My independence is more firmly established than ever before.

KEONI ANA.

PALACE, December 8, 1854.

KAMEHAMEHA III.

R. C. WYLLIE.

Extract from an address delivered by Judge Lee before the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society in August, 1850.

Until within the last year the Hawaiian held his land as a mere tenant at sufferance subject to be dispossessed at any time it might suit the will or caprice of his chief or that of his oppressive *luna*. Of what avail was it to the common people to raise more than enough to supply the immediate wants of their subsistence? Would the surplus belong to them, or furnish the means of future independence? Far from it.

It would go to add to the stores of their despotic lords, who claimed an absolute right in all their property, and who periodically sent forth their hordes of *lunas* to scour the country and plunder the people, without the shadow of right or mercy. Often did these ravagers, these *land-pirates*, leave the poor *makaainana* (peasant) with little else than his *maro* (breechcloth), his digger, and his calabash. I thank God that these things are now at an end, and that the poor Kanaka may now stand on the border of his little taro patch, and, holding his fee-simple title in his hand, bid defiance to the world. Yes, I thank God that He has moved the hearts of the King and chiefs of these islands to let the oppressed go free.

[Personal.]

Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *July 31, 1893.*

DEAR SIR: The condition of parties in the islands is one of quiescence. The action of the United States is awaited by all as a matter of necessity. This condition, it can be assumed, will remain until the proposition to annex is accepted or rejected. In the latter contingency no sudden movement is likely to occur. The present Government can only rest on the use of military force, possessed of most of the arms in the islands, with a small white population to draw from to strengthen it. Ultimately it will fall without fail. It may preserve its existence for a year or two, but not longer.

My own private affairs make it necessary for me to return home. The distance between us, and consequent difficulty of communication, is too great for me to wait for any further correspondence. It is not pleasant to reveal one's private affairs, nor do I intend to do so now. I assume that neither you nor the President under existing circumstances could urge my further continuance here.

I have discharged my duty the best I could considering I was surrounded by persons interested in misleading me, and in my inability to compel answers from witnesses.

I am, etc.,

JAMES H. BLOUNT.

LIST OF AFFIDAVITS.

1. John F. Colburn and A. P. Peterson.
 2. John F. Calburn and A. P. Peterson, May 3, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893.
 3. William H. Cornwell.
 4. John A. Cummins and W. T. Seward.
 5. Charles L. Hopkins.
 6. Charles L. Hopkins, May 3, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893.
 7. John Lota Kaulukou.
 8. E. C. Macfarlane.
 9. Paul Neumann.
 10. Samuel Nowlien.
 11. P. M. Rooney.
 12. John Ross.
 13. Charles B. Wilson, May 4, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893.
 14. C. B. Wilson, 6th May, 1893, 6th May, 1893.
 15. C. B. Wilson, 6th May, 1893, May 9, 1893.
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PART II—AFFIDAVITS.

No. 1.

Affidavits of J. F. Colburn and A. P. Peterson.

HONOLULU, OAHU, *Hawaiian Islands*, ss:

J. F. Colburn and A. P. Peterson, being duly sworn, on oath depose and say, that on Sunday, January 15, 1893, they were members of Her Majesty's cabinet, and that on that Sunday morning at 6:30 o'clock Mr. L. A. Thurston came to the house of Mr. Peterson and stated in the presence of Mr. Peterson and Mr. Colburn that he wished to have a talk with them. He said that the committee of safety had had a meeting the night before and had come to the conclusion that things could not go on as at present, and that the committee had decided that the Queen should be dethroned and a Provisional Government established. He said that Mr. Stevens, the American minister would land his troops and support the movement, if a proclamation to that effect was issued from any building in town.

He then asked Mr. Peterson and Mr. Colburn if they would, without consulting with their colleagues, as he said they were not to be trusted, take control of the situation and in their own names ask the American minister to assist in carrying out their programme and stated that the document already drawn up by him, a copy of which is annexed, could be changed to suit this proposition.

JOHN F. COLBURN,
A. P. PETERSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 27th day of June, 1893.
[SEAL.]

F. J. TESTA,
Notary Public First Judicial Circuit.

To His Excellency JNO. L. STEVENS, *American Minister Resident, and*
 Captain — WILTSE, *Commander U. S. S. Boston:*

GENTLEMEN: On behalf of the Hawaiian cabinet, you are hereby informed that certain persons, without authority of law, have prepared and caused to be promulgated a document purporting to be a new constitution subversive of the rights of the people and contrary to the law and constitution of the land.

That such illegal action is taken in the name of Her Majesty Liliuokalani, and is proposed to be supported by force. That the cabinet maintain that such action is revolutionary and treasonable, and they hereby request the assistance of the United States troops to maintain order and support the Government.

No. 2.

Affidavit of John F. Colburn and A. P. Peterson, May 3, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893.

No. 3.

Affidavit of William H. Cornwell.

His Excellency J. H. BLOUNT,

United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary:

SIR: In supplementing the statements which I have already had the honor to present to your excellency, I beg to represent the following facts as they came within my personal observation during the late disturbances here:

On Monday, the 16th of January, the cabinet met at 10 o'clock a. m. and made the necessary arrangements providing for the Queen's proclamation, in which she gave her assurance, guaranteed by us, her constitutional advisers, that no further attempts would be made in regard to obtaining a new constitution except by the way provided in the constitution itself.

The proclamation as presented to your excellency was issued, and the two political meetings took place. About 5 p. m. the cabinet received information that American forces were being landed from the U. S. S. *Boston*, and after a short consultation among the members of the cabinet, Messrs. Parker and Colburn, with Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, the governor and commander in chief of Oahu, departed to interview Minister Stevens to ask for an explanation of this remarkable and uncalled-for step of the American representative, and to protest against the landing of the troops as being contrary to international law, courtesy, and custom. Mr. Parker returned shortly afterwards and told us that he and the other gentlemen mentioned had performed their mission and that Mr. Stevens had answered them that he knew "what he was doing," and that the troops had been landed at the request of an alleged committee of safety and that he would file the protest of the ministers. Mr. Parker immediately went to his office and issued a protest in writing to the above effect. Later, a meeting of the "law and order" committee supporting Her Majesty's Government was held at the Government building, at which the cabinet were present. After some discussion, it was

decided to encourage the Hawaiians to keep quiet and await further developments.

On Tuesday, the 17th, the cabinet met in the morning and arrangements were made for calling a meeting of the diplomatic corps to take place at noon. The different foreign representatives, except Minister Stevens, who sent his excuses, met together at the time appointed. Shortly after I saw Marshal Wilson, who emphatically told me that from a military standpoint he was perfectly able to cope with the situation, and that he and his followers were ready to stop any insurrection, and, if necessary, prepared to resist and successfully fight (as he expected to have to do) the United States forces then ashore. Having the fullest confidence in the good judgment of Marshal Wilson, I concurred with his ideas, and from that moment advised my colleagues to resist by force any attempt that might be made to overthrow the Government. About 2:45 p. m. we were informed that a proclamation had been issued to the effect that the Queen had been deposed and that her ministers and the marshal had been dismissed.

The cabinet immediately proceeded to the American legation. Messrs. Parker and Peterson went into Minister Stevens's office while Mr. Colburn and myself remained in his sitting room. Our colleagues soon returned and told us that Minister Stevens could grant us no assistance, as the committee of thirteen representing, as he said, the respectability and wealth of the community, had requested his support. Upon a straight question of the attorney general he answered that if called upon for assistance by the alleged newly-established Government he would respond to such call with the forces at his command. A little after 3 p. m. Mr. Charles Hopkins was sent to Minister Stevens from the station house (where the cabinet had taken up their headquarters) with a letter in which the cabinet wished to know in black and white how Minister Stevens proposed to act in the matter.

Mr. Hopkins returned about half an hour later and brought Minister Stevens's answer, in which he informed us that he had already recognized the Provisional Government because they were in possession of the departmental buildings, the archives, and the treasury, and that he would stand ready to support them as the *de facto* government. Messrs. E. C. Macfarlane and Neumann were then in consultation with the cabinet in regard to what action should be taken. About this time Messrs. Samuel M. Damon and C. Bolte came to the station house and asked the cabinet to go with them to the Government house, that the officers of the Provisional Government wished to talk over the situation with us.

Mr. Parker and I went there and found Messrs. Dole, Damon, W. O. Smith, and others, and we were told that the Provisional Government had been recognized by Mr. Stevens, and we were asked as true Hawaiians to do the best for our country and surrender, to avoid bloodshed. We told them that we could give them no answer before seeing Her Majesty the Queen, and were then requested to go to the palace and do our best to induce the Queen to surrender. Shortly after 5:30 p. m. we went to the palace and found the Queen in the blue room, and soon after Messrs. J. O. Carter, H. A. Widemann, Paul Neumann, and E. C. Macfarlane arrived. There were also present my colleagues, Messrs. Colburn and Peterson, and the two princes.

Mr. Damon was likewise present representing the Provisional Government. The Queen told us that she had sent for the gentlemen present to consult with them in this crisis, and requested them all to remain with her until everything was settled. Mr. Damon stated that he was

sent by the Provisional Government to inform the Queen that she had been deposed, that her ministers and marshal had been dismissed, and that the Provisional Government had been recognized formally by Mr. J. L. Stevens, the U. S. Minister. As a friend and also as a privy councillor, he urged her to surrender peaceably, and expressed the opinion that it would perhaps be well to surrender under protest to the United States. Mr. J. O. Carter then expressed his views at some length. He saw no other course for the Queen to pursue after the recognition of the new government by Mr. Stevens and the landing of the United States troops.

In his opinion, any resistance under the circumstances would be equivalent to a declaration of war against the United States. He advised making the protest and leaving the matter in the hands of the United States. After a short consultation, in which all present took part and all concurred in the remarks of Mr. Carter the Queen agreed to surrender under a protest, and the necessary document was drawn up by Messrs. Neumann and Carter. Mr. Carter and I thereupon proceeded to the Government building, where we presented the protest to Mr. Dole, who indorsed it as having been received, noting the date and time it was received. We then requested the attorney-general to go to the Station House and inform the marshal, who was there, of what had taken place at the Palace, and to notify him to surrender the forces under his command. We were informed shortly after that Marshal Wilson refused to act upon such instructions, demanding a written order from the Queen and Cabinet before he would surrender. He reiterated that he was fully prepared to cope with the situation, and was ready to fight the insurgents and the forces of the United States, then ashore, and would do so, unless he should first receive such written order for his surrender.

The whole cabinet then proceeded to the station house and in the presence of Mr. Neumann and others handed the written orders to the marshal and explained the situation to him. He thereupon dismissed his forces with a short address. The large crowd of Hawaiians gathered outside of the station house were dispersed quietly, after a short address in Hawaiian by one of the police captains, by order of the marshal, after which we left the station house, but up to the time of leaving no officer of the Provisional Government had taken charge.

WM. H. CORNWELL.

Subscribed and sworn to this 27th day of June, A. D. 1893, before me,
[SEAL.]

F. J. TESTA,

Notary Public, First Judicial Circuit.

No 4.

Affidavits of John A. Cummins and W. T. Seward.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *Island of Oahu, City of Honolulu, ss:*

On this 19th day of June, A. D. 1893, personally appeared before me John A. Cummins and Major W. T. Seward, who being by me duly sworn, deposed and said, that on Saturday, the 14th day of January, A. D. 1893, the city of Honolulu was perfectly quiet, there being nothing unusual and no signs of disturbance; that on Monday, the 16th day of

said month of January, a small faction of foreign residents called a meeting in the Rifles Armory, on Beretania street, at 2 o'clock p. m., which was attended by from six to seven hundred persons, a large proportion of whom were neither voters nor taxpayers; that at the same hour a mass meeting attended by about twenty-five hundred persons (mostly Hawaiians) was held in Palace square, at which resolutions were unanimously passed and ordered to be presented to Her Majesty the Queen assuring her of the loyalty and cordial support and sympathy of her people; that both of said meetings were orderly, and no sign or threat of disorder was seen or heard anywhere throughout the city; that, at about five o'clock on the same afternoon, a strong force was landed from the U. S. S. *Boston* and quartered on property belonging to an Englishman; that no portion of the force landed was assigned to the protection of either American lives or property; that said forces were camped in virtual possession of the Government building, within less than one hundred yards of the front entrance of said building; that the landing of the American forces was a matter of great surprise to the public generally; that a band concert was held at the Hawaiian Hotel at eight o'clock in the evening which was very largely attended by the general public, men, women, and children turning out in large numbers to enjoy the music, as it was a beautiful moonlight evening; that no disturbance or breach of the peace occurred at any time now under consideration, except the shooting of a policeman while in the discharge of his duty at Hall's corner by a man in the employ of the conspirators; that said policeman was endeavoring, in accordance with orders, to prevent the transportation of arms from Hall & Son's store to the armory on Beretania street, and was unarmed; that the Provisional Government did not issue their proclamation till after they had consulted with both Minister Stevens and Captain Wiltse.

J. A. CUMMINS,
W. T. SEWARD,

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 19th day of June, A. D. 1893.

[SEAL.]

CHARLES T. GULICK,
Notary Public, Island of Oahu.

No. 5.

Affidavit of Ch. L. Hopkins.

HONOLULU, OAHU, *Hawaiian Islands, ss:*

And now comes Charles L. Hopkins, a subject of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and upon oath deposes and says:

That after the delivery of Minister Stevens's answer to Her Majesty's cabinet's letter, your affiant remained at the police station until Mr. J. H. Soper, at the head of the Provisional troops, numbering about 30 men, arrived at the police station, which was about 7:40 p. m. of the 17th day of January, 1893. Marshal Wilson and J. H. Soper made addresses to the police in the yard, and on the return of J. H. Soper in the marshal's office your affiant shook hands with him and then took the 8 p. m. street car for home.

CHARLES L. HOPKINS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 6th day of May, A. D. 1893.

A. ROSA,
Notary Public, First Jud. Circuit.

No. 6.

(Affidavit of Charles L. Hopkins, May 3, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893.)

No. 7.

Affidavit of John Lota Kaulukou.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *Honolulu, Island of Oahu, ss:*

And now comes John Lota Kaulukou, and on his oath deposes and says: That he is a native Hawaiian by birth and is a resident of Honolulu for a long time last past; that he is a lawyer by occupation and at present practicing law in Honolulu aforesaid; that on or about 2:30 p. m. of the 17th day of January last, it had been declared in front of the Government building a new form of government for Hawaii nei known as the "Provisional Government;" that at the said time the troops of the *Boston* were lined between the Government building and the Arion Hall, and well supplied with ammunition and Gatling guns, which were faced to the palace, where Her Majesty the Queen, was then residing; that the Provisional Government at the aforesaid time had only 50 armed men, more or less, and it could have been suppressed by the guards of the Queen's Government in a short time; that at the aforesaid time Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani was residing in the palace and had charge of that building, the barracks, the guards, and the ammunition, and also the police station, where Marshal Chas. B. Wilson, the constables, and those who lent their assistance to Her Majesty the Queen's Government, who have been well armed.

That at the aforesaid time the said buildings, the police force, and the other public buildings were not under the charge of the Provisional Government, and that in or about 2:45 p. m. of said date, one Chas. L. Hopkins took a communication from the Queen's cabinet from the police station, where they were then, to J. L. Stevens, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, residing at the court of the Hawaiian Islands; and that on or about 3:15 p. m. of said date the said Chas. L. Hopkins returned to the said police station with a letter from said J. L. Stevens; and that after that it had been announced to the public, who were there then, that said United States minister, J. L. Stevens, had recognized the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and will back and help the said Provisional Government, and not to Her Majesty the Queen's Government.

That at the recognition of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands by the said J. L. Stevens, United States minister in Hawaii nei, the palace was in the possession of Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani, and she was living in there; and under the charge and authority of the Queen's Government were the barracks, the guards, and the ammunition; under the care of Capt. S. Nowlien, the police station; under the charge of Marshal Chas. B. Wilson, as aforementioned, the custom-house, the Oahu prison, and other public buildings, and also the protection of the lives and property of the people without trouble.

JOHN LOTA KAULUKOU.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18th day of May, A. D. 1893.
GEO. LUCAS, *Deputy Clerk, Supreme Court.*

No. 8.

Affidavit of E. C. Macfarlane.

I hereby depose that on Tuesday, the 17th day of January, 1893, at about 4 p. m. of that day, I was present in the station-house at Honolulu, when Mr. S. M. Damon came to me and asked me to use my influence with Mr. C. B. Wilson (the marshal of the Kingdom) to surrender the station-house, which was the stronghold of Her Majesty's Government, urging that any attempt to resist the Provisional Government, which had already been proclaimed, would result in bloodshed and considerable loss of life. I agreed with Mr. Damon that that was the only course to pursue, inasmuch as the United States minister, Mr. Stevens, in a letter to the Queen's cabinet, which letter had been shown to me by Mr. A. P. Peterson, the attorney-general, had already recognized the Provisional Government, and I felt sure that the U. S. forces from the *Boston* would undoubtedly resist any attempt made to dislodge the Provisional Government, who were already in possession of the Government building.

I was convinced that it would be useless for the marshal to offer any resistance, for such an attempt would most certainly bring about a conflict with the United States forces, and accordingly I urged Mr. Wilson to give up the station house. He stoutly refused, saying that he was prepared for any conflict which might arise, and that under no circumstances would he surrender unless by written instructions of the Queen and her ministers.

Toward sundown I was summoned to the palace and there met the ministers and other gentlemen whom Her Majesty was consulting about the situation.

Beside the ministers and the two princes there were present Mr. Damon, H. A. Widemann, J. O. Carter, and Paul Neumann. In a few words Her Majesty said she had sent for them to advise with her upon the situation—that the Provisional Government, which had been recognized by the United States minister—had made a demand to surrender the station house and the barracks and asked their advice in the matter.

Mr. Damon said that he was sent as a committee from the Provisional Government to inform Her Majesty that she had been deposed, her ministers dismissed, and likewise the marshal, Mr. Wilson; that the Provisional Government was established and recognized by the United States minister and a demand made by the Provisional Government that the station house and barracks be surrendered.

For himself he would advise her to that course, suggesting that she could make a protest if she desired to do so.

Mr. Carter stated that, in his opinion, there was only one course to pursue, and that was for Her Majesty to comply to the demands, stating that the Provisional Government having been recognized by the United States minister, any attempt to resist would undoubtedly bring about complications with the United States Government. He favored peaceful submission and advised that she make a protest and leave the matter in the hands of the United States Government.

Mr. Widemann advised to the same effect, and referring to the restoration of the islands by Admiral Thomas in 1843, expressed the opinion that the United States, upon a proper representation of all the facts leading up to the present situation, would in the end repeat the action of the British Government and restore the independence of Hawaii.

The protest was prepared by Mr. Neumann and Mr. Carter.

Written instructions were then addressed to the marshal, Mr. Wilson, signed by the Queen and her four ministers, notifying Mr. Wilson that he must surrender the station house to the Provisional Government.

This letter was taken to Mr. Wilson by Mr. Peterson. I accompanied him to the station house. The letter was handed to Mr. Wilson with a verbal message from the Queen that he should make a brief statement to those with him that the Queen had yielded under protest, relying upon the justice of the United States Government to restore her authority, and that she wished her supporters to disperse peaceably and keep quiet. Mr. Wilson spoke a few words to that effect. I remained in the building for some time afterwards and left about 7 o'clock, up to which time no agent of the Provisional Government had arrived to take possession of the station house.

I have the honor to remain, etc.,

E. C. MACFARLANE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 6th day of May, 1893.

F. J. TESTA.

Notary Public, First Judicial Circuit.

No. 9.

Affidavit of Paul Neumann.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *Island of Oahu, ss:*

Paul Neumann, being duly sworn, on his oath deposes and says: That he is a citizen of the United States of America, residing at Honolulu, on the Island of Oahu, and that he has resided there during the last nine years prior to this date.

Affiant says that he was in Honolulu on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of January, 1893. That on the 14th day of January, about 2 o'clock p. m., Hon. W. O. Smith, the present attorney-general of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, invited this affiant to come to his (Smith's) law office, where a number of other citizens called shortly after affiant's arrival, and the persons assembled were then informed that the Queen had requested her cabinet to join her in proclaiming a new constitution, which the cabinet refused to do, and wished to know whether the community would sustain the ministers in their refusal. A unanimous expression of those present followed that they would sustain the ministers in their course.

Some one then suggested that Mr. Stevens be requested to land troops from the Boston to assist the people in resisting the desire of the Queen. A few of the persons present opposed this movement, and affiant can not state what steps, if any, were taken by those who sought the armed intervention of the United States forces.

The persons assembled as aforesaid prepared a list of those who decided to sustain the Queen's cabinet in their course, and said list was signed by a number of persons, including affiant, at that time and place.

On Monday, the 16th of January, in the afternoon, troops of the U. S. S. *Boston* were landed, and after one squad had been left at the U. S. consulate and another at the U. S. legation, the main body, including the battery, were stationed between the government building and

the palace, at the instance, as we were informed, of Mr. John L. Stevens, then U. S. minister plenipotentiary, etc.

On the preceding Saturday and Sunday, and on the Monday when the troops were landed, as well as at all times thereafter, the town and country was in profound peace and tranquillity, and the sudden and unexpected landing of a large body of troops and the battery created great surprise, and was ascribed generally to the intention of Mr. Stevens and Captain Wiltse to assist in the establishment of a Provisional Government, a movement which had been hinted by Wiltse and Stevens at various times, according to the information which a number of people had at that time.

The pretext that the troops were landed to protect American lives and property was spurious and false; both lives and property were as safe here and as unlikely to be threatened or disturbed as in Kennebec, Maine, and the sole object of Mr. Stevens and Captain Wiltse was to abet and assist, not alone by intimidation, but by actual violence the revolutionary movement headed by Mr. L. A. Thurston and other persons belonging to his party.

In making this statement affiant refers to the replies of Mr. Stevens to the protest of the cabinet and of the governor of Oahu, copies of which affiant believes are in the possession of the U. S. Government.

Mass meetings of foreigners and natives were respectively held on Monday afternoon, which in themselves showed that no outbreak of any kind was impending, and both meetings had peaceably and quietly adjourned before the Boston forces were landed.

On Tuesday, the 17th of January, Mr. Peterson and Mr. Parker, members of Queen Liliuokalani's cabinet, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, informed affiant that Mr. Stevens had told them categorically that he would support with the United States forces a Provisional Government if such were proclaimed, and Mr. Peterson, when asked by affiant what reply Mr. Stevens had made to their protest against the landing of the *Boston* forces, showed to affiant the letter from Mr. Stevens recognizing the new government.

The following is a copy of Mr. Stevens' reply to Mr. Cleghorn:

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Honolulu, Jan. 17th, 1893.

SIR: Yours of yesterday, the 16th, regarding the landing of the United States naval force at Honolulu, is received. I have carefully read its terms and import. My responsibility as the United States minister plenipotentiary at this critical time in Hawaiian affairs it is impossible for me to ignore. I assure you that, in whatever responsibility the American diplomatic and naval representatives have assumed or may assume, we shall do our utmost to regard the welfare of all persons and interests concerned.

Yours sincerely with kindest consideration,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Hon. A. S. CLEGHORN,
Governor of Oahu.

Affiant suggested to Peterson and Parker to obtain from Stevens a written declaration of his intention to support the revolutionary movement by the U. S. troops, but affiant can not state if such a declaration was delivered to them. About two hours after affiant had been made aware of Mr. Stevens's attitude toward the lawful Hawaiian Government, and of his instantaneous recognition of the revolutionary government, if in fact that recognition was not made and delivered to the leaders of the revolution before any Provisional Government was at all proclaimed, affiant was requested to call at the Palace, when he met the Queen

and her Cabinet and a number of citizens, including Mr. J. O. Carter, Mr. Macfarlane, Judge Widemann, and Mr. S. M. Damon, who discussed the situation, and after the statement was repeated that Mr. Stevens had unqualifiedly stated that he would by force of arms sustain the Provisional Government, and had in fact given it official recognition before it had a lawful existence, and the further fact was stated to affiant that the U. S. legation had been at various times the meeting place of the persons who conspired to overthrow the Hawaiian Government, affiant among others advised the Queen to accede under protest to the request of Mr. Dole to surrender the station house and barracks, and advised to disband the persons who had been sworn in and armed to preserve law and order.

Affiant drafted the protest, and after Mr. Dole, the President of the revolutionary faction, had acknowledged in writing the receipt of the Queen's protest, the order was given to the marshal, who thereupon, between 7 and 9 o'clock p. m., disbanded the men and subsequently, but whether that night or the next day affiant does not know, delivered the possession of the station house and its contents to some representative of the Provisional Government. Affiant can not state when the barracks were delivered to the revolutionary party but believes that it was done on Wednesday the 18th of January.

PAUL NEUMANN.

Subscribed and sworn to this 27th day of January, A. D. 1893, before me.

CHAS. T. GULICK,
Notary Public, Island of Oahu.

No. 10.

Affidavit of Samuel Nowlien.

HONOLULU, OAHU, *Hawaiian Islands*, ss:

And now comes Samuel Nowlien, a subject of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and upon oath deposes and says:

That he was captain commanding the Household Guards and was stationed at the Government Barracks and was also in control of the royal palace on the 16th and 17th days of January, A. D. 1893, with a total armed force of 272 men of all ranks, of which 72 men were regulars of the Household Guards and 200 men were native Hawaiian volunteers, fully armed and equipped with 12 breech-loading rifled cannons (Austrian make) and one Gatling, 111 Springfield rifles (U. S. A.), and 165 Winchester repeating army rifles, with 21,580 rounds of ammunition. That your affiant was in possession and in charge of said barracks and the palace yard up to and between 4 and 5 o'clock p. m. of the 18th of said January, when said premises were turned over to J. H. Soper and the regulars were then and there disbanded.

SAMUEL NOWLIEN.

Subscribed and sworn to this 8th day of May, A. D. 1893, before me,
[SEAL.]

F. J. TESTA,
Notary Public, First Judicial Circuit.

No. 11.

*Affidavit of P. M. Rooney.*HONOLULU, OAHU, *Hawaiian Islands, ss:*

And now comes P. M. Rooney, an American citizen, and a resident of Honolulu aforesaid, and upon oath deposes and says that he was a special police on the 16th and 17th days of January, A. D. 1893, having been engaged by Marshal Wilson as such; that your affiant was at the police station up to 7 o'clock p. m. of the 17th day aforesaid, and up to that time Marshal Wilson was in possession and in charge of the police station aforesaid with all of his men. The Provisional troops had not at that time taken charge of the place.

P. M. ROONEY,

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 6th day of May, A. D. 1893.

A. ROSA,

Notary Public, First Judicial Circuit.

No. 12.

*Affidavit of John Ross.*HONOLULU, *June 20, 1893.*

His Excellency JAMES H. BLOUNT,

U. S. Minister, etc., etc.

SIR: I am again enabled to present to you, on behalf of truth and justice, an affidavit from a Captain John Ross, for four years, and latterly an executive officer, in the four years' war of American Revolution. Believing it to be useful he has placed the affidavit at my disposal, which I have given him to understand shall be sent to you immediately. He is in communication with me, and can be seen any time you should so desire further acquaintance of the gentleman. I have the honor to be

Your obedient, humble servant,

JNO. E. BUSH.

From an experience of twenty years' residence in the Hawaiian Islands I hereby state, without bias or prejudice, that there was no demonstration or disturbance or threats made that there would be disturbance on the sixteenth day of January, 1893, that would call for the landing of troops either to protect life or property; in fact the landing of men from the U. S. S. "Boston" was so unlooked for that when the report came to the Hawaiian Hotel, where I was at the time of their landing, about 5:30 p. m., that it was received as a canard until the battalion was seen marching past on King street and came to a halt on the sidewalk east of the main entrance to the Royal Palace and facing the south. About 7 p. m. the battalion formed and marched eastward about three-quarters of a mile to the suburbs and broke ranks on the premises of J. B. Atherton, where it appeared they were to bivouack for the night. Next morning they occupied Harmony Hall, a small wooden building about eighty feet west of the Government building. The Hawaiian Government band played as usual its Monday evening concert to the populace and the usual assembly of men, women, and children were there as well as on the streets.

The circumstance of the landing of the marines was generally accepted as part of the schemes of the Revolutionists or Missionary party as understood to be arranged between them and Mr. Stevens and Captain Wiltse of the U. S. S. "Boston," as shortly before the battalion landed Messrs. Thurston, W. R. Castle and Henry Waterhouse were seen going to the U. S. legation, and returning from there, and to the office of L. A. Thurston and W. O. Smith's office, the headquarters of the Revolutionists. But at no time before, on, or after the 16th of January was life or property in danger more than ordinary. Such is my belief and statement.

JOHN ROSS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 19th day of June, 1893.

[SEAL.]

CHAS. T. GULICK,

Notary Public, Island of Oahu.

No. 13.

(Affidavit of Charles B. Wilson, May 4, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893.)

No. 14.

Affidavit of Charles B. Wilson.

HONOLULU, OAHU,
Hawaiian Islands, ss.

And now comes Chas. B. Wilson of Honolulu, aforesaid, and upon oath deposes and says:

That on the 17th day of January, A. D. 1893, between the hours of 7 and 8 p. m. of that day, he surrendered, by order of the Queen and Cabinet to Jno. J. Soper, as commander-in-chief of the forces of the Provisional Government, and representing that Government, the police station with all the arms and munitions of war, the control of the police force and Oahu jail, together with all Government property under his control as marshal of the Kingdom.

CHAS. B. WILSON.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 6th day of May, A. D. 1893.

F. J. TESTA,

Notary Public, First Judicial Circuit.

No. 15.

Affidavit of Charles B. Wilson.

HONOLULU, OAHU, *Hawaiian Islands, ss.*

And now comes Chas. B. Wilson, of Honolulu, aforesaid, and upon oath deposes and says:

That he was at the police station and had full charge and control of the station, Oahu jail, and the police force throughout the kingdom on

the 17th day of January, A. D., 1893, as marshal of the Kingdom of Hawaii; that on the date aforesaid at about 2 p. m. he had at the police station under his control a total of two hundred and twenty-four (224) men fully armed and equipped for active service, one hundred and ten (110) of said number having been instructed in military tactics and drilled in the use of firearms for nearly two years last past, who also had practice at target shooting and have contested in team shooting with the household troops, and were victorious, winning the team trophy and all prizes competed for during the contest.

That on the aforesaid day were armed with Springfield rifles (of late U. S. A. pattern) and one Gatling gun with twenty thousand and five hundred (20,500) rounds U. M. Co.'s fixed ammunition. That one hundred and fourteen (114) of the 224 were volunteers armed with repeating rifles, 74 of which were of army pattern, 20 army carbines and 20 sporting, all of the Winchester make, with (9,000) nine thousand rounds of fixed ammunition, also two thousand (2,000) rounds of fixed ammunition loaded with buckshot for 10 and 12 gauge breech-loading shotguns for the use of extra men.

The make-up of the force under his control is as follows: From the regular patrol, 74; special reserve force, 36; volunteers, 114. Total armed force at police station on the aforesaid date (224) two hundred and twenty-four.

CHAS. B. WILSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of May, A. D. 1893.
[SEAL.]

F. J. TESTA,

Notary Public, First Judicial Circuit.

LIST OF STATEMENTS AND INTERVIEWS.

1. W. D. Alexander.
2. Same.
3. Same.
4. W. D. Alexander, July 18, 1893, (printed with Mr. Blount's No. 15, dated July 26, 1893, *ante*).
5. Volney V. Ashford.
6. Same.
7. H. P. Baldwin.
8. C. R. Bishop.
9. S. E. Bishop.
10. William Blaisdell.
11. Same.
12. C. Bolte.
13. W. P. Boyd.
14. J. O. Carter, May 3, 1893 (printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893, *ante*).
15. J. O. Carter.
16. H. Center.
17. D. W. Coffman.
18. John F. Colburn.
19. W. H. Cornwell.
20. S. M. Damon.
21. Lieut. Herbert L. Draper (printed with Mr. Blount's No. 5, dated May 6, 1893, *ante*).
22. C. T. Gulick.
23. Same.
24. Same.
25. F. H. Hayselden.
26. C. M. Hyde.
27. C. P. Jankea.
28. A. F. Judd.

29. Hui Kalaiaina.
30. J. W. Kalua.
31. J. Kanoho.
32. John Lot Kaulukou.
33. *Queen* Liliuokalani.
34. A. B. Loebenstein.
35. Curtis J. Lyons.
36. Same.
37. E. C. Macfarlane.
38. George Mundon.
39. Samuel Parker.
40. Hawaiian Patriotic League.
41. Same.
42. Hawaiian Patriotic League, May 2, 1893 (printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893, *ante*).
43. A. P. Peterson.
44. Wm. Hyde Rice.
45. Antone Rosa.
46. M. M. Scott.
47. Admiral Skerrett, April 8, 1893 (printed with Mr. Blount's No. 2, dated April 8, 1893, *ante*).
48. W. O. Smith.
49. J. H. Soper.
50. Claus Spreckels.
51. Same.
52. Lieut. Commander William Swinburne, May 3, 1893 (printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893, *ante*).
53. L. A. Thurston, March 16, 1893 (printed with Mr. Blount's No. 2, dated April 8, 1893, *ante*).
54. Dr. Trouseau.
55. Henry Waterhouse, May 2, 1893 (printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893, *ante*).
56. C. B. Wells.
57. H. A. Widemann.
58. Same.
59. Robert W. Wilcox.
60. C. B. Wilson.
61. F. Wundenberg.
62. F. Wundenberg (printed with Mr. Blount's No. 3, dated April 26, 1893, *ante*).
63. F. Wundenberg, May 15, 1893 (printed with Mr. Blount's No. 9, dated June 6, 1893, *ante*).

PART III INTERVIEWS AND STATEMENTS.

No. 1.

Statement of W. D. Alexander.

A STATEMENT OF FACTS RELATING TO POLITICS DURING KALAKAUA'S REIGN.

It is true that the germs of many of the evils of Kalakaua's reign may be traced to the reign of Kamehameha V. The reactionary policy of that monarch is well known. Under him the "recrudescence" of heathenism commenced, as evinced by the Pagan orgies at the funeral of his sister, Victoria Kamamalu, in June, 1866, and by his encouragement of the lascivious hulahula dances and of the pernicious class of kahunas or sorcerers. Closely connected with this reaction was a growing jealousy and hatred of foreigners.

INTRIGUES DURING LUNALILO'S REIGN.

During Lunalilo's brief reign, 1873-'74, this feeling was fanned into a flame by several causes, viz, the execution of the law for the segregation of lepers, the agitation caused by the proposal to cede the use of Pearl Harbor to the United States, and the famous mutiny at the barracks. This disaffection was made the most of by Kalakaua, who was smarting under his defeat in the election of January 8, 1873. Indeed, his manifesto previous to that election appealed to this race prejudice. Thus he promised, if elected, "to repeal the poll tax," "to put native Hawaiians into the Government offices," to "amend the constitution of 1864," etc. "Beware," he said, "of the constitution of 1852, and the false teaching of the foreigners, who are now seeking to obtain the direction of the Government, if Lunalilo ascends the throne." Walter Murray Gibson, formerly Mormon apostle and shepherd of Lanai, then professional politician and editor of the scurrilous paper, Nuhou, was bitterly disappointed that he had been ignored in the formation of Lunalilo's cabinet. Accordingly he took the role of an agitator and attached himself to Kalakaua's party. They were both disappointed at the result of the barracks mutiny, which had undoubtedly been fomented by Kalakaua.

THE ELECTION OF KALAKAUA.

Upon Lunalilo's untimely death, February 3, 1874, as no successor to the throne had been appointed, the Legislature was summoned to meet on the 12th, only nine days after his death. The popular choice lay between Kalakaua and the Queen-Dowager Emma. The cabinet and the American party used all their influence in favor of the former, while the English favored Queen Emma, who was devoted to their

interest. At the same time Kalakaua's true character was not generally understood. The natives knew that his family had always been an idolatrous one. His reputed grandfather, Kamanawa, had been hanged, October 20, 1840, for poisoning his wife, Kamokuiki.

Under Kamehameha V he had always been an advocate of absolutism and also of the removal of the prohibition of furnishing alcoholic liquors to natives. While he was postmaster a defalcation occurred, which, was covered up, while his friends made good the loss to the Government. Like Wilkins Micawber, he was impecunious all his life, whatever the amount of his income might be. He was characterized by a fondness for decorations and military show long before he was thought of as a possible candidate for the throne.

It was believed, however, that if Queen Emma should be elected there would be no hope of our obtaining a reciprocity treaty with the United States. The movement in favor of Queen Emma carried the day with the natives on Oahu, but had not time to spread to the other islands. It was charged, and generally believed, that bribery was used by Kalakaua's friends to secure his election. Be that as it may, the Legislature was convened in the old court-house (now occupied by Hackfeld & Co.) and elected Kalakaua King by 39 votes to 6.

THE COURT-HOUSE RIOT.

A howling mob, composed of Queen Emma's partisans, had surrounded the court-house during the election, after which they battered down the back doors, sacked the building, and assaulted the representatives with clubs. Messrs. C. C. Harris and S. B. Dole held the main door against them for considerable time. The mob, with one exception, refrained from violence to foreigners, from fear of intervention by the men-of-war in port.

The cabinet and the marshal had been warned of the danger, but had made light of it. The police appeared to be in sympathy with the populace, and the volunteers, for the same reason, would not turn out. Mr. H. A. Pierce, the American minister, however, had anticipated the riot, and had agreed with Commodore Belknap, of the U. S. S. *Tuscarora*, and Commodore Skerrett, of the *Portsmouth*, upon a signal for landing the troops under their command. At last Mr. C. R. Bishop, minister of foreign affairs, formally applied to him and to Maj. Wodehouse, H. B. M.'s commissioner, for assistance in putting down the riot.

A body of 150 marines immediately landed from the two American men of war, and in a few minutes was joined by one of 70 men from H. B. M.'s corvette *Tenedos*, Capt. Ray. They quickly dispersed the mob, and arrested a number of them without any bloodshed. The British troops first occupied Queen Emma's grounds, arresting several of the ringleaders there, and afterwards guarded the palace and barracks. The other Government buildings, the prison, etc., were guarded by American troops until the 20th.

INAUGURATION OF KALAKAUA.

The next day at noon Kalakaua was sworn in as King, under the protection of the United States troops. By an irony of fate the late leader of the anti-American agitation owed his life and his throne to American intervention, and for several years he depended upon the support of the foreign community. In these circumstances he did not venture to proclaim a new constitution (as in his inaugural speech he had said he intended to do), nor to disregard public opinion in

his appointments. His first minister of foreign affairs was the late Hon. W. L. Green, an Englishman, universally respected for his integrity and ability, who held this office for nearly three years, and carried through the treaty of reciprocity in the teeth of bitter opposition.

THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

The following October Messrs. E. H. Allen and H. A. P. Carter were sent to Washington to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity.

The Government of the United States having extended an invitation to the King, and placed the U. S. S. *Benicia* at his disposal, he embarked November 17, 1874, accompanied by Mr. H. A. Pierce and several other gentlemen. They were most cordially received and treated as guests of the nation. After a tour through the Northern States, the royal party returned to Honolulu February 15, 1875, in the U. S. S. *Pensacola*. The treaty of reciprocity was concluded January 30, 1875, and the ratifications were exchanged at Washington June 3, 1875.

The act necessary to carry it into effect was not, however, passed by the Hawaiian Legislature till July 18, 1876, after the most stubborn opposition, chiefly from the English members of the house and the partisans of Queen Emma, who denounced it as a step toward annexation. It finally went into effect September 9, 1876.

THE ADVENT OF SPRECKELS.

The first effect of the reciprocity treaty was to cause a "boom" in sugar, which turned the heads of some of our shrewdest men and nearly caused a financial crash. Among other enterprises the Haiku irrigation ditch, 20 miles in length, which taps certain streams flowing down the northern slopes of East Maui and waters three plantations, were planned and carried out by Mr. S. T. Alexander, in 1877. About that time he pointed out to Col. Claus Spreckels the fertile plain of Central Maui, then lying waste, which only needed irrigation to produce immense crops. Accordingly, in 1878, Mr. Spreckels applied to the cabinet for a lease of the surplus waters of the streams on the northeast side of Maui as far as Honomanu. They flow through a rugged district at present almost uninhabited. The then attorney-general, Judge Hartwell, and the minister of the interior, J. Mott Smith, refused to grant him a perpetual monopoly of this water, as they state it. Up to this time the changes in the cabinet had been caused by disagreement between its members, and had no political significance.

In the meantime, Mr. Gibson, after many months of preparation, had brought in before the Legislature a motion of want of confidence in the ministry, which was defeated June 24 by a vote of 26 to 19. On the night of July 1 Messrs. Claus Spreckels and G. W. Macfarlane had a long conference with Kalakaua at the Hawaiian Hotel on the subject of the water privilege, and adjourned to the palace about midnight. It is not necessary to give the details here, but the result was that letters were drawn up and signed by the King, addressed to each member of the cabinet, requesting his resignation, without stating any reason for his dismissal. These letters were delivered by a messenger between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning. Such an arbitrary and despotic act was without precedent in Hawaiian history.

The next day a new cabinet was appointed, consisting of S. G. Wilder, Minister of the Interior, E. Preston, Attorney-general, Simon Kaai, Minister of Finance, and John Kapena, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The last two positions were sinecures, but Kaai as a speaker and politician had great influence with his countrymen. The new cabinet granted Mr. Spreckels the desired water privilege for thirty years at \$500 per annum. The opium-license and free-liquor bills were killed. The actual premier, Mr. Wilder, was probably the ablest administrator that this country has ever had. He infused new vigor into every department of the Government, promoted immigration, carried out extensive public improvements, and at the legislative session of 1880 was able to show cash in the treasury sufficient to pay off the existing national debt. But his determination to administer his own department in accordance with business methods did not suit the King.

Meanwhile Gibson spared no pains to make himself conspicuous as the *soi-disant* champion of the aboriginal race. He even tried to capture the "missionaries," "experienced religion," held forth at Sunday prayer meetings, and spoke in favor of temperance.

CELSE CESAR MORENO.

The professional lobbyist, Celso Cesar Moreno, well known at Sacramento and Washington, arrived in Honolulu November 14, 1879, on the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company's steamer *Ho-chung*, with the view of establishing a line of steamers between Honolulu and China. Soon afterwards he presented a memorial to the Hawaiian Government asking for a subsidy to the proposed line. He remained in Honolulu about ten months, during which time he gained unbounded influence over the King by servile flattery and by encouraging all his pet hobbies. He told him that he ought to be his own prime minister, and to fill all Government offices with native Hawaiians. He encouraged his craze for a 10-million loan, to be spent chiefly for military purposes, and told him that China was the "treasure house of the world," where he could borrow all the money he wanted. The King was always an active politician, and he left no stone unturned to carry the election of 1880. His candidates advocated a 10-million loan and unlimited Chinese immigration. With Moreno's assistance he produced a pamphlet in support of these views, entitled "A reply to ministerial utterances."

THE SESSION OF 1880.

In the Legislature of 1880 was seen the strange spectacle of the King working with a pair of unscrupulous adventurers to oust his own constitutional advisers, and introducing through his creatures a series of bills, which were generally defeated by the ministry.

Gibson had now thrown off the mask, and voted for everyone of the King and Moreno's measures. Among their bills which failed were the 10-million loan bill, the opium-license bill, the free-liquor bill, and especially the bill guaranteeing a bonus of \$1,000,000 in gold to Moreno's Trans-Pacific Cable Company.

The subsidy to the China line of steamers was carried by the lavish use of money; but it was never paid. Appropriations were passed for the education of Hawaiian youths abroad, and for the coronation of the King and Queen.

At last on the 4th of August, Gibson brought in a motion of "want of confidence" which after a lengthy debate was defeated by the decisive vote of 32 to 10. On the 14th, the King prorogued the Legislature at noon, and about an hour later dismissed his ministers without a word of explanation, and appointed Moreno premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs; J. E. Bush, Minister of the Interior; W. C. Jones, Attorney-general, and Rev. M. Kueea, Minister of Finance.

FALL OF THE MORENO MINISTRY.

Moreno was generally detested by the foreign community, and the announcement of his appointment created intense excitement.

For the first time the discordant elements of this community were united, and they were supported by a large proportion of the natives. The three highest and most influential chiefs—Queen Dowager Emma, Ruth Keelikolani, and Bernice Pauahi Bishop—joined in condemning the King's course. Two mass meetings were held at the Kaumakapili Church, and a smaller one of foreigners at the old Bethel Church, to protest against the *coup d'état*. The diplomatic representatives of the United States, England, and France—Gen. Comly, Maj. Wodehouse, and M. Ratard—raised their respective flags over their legations, and declared that they would hold no further official intercourse with the Hawaiian Government as long as Moreno should be premier. On the side of the King, R. W. Wilcox, Nawahi, and others harangued the natives, appealing to their jealousy of foreigners. The following manifesto is a sample:

WAY-UP CELSO MORENO.

To all true-born citizens of the country, greeting: We have with us one Celso Cesar Moreno, a naturalized and true Hawaiian. His great desire is the advancement of this country in wealth, and the salvation of this people, by placing the leading positions of Government in the hands of the Hawaiians for administration. The great desire of Moreno is to cast down foreigners from official positions and to put true Hawaiians in their places, because to them belongs the country. They should hold the Government and not strangers. This has been the cause of the decrease of the people. Positions have been taken from Hawaiians and given to strangers. C. C. Moreno desires to throw down these foreigners and to elevate to high positions the people to whom belongs the land, *i. e.*, the red-skins. This is the real cause of jealousy on the part of foreigners, *viz.*, that Hawaiians shall be placed above them in all things in this well-beloved country. C. C. Moreno is the heart from whence will issue life to the real Hawaiians.

After four days of intense excitement, the King yielded to the storm. Moreno's resignation was announced on the 19th, and his place filled *ad interim* by J. E. Bush. On the 30th Moreno left for Europe, with three Hawaiian "youths" under his charge, *viz.*, R. W. Wilcox, a member of the late legislature, 26 years of age, Robert Boyd, and James K. Booth. It was afterwards ascertained that he bore a secret commission as minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to all the great powers, as well as letters addressed to the governments of the United States, England, and France demanding the recall of their representatives. A violent quarrel had broken out between him and his disappointed rival, Gibson, who purchased the P. C. Advertiser printing office with Government money September 1, and conducted that paper thenceforth as the King's organ.

Mr. W. L. Green was persuaded to accept the vacant place of minister of foreign affairs September 22. In a few days he discovered what had been done, and immediately notified the representatives of the three powers concerned of the insult that had been offered them.

A meeting was held at his office between the foreign representatives on the one side and himself and J. E. Bush on the other, at which the letters in question were read. The result was that Mr. Green resigned and compelled the resignation of his colleagues.

THE GREEN-CARTER MINISTRY.

Mr. Claus Spreckles, who arrived September 5, took an active part in these events and in the formation of the new ministry, which con-

sisted of W. L. Green, Minister of Foreign Affairs; H. A. P. Carter, Minister of the Interior; J. S. Walker, Minister of Finance, and W. N. Armstrong, Attorney-general.

The first act was to annul Moreno's commission, and to send dispatches, which were telegraphed from San Francisco to Washington, London, and Paris, disavowing the demands which he had sent. Moreno, however, proceeded on his journey and finally placed the Hawaiian youths, one in a military and two in a naval school in Italy.

THE KING'S TOUR AROUND THE WORLD.

The King immediately began to agitate his project of a trip around the world. As it was known he was corresponding with Moreno, it was arranged that Mr. C. H. Judd should accompany him as Chamberlain, and Mr. W. N. Armstrong as Commissioner of Immigration. He was received with royal honors in Japan, Siam, and Johore. On the King's arrival in Naples, Moreno made an audacious attempt to take possession of His Majesty and dispense with his companions, but he met with more than his match in Mr. Armstrong. The royal party visited nearly all the capitals of Europe, where the King added a large number of decorations to his collection, and took particular note of military matters and court etiquette. An Austrian field battery which took his eye afterwards cost this country nearly \$20,000. During the King's absence his sister, Mrs. Dominis, styled Liliuokalani, acted as regent. He returned to Honolulu October 29, 1881, where he had a magnificent reception, triumphal arches, torches blazing at noonday, and extravagant adulation of every description.

TRIUMPH OF GIBSON.

During the King's absence he had kept up a correspondence with his political workers at home, and after his return he produced another pamphlet in Hawaiian, advocating a ten-million loan. Gibson's paper had been filled with gross flattery of the King and of the natives, and had made the most of the smallpox epidemic of 1881 to excite the populace against the ministry.

Just before the election of 1882 a pamphlet appeared, containing a scathing exposure of his past career (especially in connection with the Mormon Church), backed by a mass of documentary evidence. Gibson's only reply was to point to his subsequent election by a large majority of the native voters of Honolulu. Only two other white men were elected on the islands that year. It was the first time that the race issue had superseded all other considerations with the native electorate.

SESSION OF 1882.

The Legislature of 1882 was one of the weakest and most corrupt that ever sat in Honolulu. At the opening of the session Minister Carter was absent in Portugal, negotiating a treaty with the Government of that country. It was soon evident that the ministry did not control a majority of the House, but that the King did. After an ineffectual attempt to quiet Gibson by offering him the Presidency of the Board of Health with a salary of \$4,000, they resigned, May 19, and Gibson became Premier.

His colleagues were J. E. Bush, lately of Moreno's cabinet; Simon Kaai, who drank himself to death, and Edward Preston, attorney-general, who was really the mainstay of the Cabinet.

One of their first measures was an act to convey to Claus Spreckels the crown lands of Wailuku, containing some 24,000 acres, in order to compromise a claim which he held to an undivided share of the crown lands. He had purchased from Ruth Keelikolani, for the sum of \$10,000, all the interest which she might have had in the crown lands as being the half sister of Kamehameha IV, who died intestate. Her claim had been ignored in the decision of the Supreme Court and the Act of 1865, which constituted the crown lands. Instead of testing her right by a suit before the Supreme Court, the Ministry thought it best to accept the above compromise and carried it through the Legislature.

The prohibition against furnishing intoxicating liquor to natives was repealed at this session, and the consequences to the race have been disastrous. The ten-million loan bill was again introduced, but was shelved in committee and a two-million loan act substituted for it. The appropriation bill was swelled to double the estimated receipts of the Government, including \$30,000 for coronation expenses, \$30,000 for Hawaiian youths in foreign countries, \$10,000 for a Board of Genealogy, besides large sums for the military, foreign embassies, the palace, etc.

At the last moment a bill was rushed through giving the King sole power to appoint district justices, through his creatures, the governors, which had formerly been done only "by and with the advice of the Justices of the Supreme Court." This was another step toward absolutism. Meanwhile Gibson defended the King's right to be an active politician, and called him "the first Hawaiian King with the brains and heart of a statesman."

At the same time it was understood that Claus Spreckels backed the Gibson ministry and made them advances under the Loan Act.

THE CORONATION.

Kalakaua had always felt dissatisfied with the manner in which he had been sworn in as King. He was also tired of being reminded that he was not a king by birth, but only by election. To remedy this defect he determined to have the ceremony performed over again in as imposing a manner as possible. Three years were spent in preparations for the great event, and invitations were sent to all rulers and potentates on earth to be present in person or by proxy on the occasion. Japan sent a commissioner, while England, France, and the United States were represented by ships of war. The ceremony took place February 12, 1883, nine years after Kalakaua's inauguration. Most of the regalia had been ordered from London, viz, two crowns, a scepter, ring, and sword, while the royal feather mantle, tabu stick, and kahili or plumed staff, were native insignia of rank.

A pavilion was built for the occasion, as well as a temporary amphitheatre for the spectators. The Chief Justice administered the oath of office and invested the King with the various insignia. This ceremony was boycotted by the high chiefs, Queen Emma, Ruth Keelikolani, and Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, and by a large part of the foreign community, as an expensive and useless pageant intended to aid the King's political schemes to make himself an absolute monarch. The coronation was followed by feasts, a regatta, and races, and by a series of nightly hulahulas, *i. e.*, heathen dances, accompanied by appropriate songs. The printer of the Coronation Hula programme, which contained the subjects and first lines of these songs, was prosecuted and fined by the court on account of their gross and incredible obscenity.

During this year Mr. J. M. Kapena was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Japan, while Mr. C. P. Iaukea, with H. Poor as secretary, was sent to attend the coronation of the Czar Alexander III at Moscow, and afterwards on a mission to Paris, Rome, Belgrade, Calcutta, and Japan, on his way around the world.

Kalakaua was no longer satisfied with being merely King of Hawaii, but aspired to what Gibson termed the "Primacy of the Pacific." Capt. Tripp and F. L. Clarke were sent as royal commissioners to the Gilbert Islands and New Hebrides, to prepare the way for a Hawaiian protectorate; a parody on the "Monroe doctrine" was put forth in a grandiloquent protest addressed to all the great powers by Mr. Gibson, warning them against any further annexation of islands in the Pacific Ocean, and claiming for Hawaii the exclusive right "to assist them in improving their political and social condition," *i. e.*, a virtual protectorate of the other groups.

THE HAWAIIAN COINAGE.

The King was now impatient to have his "image and superscription" on the coinage of the realm, to add to his dignity as an independent monarch. As no appropriation had been made for this purpose, recourse was had to the recognized "power behind the throne." Mr. Claus Spreckels purchased the bullion, and arrangements were made with the San Francisco mint for the coinage of silver dollars and fractions of a dollar, to the amount of one million dollars' worth, to be of identical weight and fineness with the like coins of the United States. The intrinsic value of the silver dollar at that time was about 84 cents. It was intended, however, to exchange this silver for gold bonds at par under the loan act of 1882. On the arrival of the first installment of the coin the matter was brought before the Supreme Court by Messrs. Dole, Castle, and W. O. Smith. After a full hearing of the case, the court decided that these bonds could not legally be placed except for par value in gold coin of the United States, and issued an injunction to that effect on the Minister of Finance, December 14, 1883. The Privy Council was then convened, and declared these coins to be of the legal value expressed on their face, subject to the legal-tender act, and they were gradually put into circulation. A profit of \$150,000 is said to have been made on this transaction.

THE FIRST RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GIBSON CABINET, 1883.

Mr. Gibson's first cabinet went to pieces in a little over a year. Simon Kaai was compelled to resign in February, 1883, from "chronic inebriety," and was succeeded by J. M. Kapena. Mr. Preston resigned the following May from disgust at the King's personal intermeddling with the administration, and in July Mr. Bush resigned in consequence of a falling out with Mr. Gibson. For some time "the secretary stood alone," being at once Minister of Foreign Affairs, Attorney-General, and Minister of the Interior ad interim; besides being President of the Board of Health, President of the Board of Education, and member of the Board of Immigration, with nearly the whole foreign community opposed to him. The price of government bonds had fallen to 75 per cent with no takers, and the treasury was nearly empty. At this juncture (August 6), when a change of ministry was looked for, Mr. C. T. Gulick was persuaded to take the portfolio of the Interior, and a small

loan was obtained from his friends. Then to the surprise of the public, Col. Claus Spreckels decided to support the Gibson cabinet, which was soon after completed by the accession of Paul Neumann.

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1884.

Since 1882 a considerable reaction had taken place among the natives, who resented the cession of Wailuku to Spreckels, and felt a profound distrust of Gibson. In spite of the war cry "Hawaii for Hawaiians," and the lavish use of Government patronage, the Palace party was defeated in the elections generally, although it held Honolulu, its stronghold. Among the Reform members that session were Messrs. Dole, Rowell, Smith, Hitchcock, the three brothers, Godfrey, Cecil, and Frank Brown, Kauhane, Kalua, Nawahi, and the late Pilipo, of honored memory.

At the opening of the session the Reform party elected the speaker of the house, and controlled the organization of the committees.

The report of the finance committee was the most damaging exposure ever made to a Hawaiian Legislature. A resolution of "want of confidence" was barely defeated (June 28) by the four Ministers themselves voting on it.

THE SPRECKELS BANK CHARTER.

An act to establish a national bank had been drawn up for Col. Spreckels by a well-known law firm in San Francisco, and brought down to Honolulu by ex-Governor Lowe. After "seeing" the King, and using the usual methods in vogue at Sacramento, the ex-Governor returned to San Francisco, boasting that "he had the Hawaiian Legislature in his pocket." But as soon as the bill had been printed and carefully examined, a storm of opposition broke out. It provided for the issue of a million dollars' worth of paper money, backed by an equal amount of Government bonds deposited as security. The notes might be redeemed in either silver or gold. There was no clause requiring quarterly or semiannual reports of the state of the bank. Nor was a minimum fixed to the amount of cash reserved in the bank. In fact, most of the safeguards of the American national banking system were omitted. Its notes were to be legal tender except for customs dues. It was empowered to own steamship lines and railroads, and carry on mercantile business, without paying license fees. It was no doubt intended to monopolize or control all transportation within the Kingdom, as well as the importing business from the United States.

The charter was riddled both in the house and in the chamber of commerce, and indignation meetings of citizens were held until the King was alarmed, and finally it was killed on the second reading by an overwhelming majority. On hearing of the result the sugar king took the first steamer for Honolulu, and on his arrival "the air was blue—full of strange oaths, and many fresh and new." On second thought, however, and after friendly discussion he accepted the situation and a fair general banking law was passed providing for banks of deposit and exchange, but not of issue.

THE LOTTERY BILL, ETC.

At the same session a lottery bill was introduced by certain agents of the Louisiana company. It offered to pay all the expenses of the leper settlement for a license to carry on its nefarious business, besides

offering private inducements to venal legislators. In defiance of the public indignation, shown by mass meetings, petitions, etc., the bill was forced through its second reading, but was stopped at that stage and withdrawn, as is claimed, by Col. Speckels' personal influence with the King.

Kalakaua's famous "Report of the Board of Genealogy" was published at this session. An opium license bill was also killed, as well as an eight million dollar loan bill, while a number of excellent laws were passed. Among these were the currency act and Dole's homestead law. The true friends of the native race had reason to rejoice that so much evil had been prevented.

PRACTICAL POLITICS UNDER GIBSON.

During the next few years the country suffered from a peculiarly degrading kind of despotism. I do not refer to the King's personal immorality, nor to his systematic efforts to debauch and heathenize the natives to further his political ends.

The coalition in power defied public opinion and persistently endeavored to crush out, buy out, or disarm all opposition, and to turn the Government into a political machine for the perpetuation of their power. For the first time in Hawaiian history faithful officers who held commissions from the Kamehamehas were summarily removed on suspicion of "not being in accord" with the cabinet, and their places generally filled by pliant tools. A marked preference was given to unknown adventurers and defaulters over natives and old residents. Even contracts (for building bridges, for instance) were given to firms in foreign countries.

The various branches of the civil service were made political machines, and even the Board of Education and Government Survey came near being sacrificed to "practical politics." All who would not bow the knee received the honorable sobriquet of "missionaries." The demoralizing effects of this régime, the sycophancy, hypocrisy, and venality produced by it, have been a curse to the country ever since. The Legislature of 1884 was half composed of officeholders, and wires were skillfully laid to carry the next election. Grogshops were now licensed in the country districts, to serve as rallying points for the "National party." The Gibsonian papers constantly labored to foment race hatred among the natives and class jealousy among the whites.

Fortunately, one branch of the Government, the Supreme Court, still remained independent and outlived the Gibson régime.

THE ELECTION OF 1886.

The election of 1886 was the most corrupt one ever held in this Kingdom, and the last one held under the old régime. During the canvass the country districts were flooded with cheap gin, chiefly furnished by the King, who paid for it by franking other liquor through the custom-house free of duty, and thereby defrauding the Government of revenue amounting to \$4,749.35. (See report of attorney-general for 1888, and the case of the King *vs.* G. W. Macfarlane, 1888.) Out of 28 Government candidates 26 were officeholders, one a last year's tax assessor, and one the Queen's secretary. A list of them is appended herewith. There was only one white man on the Government ticket, viz, the premier's son-in-law.

List of Government candidates for the election of 1886 for representatives.

| Island. | District. | Name. | Office. |
|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| Hawaii..... | North Kona..... | J. K. Nahale..... | Tax collector. |
| | South Kona..... | D. H. Nahinu..... | Deputy sheriff and tax collector. |
| | Kau..... | Kaacamoku..... | |
| | Puna..... | A. Kekoa..... | Tax collector. |
| | Hilo..... | Kaulukou..... | Sheriff. |
| | Hilo..... | A. Pahia..... | Tax collector. |
| | Hamakua..... | Kaunamano..... | Do. |
| Maui..... | Kohala..... | Z. Kalai..... | District judge. |
| | Lahaina..... | L. Aholo..... | Police judge. |
| | Lahaina..... | Kai Nahaolelua..... | Tax collector. |
| | Hana..... | S. W. Kaai..... | District judge. |
| | Makawao..... | J. Kamakele..... | Tax collector. |
| | Wailuku..... | G. Richardson..... | Road supervisor and tax collector. |
| Molokai and Lanai | | J. Kaukau..... | Deputy sheriff and tax collector. |
| | | Nakaleka..... | Tax collector. |
| | | Kupihua..... | District judge. |
| Oahu..... | Honolulu..... | F. H. Hayselden..... | Secretary of the board of health and tax assessor. |
| | Honolulu..... | James Keau..... | Poi contractor. |
| | Honolulu..... | Lilikalani..... | Queen's secretary. |
| | Honolulu..... | J. T. Baker..... | Captain of King's guards. |
| | Ewa and Waianae..... | J. P. Kama..... | District judge. |
| | Koolauloa..... | Kauahikana..... | Tax collector. |
| | Koolaupoko..... | F. Kaulia..... | District judge. |
| | Waialua..... | J. Amara..... | Deputy sheriff and tax collector. |
| | Hanalei..... | Palohan..... | Do. |
| | Kofoa..... | T. Kalaeone..... | |
| Kauai..... | Waimea..... | E. Kauai..... | District judge. |

In order to prevent Pilipo's election, the King proceeded to his district of North Kona, taking with him a number of soldiers and attendants (who voted at the election), besides numerous cases of liquor. He took an active part in the canvass, and succeeded in defeating Pilipo by a small majority. The King's interference with the election nearly provoked a riot, which was averted by Pilipo's strenuous exertions. The matter was investigated by a Legislative committee, whose report is on file. Mr. E. Kekoa, the member elected from Puna, was afterwards tried and convicted of gross violations of the election laws, but the house refused to declare his seat vacant.

Only ten Reform candidates were elected, viz: Messrs. Cecil Brown, W. R. Castle, C. H. Dickey, S. B. Dole, J. Kauhane, A. Kauahi, J. Kalua, A. Paehaole, L. A. Thurston, and J. Wight.

THE SESSION OF 1886.

The session of 1886 was a long one, and a vacation of two weeks was taken, from July 26 until August 9, to allow the tax assessors in the Legislature to go home and nominally perform the duties of their office. About this time certain creditors of the Government in San Francisco brought pressure to bear upon the ministry to cede or hypothecate the Honolulu waterworks and part of the wharves to a California company. The pressure became so great that the ministers opposed to the project were requested by the King to resign, and a new cabinet was formed June 30, 1886, consisting of W. M. Gibson, Minister of the Interior; R. J. Creighton, a journalist, lately arrived from California, Minister of Foreign Affairs; J. T. Dare, another recent arrival, Attorney-General; and P. P. Kanoa, Minister of Finance, in place of J. Kapena, who had succumbed to the same failing that had destroyed Simon Kaai.

The two new members of the cabinet were respectable gentlemen, but soon found themselves in a false position.

THE OPIUM BILL.

An opium-license bill was introduced towards the end of the session by Kaunamano, one of the King's tools, and after a long debate carried over the votes of the ministry by a bare majority. It provided that a license for four years should be granted to "some one applying therefor" by the Minister of the Interior, with the consent of the King, for \$30,000 per annum. The object of this provision was plainly seen at the time, and its after consequences were destined to be disastrous to its author. Mr. Dole proposed an amendment that the license be sold at public auction at an upset price of \$30,000, which, however, was defeated by a majority of one, only one white man, F. H. Hayselden, voting with the majority.

Another act was passed to create a so-called "Hawaiian Board of Health," consisting of five kahunas, appointed by the King, with power to issue certificates to native kahunas to practice "native medicine."

THE LONDON LOAN.

The King had been convinced that, for the present, he must forego his pet scheme of a ten-million loan. A two-million loan bill, however, was brought in early in the session, with the view of obtaining the money in San Francisco. The subject was dropped for a time, then revived again, and the bill finally passed September 1.

Meanwhile, the idea of obtaining a loan in London was suggested to the King by Mr. A. Hoffnung, of that city, whose firm had carried on the Portuguese immigration. The proposal pleased the King, who considered that creditors at so great a distance would not be likely to trouble themselves much about the internal politics of his little Kingdom. Mr. H. R. Armstrong, of the firm of Skinner & Co., London, visited Honolulu to further the project, which was engineered by Mr. G. W. Macfarlane in the Legislature.

Two parties were now developed in that body, viz, the Spreckels party, led by the Ministry, and the King's party, which favored the London loan. The small knot of independent members held the balance of power.

The two contending parties brought in two sets of conflicting amendments to the loan act, of which it is not necessary to give the details. As Kaulukou put it, "the amendment of the Attorney-General provides that if they want to borrow any money they must pay up Mr. Spreckels first. He understood that the Government owed Mr. Spreckels \$600,000 or \$700,000. He has lent them money in the past, and were they prepared to say to him, 'We have found new friends in England'—to give him a slap in the face?"

On the other side, Mr. J. T. Baker "was tired of hearing a certain gentleman spoken of as a second king. As this amendment was in the interest of that gentleman he voted against it." Allusions were also made to the reports that the waterworks were going to be pledged to him. When the decisive moment arrived the independents cast their votes with the King's party, defeating the ministry by 23 votes to 14. The result was that the cabinet resigned that night, after which Gibson went on his knees to the King and begged to be reappointed.

The next morning, October 14, to the surprise of everyone and to the disgust of his late allies, Gibson reappeared in the house as premier, with three native colleagues, viz, Aholo, Kanoa, and Kaulukou. But from this time he had no real power, as he had neither moral nor financial backing. The helm of state had slipped from his

hands. Mr. Spreckels called on the King, returned all his decorations, and shook off the dust from his feet. The Legislature appropriated \$100,000 for a gunboat and \$15,000 to celebrate the King's fiftieth birthday.

In this brief sketch it is impossible to give any idea of the utter want of honor and decency that characterized the proceedings of the Legislature of 1886.

The appropriation bill footed up \$3,856,755. 50, while the estimated receipts were \$2,336,870.42.

W. D. ALEXANDER.

[Second part.]

SKETCH OF POLITICS IN KALAKAUA'S REIGN—continued.

THE SEQUEL OF THE LONDON LOAN.

From the report of the Minister of Finance for 1888 we learn that Mr. H. R. Armstrong, who had come to Honolulu as the agent of a London syndicate, was appointed agent of the Hawaiian Government to float the loan. He was also appointed Hawaiian Consul-General for Great Britain, while Mr. A. Hoffnung, previously referred to, was made *Chargé d'affaires*.

In the same report we find that the amount borrowed under the loan act of 1886 in Honolulu was \$771,800 and in London \$980,000. Of the former amount \$630,000 was used to extinguish the debt owed to Col. Spreckels. By the terms of the loan act the London syndicate was entitled to 5 per cent of the proceeds of the bonds which they disposed of as their commission for guaranteeing them at 98 per cent. But it appears that in addition to this amount £15,000, or about \$75,000, was illegally detained by them and has never been accounted for. The Legislature of 1888 appropriated the sum of \$5,000 to defray the expenses of a lawsuit against their financial agents to recover the \$75,000 thus fraudulently retained. The matter was placed in the hands of Col. J. T. Griffin, who advised the Government that it was not expedient to prosecute the case. The \$75,000 has therefore been entered on the books of the treasury department as a dead loss. Since then Mr. Armstrong's name has ceased to appear in the Government directory among those of the Consuls-General.

ROYAL MISRULE.

As before stated, the King now acted as his own prime minister, employing Gibson to execute his schemes and defend his follies. For the next eight months he rapidly went from bad to worse. After remaining one month in the cabinet Mr. Kaulukou was transferred to the Marshal's office, while Mr. Antone Rosa was appointed Attorney-General in his place and J. M. Kapena made Collector-General. The limits of this brief sketch forbid any attempt to recount the political grievances of this period. Among the lesser scandals were the sale of offices, the defrauding of the customs revenue by abuse of the royal privilege, the illegal leasing of lands in Kona and Kau to the King without putting them up to auction, the sale of exemptions to lepers, the gross neglect of the roads, and misapplication of the road money, particularly of the Queen street appropriation.

Efforts to revive heathenism were now redoubled under the pretense of cultivating "national" feeling. Kahunas were assembled from the other islands as the King's birthday approached, and "night was made hideous" with the sound of the hula drum and the blowing of conchs in the palace yard. A foreign fortune teller by the name of Rosenberg acquired great influence with the King.

THE HALE NAUA ALIAS TEMPLE OF SCIENCE, ALIAS BALL OF TWINE SOCIETY.

This was founded September 24, 1886. A charter for it was obtained by the King from the Privy Council, not without difficulty, on account of the suspicion that was felt in regard to its character and objects. According to its constitution it was founded forty quadrillions of years after the foundation of the world and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty years from Lailai, the first woman.

Its by-laws are a travesty of Masonry, mingled with pagan rites. The Sovereign is styled Iku Hai; the secretary, Iku Lani; the treasurer, Iku Nuu. Besides these were the keeper of the sacred fire, the anointer with oil, the almoner, etc. Every candidate had to provide an "oracle," a kauwila wand, a ball of olona twine, a dried fish, a taro root, etc. Every member or "mamo" was invested with a yellow malo or pau (apron) and a feather cape. The furniture of the hall comprised three drums, two kahilis or feathered staffs, and two puloulous or tabu sticks.

So far as the secret proceedings and objects of the society have transpired it appears to have been intended partly as an agency for the revival of heathenism, partly to pander to vice, and indirectly to serve as a political machine. Enough leaked out to intensify the general disgust that was felt at the debasing influence of the palace.

KALAKAUA'S JUBILEE.

The sum of \$15,000 had been appropriated by the Legislature of 1886 towards the expenses of the celebration of His Majesty's fiftieth birthday, which occurred November 16, 1886.

Extensive preparations were made to celebrate this memorable occasion, and all officeholders were given to understand that every one of them was expected to "hookupu" or make a present corresponding to his station. At midnight preceding the auspicious day a salute was fired and bonfires were lighted on Punchbowl hill, rockets were sent up, and all the bells in the city set ringing.

The reception began at 6 a. m. Premier Gibson had already presented the King with a pair of elephant tusks mounted on a koa stand with the inscription: "The horns of the righteous shall be exalted." The Honolulu police marched in and presented the King with a book on a velvet cushion containing a bank check for \$570. The Government physicians, headed by F. H. Hayselden, Secretary of the Board of Health, presented a silver box containing \$1,000 in twenty dollar gold pieces. The Custom-House clerks offered a costly gold-headed cane. All officials paid tribute in some shape. Several native benevolent societies marched in procession, for the most part bearing koa calabashes. The school children, the fishermen, and many other natives marched through the throne room, dropping their contributions into a box. It is estimated that the presents amounted in value to \$8,000 or \$10,000.

In consequence of the Hale Naua scandal scarcely any white ladies were seen at this reception. In the evening the palace was illumi-

nated with electric lights, and a torchlight parade of the Fire Department took place, followed by fireworks at the Palace.

On the 20th the public were amused by a so-called historical procession, consisting chiefly of canoes and boats carried on drays, containing natives in ancient costume, personating warriors and fishermen, mermaids draped with sea moss, hula dancers, etc., which passed through the streets to the Palace. Here the notorious Hale Nana or "Kilokilo" society had mustered, wearing yellow malos and paus or aprons over their clothes, and marched around the Palace, over which the yellow flag of their order was flying.

On the 23d a luau or native feast was served in an extensive lanai or shed in the palace grounds, where 1,500 people are said to have been entertained. This was followed by a jubilee ball in the Palace on the 25th. The series of entertainments was closed by the exhibition of a set of "historical tableaux" of the olden time at the opera house, concluding with a hulahula dance, which gave offense to most of the audience. No programme was published this time of the nightly hulahulas performed at the Palace.

THE SAMOAN EMBASSY.

In pursuance of the policy announced in Gibson's famous protest to the other great powers, and in order to advance Hawaii's claim to the "primacy of the Pacific," Hon. J. E. Bush was commissioned on the 23d of December, 1886, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Samoa and the King of Tonga, and High Commissioner to the other independent chiefs and peoples of Polynesia. He was accompanied by Mr. H. Poor, as Secretary of Legation, and J. D. Strong, as artist and collector for the Government museum. They arrived at Apia January 3, 1887, and were cordially received by King Malietoa on the 7th, when they drank kava with him and presented him with the Grand Cross of the Order of Oceania. Afterwards, at a more private interview, Bush intimated to Malietoa that he might expect a salary of \$5,000 or \$6,000 under a Hawaiian Protectorate. A house was built for the Legation at the expense of the Hawaiian Government.

A convention was concluded February 17 between King Malietoa and the Hawaiian Envoy, by which both parties bound themselves "to enter into a political confederation," which was duly ratified by Kalakaua and Gibson, "subject to the existing treaty obligations of Samoa," March 20, 1887.

"The signature was celebrated," says Robert Louis Stevenson, "in the new house of the Hawaiian Embassy with some original ceremonies. Malietoa came attended by his ministers, several hundred chiefs (Bush says 60), 2 guards and 6 policemen. Laupepa (Malietoa), always decent, withdrew at an early hour; by those that remained all decency appears to have been forgotten, and day found the house carpeted with slumbering grandees, who had to be roused, doctored with coffee, and sent home. * * * Laupepa remarked to one of the Embassy, "If you have come here to teach my people to drink, I wish you had stayed away." The rebuke was without effect, for still worse stories are told of the drunken orgies that afterwards disgraced the Hawaiian embassy."

THE KAIMILOA

About this time Mr. J. T. Arundel, an Englishman, engaged in the copra trade, visited Honolulu in his steamer, the *Explorer*, a vessel of

170 tons, which had been employed in plying between his trading stations. The King, who was impatient to start his new Navy, to maintain "Hawaiian primacy," had put the reformatory school under the charge of Capt. G. E. Jackson, a retired navigating lieutenant in the British navy, with the view of turning that institution into a naval training school. The old *Explorer* was purchased for \$20,000, and renamed the *Kaimiloa*. She was then altered and fitted out as a man-of-war at an expense of about \$50,000, put into commission March 28, and placed under the command of Capt. Jackson. The crew was mainly composed of boys from the reformatory school, whose conduct as well as that of their officers was disgraceful in the extreme.

The *Kaimiloa* sailed for Samoa May 18, 1887. On the preceding evening a drunken row had taken place on board, for which three of the officers were summarily dismissed. The after history of the expedition was in keeping with its beginning. As Stevenson relates: "The *Kaimiloa* was from the first a scene of disaster and dilapidation; the stores were sold; the crew revolted; for a great part of a night she was in the hands of mutineers, and the Secretary lay bound upon the deck."

On one occasion the *Kaimiloa* was employed to carry the Hawaiian embassy to Atua, for a conference with Mataafa, who had remained neutral, but she was followed and watched by the German corvette, *Adler*. "Mataafa was no sooner set down with the embassy than he was summoned and ordered on board by two German officers."

Another well-laid plan to detach the rebel leader, Tamasese, from his German "protectors," was foiled by the vigilance of Capt. Brandeis. At length, Bismarck himself was incensed and caused a warning to be sent from Washington to Gibson, in consequence of which Minister Bush was recalled July 7, 1887. Mr. Poor was instructed to dispose of the legation property as soon as possible, and to send home the attachés, the Government curios, etc., by the *Kaimiloa*, which arrived in Honolulu September 23. She was promptly dismantled, and afterwards sold at auction, bringing the paltry sum of \$2,800. Her new owners found her a failure as an interisland steamer, and she is now laid up in the "naval row."

THE OPIUM BRIBE.

The facts of this case were stated in the affidavit of Aki, published May 31, 1887, and those of Wong Leong, J. S. Walker, and Nahora Hipa, published June 28, 1887, as well as in the decision of Judge Preston in the case of Loo Ngawk *et al.*, executors of the will of T. Aki, *vs.* A. J. Cartwright *et al.*, trustees of the King (Haw. Rep., Vol. vii, p. 401).

I have already spoken of the opium license law, which was carried by the Royalist party in the Legislature of 1886, and signed by the King in spite of the most vigorous protests from all classes of the community. As this law had been saddled with amendments, which rendered it nearly unworkable, a set of regulations was published October 15, 1886, providing for the issue of permits to purchase or use opium by the Marshal, who was to retain half the fee and the Government the other half.

The main facts of the case, as proved before the court, are as follows: Early in November, 1886, one Junius Kaae, a palace parasite, informed a Chinese rice-planter named Tong Kee, alias Aki, that he could have the opium license granted to him if he would pay the sum of \$60,000 to the King's private purse, but that he must be in haste because other parties were bidding for the privilege. With some dif-

ficulty Aki raised the money, and secretly paid it to Kaae and the King in three installments between December 3 and December 8, 1886. Soon afterwards Kaae called on Aki and informed him that one Kwong Sam Kee had offered the King \$75,000 for the license, and would certainly get it, unless Aki paid \$15,000 more. Accordingly Aki borrowed the amount and gave it to the King personally on the 11th.

Shortly after this another Chinese syndicate, headed by Chung Lung, paid the King \$80,000 for the same object, but took the precaution to secure the license before handing over the money. Thereupon Aki, finding that he had lost both his money and his license, divulged the whole affair, which was published in the Honolulu papers. He stopped the payment of a note at the bank for \$4,000, making his loss \$71,000. Meanwhile Junius Kaae was appointed to the responsible office of registrar of conveyances, which had become vacant by the death of the lamented Thomas Brown.

As was afterwards ascertained, the King ordered a \$100,000 gunboat from England, through Mr. G. W. Macfarlane, but the negotiations for it were broken off by the revolution.

On the 12th of April, 1887, Queen Kapiolani and the Princess Liliuokalani, accompanied by Messrs C. P. Iaukea, J. H. Boyd, and J. O. Dominis, left for England to attend the celebration of the jubilee held upon the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. They returned on the 26th of July, 1887.

THE REFORM LEAGUE.

The exposure of the two opium bribes and the appointment of the King's accomplice in the crime as registrar of conveyances helped to bring matters to a crisis, and united nearly all taxpayers not merely against the King, but against the system of government under which such iniquities could be perpetrated.

In the spring of 1887 a secret league had been formed in Honolulu, with branches on the other islands, for the purpose of putting an end to the prevailing misrule and extravagance, and of establishing a civilized government, responsible to the people through their representatives. Arms were imported, and rifle clubs sprang up all over the islands. In Honolulu a volunteer organization known as the "Rifles" was increased in numbers, and brought to a high state of efficiency under the command of Col. V. V. Ashford. It is supposed that the league now numbered from 800 to 1,000 men, while its objects had the sympathy of the great majority of the community. It was at first expected that monarchy would then be abolished, and a republican constitution was drawn up.

As the time for action approached, the resident citizens of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany addressed memorials to their respective governments, through their representatives, declaring the conditions of affairs to be intolerable. As is the case in all such movements, the league was composed of average men, actuated by a variety of motives, but all agreed in their main object. Fortunately, the "spoils wing" of the party failed eventually to capture either branch of the Government, upon which a number of them joined the old Gibsonian party and became bitter enemies of reform.

THE GREAT REFORM MEETING.

Some members of the league, including Col. Ashford, were in favor of a sudden attack upon the Palace, but this advice was overruled, and it was decided to first hold a public mass meeting to state their griev-

ances and to present specific demands to the King. Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 30th of June, 1887, all business in Honolulu was suspended, and an immense meeting was held in the armory, on Bereania street, composed of all classes, creeds, and nationalities, but united in sentiment as never before or since. The meeting was guarded by a battalion of the Rifles fully armed. A set of resolutions was passed unanimously declaring that the Government had "ceased through incompetency and corruption to perform the functions and to afford the protection to personal and property rights for which all governments exist," and demanding of the King the dismissal of his cabinet, the restitution of the \$71,000 received as a bribe from Aki, the dismissal of Junius Kaae from the land office, and a pledge that the King would no longer interfere in politics.

A committee of thirteen was sent to wait on His Majesty with these demands. His troops had mostly deserted him, and the native populace seemed quite indifferent to his fate. He called in the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Portugal, to whom he offered to transfer his powers as King. This they refused, but advised him to lose no time in forming a new cabinet and signing a new constitution. Accordingly he sent a written reply the next day, which virtually conceded every point demanded. The new cabinet, consisting of Godfrey Brown, Minister of Foreign Affairs; L. A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior; W. L. Green, Minister of Finance, and C. W. Ashford, Attorney-General, was sworn in on the same day, July 1.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1887.

As the King had yielded the republican constitution was dropped, and the constitution of 1864 revised in such a way as to secure two principal objects, viz, to put an end to autocratic rule by making the Ministers responsible only to the people through the Legislature and to widen the suffrage by extending it to foreigners, who till then had been practically debarred from naturalization. I have given the details in another paper.

Mr. Gibson was arrested July 1, but was allowed to leave on the 5th by a sailing vessel for San Francisco. Threats of lynching had been made by some young hot heads, but fortunately no acts of violence or revenge tarnished the revolution of 1887.

An election for members of the Legislature was ordered to be held September 12, and regulations were issued by the new ministry, which did away with many abuses, and secured the fairest election that had been held in the Islands for twenty years. The result was an overwhelming victory for the Reform party, which was a virtual ratification of the new constitution. During the next three years, in spite of the bitter hostility and intrigues of the King, the continual agitation by demagogues, and repeated conspiracies, the country prospered under the most efficient administration that it has ever known.

W. D. ALEXANDER.

APPENDIX.

FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE AKI CASE.

It has been seen that on the 30th of June, 1887, Kalakaua promised in writing that he would "cause restitution to be made" of the \$71,000 which he had obtained from Aki, under a promise that he (Aki) should receive the license to sell opium as provided by the act of 1886.

The Reform cabinet urged the King to settle this claim before the meeting of the Legislature, and it was arranged that the revenues from the Crown lands should be appropriated to that object. When, however, they ascertained that his debts amounted to more than \$250,000 they advised the King to make an assignment in trust for the payment of all claims pro rata. Accordingly, a trust deed was executed November 21, 1887, assigning all the Crown land revenues and most of the King's private estate to three trustees for the said purpose, on condition that the complainant would bring no petition or bills before the Legislature, then in session.

Some three months later these trustees refused to approve or pay the Aki claim, on which Aki's executors brought suit against them before the Supreme Court.

After a full hearing of the evidence, Judge Preston decided that the plea of the defendants that the transaction between Aki and the King was illegal could not be entertained, as by the constitution the King "could do no wrong," and "can not be sued or held to account in any court of the Kingdom." Furthermore, as the claimants had agreed to forbear presenting their claim before the Legislature in consideration of the execution of the trust deed, the full court ordered their claim to be paid pro rata with other approved claims.

W. D. A.

No. 2.

Statement of W. D. Alexander.

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE LATE
REVOLUTION IN HAWAII NEI.

The writer of the following statement, a citizen of the islands by birth, is a conservative both in principle and by natural inclination.

It is generally admitted that revolutions are not justifiable except as a last resort when all constitutional methods of redress have been thoroughly tried and failed and when the most vital and necessary rights of citizens are at stake. Hence, we condemned the *coup d'etat* of Kamehameha V in 1864 because it was unnecessary, and because it unsettled the foundations of the Government.

The experiment of carrying on constitutional government of the Anglo-Saxon type in a country with a mixed population like that of these islands was a difficult and doubtful one, but it was entered upon by men of rare ability and unselfish patriotism, and for thirty years it was fairly successful.

It was then well understood that in order to maintain an independent government it was necessary to combine the foreign and native elements in one common organization for the good of all classes.

The Kings of the Kamehameha dynasty were sincere patriots and had some conception of their position as constitutional sovereigns and of their true policy towards foreigners.

It seemed for awhile as if these islands would give the world a lesson in the art of combining widely different races on equal terms in one government. The Government in those days has been called an oligarchy, but if so, it was a just and beneficent oligarchy.

It was simply the legitimate influence exercised by superior intelligence and character, without which the experiment would have failed.

in the outset. Undoubtedly Kamehameha V was right in saying that privileges and duties had been bestowed upon the common people for which they were wholly unprepared.

During his reign from various causes a retrograde tendency began to show itself among the native population and the former good understanding between the races began to be impaired.

One cause was the partial withdrawal of the American board from its mission to these islands, the evil effects of which have been felt morally, socially, and politically. There has passed away a class of white residents devoted to the interests of the natives and possessing their confidence, who acted as mediators between them and that portion of the white population which had less regard for the rights and the welfare of the aborigines.

Another cause was the premature extinction of the order of chiefs, who were the natural leaders of their race, and whose part could not be filled by plebians or foreigners.

The scourge of leprosy, which compelled the enactment of severe segregation laws, helped to widen the breach between the races.

The consequences were first seen in the lawlessness and race hatred which broke out during Lunalilo's brief reign, 1873-74.

The next reign was signalized by an extraordinary development of the resources of the country, produced by foreign enterprise and capital and by a large increase of the foreign element in the population.

King Kalakaua, however, seemed to be blind to the course of events and to the true interests of his people. His chief object appears to have been to change the system of government into an Asiatic despotism on the pattern of Johore, in which the white "invaders," as they were called, should have no voice in its administration.

In pursuance of this policy systematic efforts were made, with too much success, to demoralize the native population by the revival of heathen superstitions and the encouragement of vice, and to foment race jealousy and hatred under the guise of "national" feeling. The patronage of the Government was abused without stint, and the corrupt arts of Tammany were employed to carry elections and to pack legislatures with subservient officeholders.

A number of patriotic "sons of the soil" of both races labored with small success to stem the tide of corruption and to avert the impending ruin of their native land.

At last affairs reached such a crisis that on the 30th of June, 1887, an uprising of nearly the whole foreign population, supported by the better class of natives, took place, which compelled the King to sign a constitution that was intended to put an end to personal rule. By this instrument the administration of public affairs was placed in the hands of a Cabinet, responsible only to the Legislature, while officeholders were made ineligible to seats in that body.

The remaining three and a half years of his reign teemed with intrigues and conspiracies to restore autocratic government. One of these ended in the deplorable insurrection and bloodshed of July 31, 1889, which did much to aggravate the ill-feeling existing between the two races, and was made the most of by reactionary politicians to fire the native mind.

In spite of Kalakaua's faults as a ruler he was kind-hearted and courteous in private life, and there was mourning in Honolulu at the news of his death, received January 29, 1891.

Grave apprehensions were then felt at the accession of his sister, Liliuokalani, which, however, were partially relieved by her promptly

taking the oath to maintain the constitution of 1887. Notwithstanding her past record it was hoped by many that she had sufficient good sense to understand her position and to abide by the spirit as well as the letter of the constitution. This hope has been disappointed. Her ideal of government is the same as that of Kalakaua, and her determination to realize it has cost her the Throne.

I have not the heart to recapitulate the shameful story (with which the newspapers are filled), of the protracted struggle in the late Legislature, culminating in the triumph of the lottery and opium rings, allied with the Crown, and in the attempted *coup d'état* of the 14th instant.

The experiment spoken of in the beginning of this article, seems to have broken down at last.

The utmost efforts of able and patriotic men have only prolonged its life a few years.

Considering the character of our mixed population, the intensity of race jealousy, the concentration of one-fourth of the population, comprising its most turbulent elements in the capital city, it seems vain to expect a stable, self-governing, independent state under such conditions. It is time one of the great Powers should intervene, and it is needless to ask which power has its hands unfettered by conventions, and already holds paramount interests and responsibilities in this archipelago.

W. D. ALEXANDER.

JANUARY 28, 1893.

No. 3.

Statement of W. D. Alexander.

HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT SURVEY,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, April 12, 1893.

DEAR SIR: By the permission of the attorney-general, I take the liberty of inclosing a brief statement on the title of the Crown lands of this country.

If you desire further information on this or other subjects, I am entirely at your service.

I remain yours faithfully,

W. D. ALEXANDER.

Hon. J. H. BLOUNT.

HONOLULU, March 31, 1893.

His Excellency W. O. SMITH,
Attorney-General:

DEAR SIR: In regard to the status of the crown lands, I beg leave to report as follows:

The term crown lands is applied in this country to certain lands reserved by Kamehameha III in the great division of lands March 8, 1848, "for himself, his heirs, and successors forever."

The circumstances were briefly as follows:

Under the ancient feudal system the *allodium* of all lands belonged to the King, not however, as an individual, but "as the head of the nation, or in his corporate right," to quote the language of the land commission. The constitution of 1840 declared that the land of the Kingdom was not the private property of Kamehameha I. "It belonged to the chiefs and people in common, of whom Kamehameha I was the head, and had the management of the landed property."

Thus all lands forfeited for nonpayment of taxes reverted to him. His consent was necessary for any transfer of real estate in the Kingdom, and for real mortgages also, and for the seizure of land for debt. (Old laws, p. 179.)

When the labor tax first began to be regulated by law every tenant was required to work one day in every week (Tuesday) for the King and one day (Friday) for his landlord. But this was afterwards reduced to thirty-six days in the year for the King and an equal number for the landlord. (Old laws, p. 27.)

The idea of a government as distinct from the person of the King first began to be clearly recognized in the constitution of 1840.

From that time it was seen more and more clearly that the King held a two-fold character—first, as an individual chief, and, secondly, in his official capacity as head of the Government.

It was in virtue of both titles that the land commission decided that one-third of the lands in the Kingdom belonged to the King. It is hardly necessary for our present purpose to give the history of the land commission and of the great division of 1848. Suffice it to say, that in 1848 a committee was appointed to effect the division between the King as feudal suzerain and the chiefs, his feudatories, which completed its work in forty days. Partition deeds were signed and sealed by the King on one side and the several chiefs on the other side, who were then entitled to receive awards from the land commission for the lands thus partitioned off to them.

At the close of this division the King held in his possession about half of all the lands in the Kingdom.

But it was evident, to quote from the decision of the Supreme Court (in the matter of the estate of His Majesty Kamehameha IV) in 1864, that the lands held by the King at the close of the Mahele were not regarded as his private property, strictly speaking: Even before his division with the landlords a second division between himself and the Government was clearly contemplated, and he appears to have admitted that the lands he then held might have been subjected to a commutation in favor of the Government, in like manner with the lands of the chiefs. Accordingly, on the very day after the Mahele, or division with his chiefs, was closed, viz, the 8th day of March, 1848, he proceeded "to set apart for the use of the Government the larger part of his royal domain, reserving to himself what he deemed a reasonable amount of land as his own estate."

This latter class of lands "he reserved for himself and his heirs forever" as his own private estate, and they are now known as Crown Lands.

On the 7th day of the following June, 1848, the legislative council passed the "act relating to the lands of His Majesty the King and of the Government," which confirms and ratifies the division which had already been made by the King, thus making it an act of the nation through its representatives. In this act the said lands are designated by name, and declared "to be the private lands of His Majesty Kamehameha III, to have and to hold to himself, his heirs, and successors forever; and said lands shall be regulated and disposed of according to his royal will and pleasure, subject only to the rights of tenants."

It is well known that both Kamehameha III, and his immediate successor, Kamehameha IV, dealt with these lands as their private property, selling, leasing, or mortgaging them at pleasure. These royal deeds of sale constitute titles equally valid with Royal Patents.

At the death of Kamehameha IV, it was decided by the Supreme Court, in April, 1864, that the lands reserved to the Sovereign by the act of June 7, 1848, "descend in fee, the inheritance being limited, however, to the successors to the throne, and that each successive possessor may regulate and dispose of the same according to his will and pleasure as private property, in like manner as was done by Kamehameha III."

At the same time the Court decided that Queen Emma was lawfully entitled to dower in the said lands, there being nothing in said act, taking away her right to dower in the lands therein named.

Afterwards an act was passed January 3, 1865, "to relieve the royal domain from encumbrances and to render the same inalienable." This act provided for the redemption of the mortgages on the estate by the issue of exchequer bonds not to exceed \$30,000, and enacted that so many of the lands reserved by the act of June 7, 1848, as remained at that time unalienated, should be thenceforth "*inalienable*, and descend to the heirs and successors of the Hawaiian Crown forever;" and that "it shall not be lawful hereafter to execute any lease or leases of said lands for any term of years to exceed thirty." A board of commissioners of crown lands was then created, "to consist of three persons, to be appointed by the King, two of whom should be appointed from among the members of his cabinet council, and serve without any remuneration, while the other should act as land agent, and be paid out of the revenues of said lands such sum as may be agreed to by His Majesty the King."

The foregoing acts were approved and signed by Kamehameha V, who was the heir to the estate as well as successor to the throne.

He thereby renounced for himself and his successors the power to alienate any of the crown lands, in consideration of the payment by the Legislature of the debts with which the estate had become encumbered, and of the settlement of a permanent annuity upon Queen Emma in lieu of her claim of dower in the royal domain.

By the same act he concurred with the Legislature and the court in constituting them a class of national lands, set apart for the *successors* to the throne, instead of being governed by the general laws of inheritance.

The correctness of the foregoing settlement has been contested by some of our best lawyers. They have denied that it carried out the intention of Kamehameha III, and have even held it to have been unconstitutional, and that an action in equity might be brought in behalf of the heirs of the estate of Kamehameha III.

On the death of Kamehameha V his half-sister, Ruth Keelikolani, inherited his private lands, but the Crown Lands were held by the commissioners for the benefit of his successors.

Col. Claus Spreckels, being desirous of obtaining a fee-simple title for the Hawaiian Commercial Company to the lands of Wailuku, Maui, and having taken legal advice, purchased from Ruth Keelikolani, the sister and heir of Kamehameha V, all her interest or claim in and to the Crown Lands for the sum of \$10,000.

The conveyance is dated September 13, 1880, and is recorded in Vol. 64.

After due investigation, the Gibson cabinet agreed to compromise this claim without taking it before the Courts, and an act was carried through the Legislature of 1882, and approved July 21, 1882, by which the commissioners of crown lands were authorized to convey to Claus Spreckels "the Ahupuaa of Wailuku, Maui, with the Ilis therein or thereunto belonging, which were estimated to contain 24,000 acres, or thereabouts."

Accordingly, on the 11th of August, 1882, Mr. Spreckels executed a deed, releasing to the Commissioners of Crown Lands all of the undivided interest claimed by him in said lands by virtue of the conveyance made to himself by Ruth Keelikolani.

At the same time a royal patent, viz. No. 3343, for the Ahupuaa of Wailuku, was signed by the King and delivered to Claus Spreckels.

This transaction satisfied any claim on the crown lands that could be raised by any heirs of Kamehameha III, and no further claim on them has been raised since that time.

They have remained, as was settled in 1865, National Lands, to be administered for the benefit of the occupant of the throne, who is entitled to receive the revenues of said lands only by virtue of his or her *official* position as chief magistrate.

The Kalakaua dynasty had no claim on them whatever by the general law of inheritance. In fact no claim of that kind exists at present.

In the Legislative Session of 1890 it was suggested that the vested rights of the reigning Sovereign in the crown lands should be provided for by issuing bonds, the interest upon which should be equal to his annual receipts from said land, and which should expire at his death.

The object of this proposal was to enable the Government to open these valuable lands, embracing about 876,000 acres, to settlement by industrious farmers of small means.

In view of the above facts it would seem that, upon the abolition of the office for which the revenues of the Crown Lands were appropriated, the lands would escheat to the Government, and it would then be in order for the Legislature to repeal the act of January 3, 1865, and to use the said lands thenceforth for the purpose of building up a class of industrious and thrifty farmers, owning their lands in fee simple. Such a class is the mainstay of every free country.

I remain, yours, respectfully,

W. D. ALEXANDER,
Surveyor-General.

*Statement of Volney V. Ashford.*HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *March 8, 1893.*

Hon. JAMES H. BLOUNT,

United States Ambassador to Hawaii:

SIR: You ask me to put in writing the substance of my information to you *in re* Hawaiian affairs on the 3d instant. In order to fully understand the situation, it seems necessary to refer to political developments which led to the conditions existing on January 14 last past.

Since the time of King Kamehameha V, in 1864, the political status of the Hawaiian Islands was that of a constitutional monarchy with succession to legitimate heirs, failing which, the sovereign nominated his own successor, such nomination to be ratified by the majority of the nobles. Failing both these alternatives, it rested with the entire Legislature (nobles and representatives) to elect a new sovereign. This latter was the case upon the death of Lunalilo, known as the last of the Kamehamehas, in 1874. The candidates were Kalakaua and the Queen Dowager Emma, widow of Kamehameha IV. The latter was the favorite of the natives, while Kalakaua was selected by the foreign element—then chiefly American—who feared the islands would drift to England if under the rule of Queen Emma, who had spent much time in visiting that country, and was anti-American in all her sentiments.

Kalakaua was not selected for his virtues, but simply because he could be controlled. The Legislature, which was chiefly composed of natives, was bribed to vote for Kalakaua, whose election was thereby secured, but the native population created a riot which resulted in several fatal casualties and was only quelled by the intervention of British and American men-of-war's men in port. Thus the late King began his reign, under conditions accomplished by fraud and sustained by foreign force, with the bitter hostility of the great majority of his countrymen. His extravagances and corruptions, as subsequently developed, helped him but little with the natives, who looked on him as a usurper and outside the real chiefhood, while the foreign population became gradually more estranged, until the ante-revolutionary condition of 1887 stared the country in the face. But with all the King's recklessness he was careful to keep within the letter of the law, though continually violating its spirit. He was enabled to do this from the peculiar privileges and prerogatives allowed by the then constitution.

The legislative body consisted of two so-called "houses" (though they sat together in one). Half the Legislature consisted of the "nobles," appointed for life by the sovereign. This process, abused to favor royal lickspittles regardless of their merits, gradually changed the general character of the house of nobles, so that the great majority of them were absolutely the creatures of the King, whose powerful influence over the majority of the representatives also, through his manipulating and distributing offices, and all kinds of public favors among them, gave him the literal ownership of the entire Legislature in pushing all his corrupt measures through Parliament, so that revolution became the only possible remedy. All government patronage was in the King's hands, through his power of appointing and dismissing his ministers at will. Such a thing as independence of Parliament was utterly unknown; while laws were passed at the King's nod, appropriating vast sums for such revels and indecencies as his lewd and extravagant tastes suggested; while orgies, debauchery, hulas,

and "sounds of revelry by night," made the neighborhood of the royal palace offensive to all but the royal debauchees.

The plan of the movement of 1887, into which the distracted populace were thus driven, embraced the establishment of an independent republic, with the view to ultimate annexation to the United States. All foreigners, even the British, were practically unanimous in this, while the natives stood by, and said to us: "This is not our king; he is yours. You forced him upon us against our protest. Do with him as you will." Had it not been for this passive attitude of the Hawaiians, it is doubtful if the movement of 1887 would have succeeded.

Even as it was, the movement came well nigh dismal failure by reason of the desertion of several of the "missionary" wing of the revolutionary league, when the time for action arrived. The term "Missionary" party is now used in the islands in a political sense. It consists of the early white inhabitants and their immediate descendants, who have become a family compact in religious, social, commercial, professional, and political matters, in which they are opposed to the larger part of the white population, and almost all the natives.

The missionary deserters, and the influence the deserters forced upon the balance of the league, resulted in a compromise in shape of a demand for certain political rights from the King, preliminary to actual revolt (June 30, 1887). He promised to grant the concessions demanded; and thereupon in pursuance of such promise, so wrested from him, he promulgated a new constitution (July 7, 1887), which deprived the sovereign of many prerogatives, chief of which were (1) the right to appoint nobles; (2) the power to dismiss ministers without consent of the legislature; (3) the absolute right of veto. The general franchise for representatives (composed of twenty-four members from an equal number of electoral districts), was extended to all residents, aliens included (except Asiatics), who registered within certain dates, etc., regardless of property qualifications. Twenty-four nobles were also to be elected in sets, or series, by those of the general or representative electors, who owned \$3,000 worth of real estate unincumbered, or received \$600 of income. Thus, the election of one-half the Legislature was put in the power of a small minority of aliens, most of whom had been enfranchised by the new constitution; for the conditions were such that very few natives had the required amount of property left, and few Hawaiians received from personal services the amount of \$600 per annum. Practically all aliens, however (except Asiatics) received much more. Thus, the control of the Legislature passed to aliens, most of them without any property interests, but servants in different lines of the planting and commercial element, who all belong to the Missionary party, and were hostile to the native Hawaiians.

The nobles and representatives sat and voted together; and, though the Native party were to the revolutionary or Reform party, as four or five to one, yet the latter succeeded, by the differential franchise, in controlling, by a large majority, the Legislature returned next after the revolution. This condition naturally exasperated the Hawaiian people, while many white men took up the native cause, some from sentiments of pure justice, others as a matter of political expediency, to restore domestic contentment, yet the tremendous advantage given by conditions which enabled a small minority to elect half the Legislature clear, and gave them even chances in the election of the balance, has kept political power in the hands of the few, and the country has continued in a constant and growing state of ferment.

When the revolution of 1887 took place the ex-Queen Kalakaua's sis-

ter was absent in England at the Victorian jubilee. On and after her return she evinced, on every opportunity, her disgust at the turn of affairs, and her determination to reëstablish the royal prerogatives at the first opportunity. She did not await her own succession. She eagerly accepted a proposition from friends of the then cabinet to enter into a conspiracy to force the King to abdicate. The intention of the cabinet of the day was to intimidate the King by a division in the royal family, he being then unmanageable, and continually violating the conditions of the new constitution respecting the veto, during the legislative session of December, 1887.

The object being accomplished by the submission and promised loyalty of the King, Mrs. Dominis continued the conspiracy to a point where some 300 armed conspirators, all natives, had assembled in the barracks of the royal guards (the guardsmen having already been won over) and sent a committee to the King to demand his abdication. This was in January, 1888. The King induced this committee to give him forty-eight hours to deliberate. During the intervening time the conspiracy was discovered by a Government official by the purest accident. The leaders were quietly brought one by one before notaries and sworn confessions taken which are now among the Government archives. On account of personal relations between Mr. Thurston (then minister of the interior) and some of the half-white leaders in this affair, the Government did not prosecute anyone, or even divulge the facts to the public, only insisting that Wilcox, one of the leaders, should leave the country. This was done, but events showed that the then princess immediately reëmbarked in a further conspiracy in the same direction, and which resulted in the Wilcox insurrection of July 30, 1889. Besides Wilcox, the committee who, on the occasion above mentioned, were sent by the conspirators to force the King's abdication, were Maj. Nowlein and C. B. Wilson. The latter had been for many years notoriously one of Liliuokalani's paramours. The former was commanding officer of the Second Battalion, Hawaiian volunteers, an organization of native Hawaiians, which was subsequently disbanded by the Government for disloyalty, disobedience, and insubordination in refusing to turn out to suppress the insurrection of 1889; and later on (until the abrogation of the monarchy) was commander of the royal guard.

Ever since the year 1887 the political record of R. W. Wilcox has been so closely interwoven with Hawaiian events that it is proper to make a passing reference to him at this point. A native of the island of Maui, of mixed Hawaiian and American parentage, his father came from the State of Connecticut, and still follows the occupation of a rancher on Maui. The young man taught school in his youth, and at 20 years of age (which is legal age in Hawaii) represented his native district in the Legislature. He was subsequently selected by the Government as one of the young Hawaiians to be sent abroad to be scientifically educated at the public expense, according to the line of policy then in vogue, and had been seven years in the best military and engineering schools of the Italian Government, and was serving in the Italian artillery as a subaltern when the revolution occurred. Thereupon our Government issued an order of recall to a number of their students abroad, and with others Wilcox returned to Honolulu in November, 1887. Being refused employment by the Government and boycotted by the "Missionary" party, he readily fell in with the ideas of the Princess Liliuokalani, as above stated.

After going to California, on the failure of the first or "Dominis" conspiracy, he sought employment as engineer in the Spring Valley

waterworks till April, 1889, when Liliuokalani called him back to again assist her to "restore the rights of the native chiefs." He at once responded and, arriving at Honolulu in April, 1889, took up his abode at the princess Palama residence where she herself then lived apart from her husband. Here he organized the movement, held revolutionary meetings, gathered arms and munitions, collected men for the expedition, and moved out in regular military order on the early morning of July 30, 1889, with about 100 armed men to the Government headquarters. After taking possession of the parliament buildings and palace grounds, recruits were collected by messengers hastily sent out, and by daylight (which was the first the authorities knew of the movement) he had possession of everything, with an armed force of 400 to 500 men.

In addition to this, the royal guard were all on his side, although their captain held immediate possession of the palace itself with 30 men, and with orders from the King to allow none to enter till further instructed. Kalakaua was in the conspiracy. He had joined issues with his sister (the princess), the plan being to restore, by force, the constitution of 1864. His suspicions as to his sister's *bona fides* had been strongly aroused, however, and on the preceding evening they had been confirmed by some native friends, who persuaded him that Liliuokalani's real object was to compel his abdication as soon as the act of promulgating the proposed constitution should be carried out. He thereupon, at midnight, moved from the palace to Honuakaka, his Queen's private residence, taking 12 of the most trustworthy men of the guard, leaving 30 men at the palace, as above stated, and when the report came that Wilcox was on the move, he took refuge in his boathouse in the harbor, but a stone's throw from the U. S. S. *Adams*. In this position he could avoid all chances of capture, as the only access to the boathouse was over wooden causeways of considerable length, giving him time to escape to the *Adams* on the least alarm. There he remained till the battle was over and the insurgents dispersed or captured.

Two days previously the King himself had taken Wilcox through the palace and barracks, and showed him the position of the cannon, reserve small arms, ammunition, etc., and on the afternoon of the 29th of July he sent word to Wilcox to move at once, as, for certain reasons connected with a quarrel which happened the day previous between the King and cabinet, in regard to the transfer of Gatling gun carriages from the royal guard to the police authorities, and which the King refused, he considered immediate action necessary. When, therefore, the expedition arrived at the palace, and Wilcox found the King had gone, leaving instructions for the guard to hold the palace subject to his further orders, he was paralyzed. However, he seized every point of vantage, posted cannon, and sent a message to the King thus: "Your Majesty: We are here, at the palace, according to the plans agreed upon;" to which Kalakaua replied: "Remain there and complete your part of the undertaking. I will be there when the proper moment arrives." The above was developed at the subsequent trial of Loomens, a Belgian ex-artilleryman, for treason for participation in the insurrection. He was convicted, sentenced to death, had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment, and was subsequently turned loose on condition he should leave the Kingdom. At the same trial the letter mentioned above, from Liliuokalani to Wilcox calling him home to "restore the chiefs, etc.," came to light. It was discovered in a pocket of his clothing, in Liliuokalani's house, upon search being made on the

night of the 30th July, after the defeat of the movement and Wilcox's capture.

After this, the princess deserted Wilcox, denied all knowledge of his plans and of the conspiracy, and showed her entire willingness that the men who had taken their lives in their hands at her solicitation should now hang. This treacherous conduct of the woman was the beginning of Wilcox's conversion from "chief" rule to the rule of the people. His disgust for her was also heightened by her treachery to her brother, whose place she was ready at any moment to occupy by any means necessary to replace him. In fact, her conduct succeeding the failure of the Wilcox insurrection alienated many of her old-time friends, and was the beginning of her downfall in the affections of the natives. Naturally Wilcox has ever since been an advocate of annexation to the United States, although his idea was to accomplish this end by first establishing an independent republic, and proceeding as in the case of Texas.

It should be here mentioned that some 10 Hawaiians were killed in the action, or died of wounds, and as many more wounded; the above-named Loomens was the only man convicted by the courts, most of the others having been either acquitted or discharged, while a few pleaded guilty to minor charges and received light sentences. Wilcox himself, after his acquittal, became the acknowledged leader, both in and out of parliament, of the Hawaiian people, who composed the great bulk of the new Liberal party, whose shibboleth was equal civil rights. Under this as a first principle, the Liberals rolled up an immense majority of the entire vote at the general election of February, 1890, and actually secured a handsome majority of the legislature, with which they succeeded in ousting the so-called Thurston cabinet, in June of the same year. But a number of those foreigners whom the natives had elected on the Liberal ticket deserted to the "Missionary" party, and, forming a coalition cabinet, carried on the Government in a way which increased the discontent of the people, till the death of the King, in San Francisco, on January 20, 1891.

The magnificent manner in which the King—alive and dead—had been treated in America by the governments of the Republic and of the State of California, by the city of San Francisco, and by the people at large, mollified in very great measure the hereditary aversion of the Hawaiians towards American political affiliation—a feeling growing out of their dislike for the mercenary land-grabbing qualities of the "missionaries" on whom they mistakenly looked as specimens of Americanism. For although their *aloha* for the King was not the *aloha* they formerly bore to their real chiefs, yet each Hawaiian seemed to look upon the courtesies of Americans to the sovereign as a personal compliment to himself. It was long well known that large numbers of both whites and natives had determined that Kalakaua should be the last Hawaiian monarch. But the surprise accompanying his almost tragic return completely balked any organization till his successor was nailed won, as it were. It was also well known that Liliuokalani was determined that the constitution of 1887 should be abolished, at latest, on the moment of her accession. But the same surprise had a similarly opposite effect (if the term be allowable) upon her.

The cabinet of the day, realizing that delay would cause a movement for the abolition of monarchy on the one hand or the reëstablishment of the royal prerogatives on the other, promptly went in a body to the then Princess Regent and compelled her to take the oath to the existing constitution. She has since repeatedly said that she was so taken

by surprise that she was cowed into obedience, especially as some of the ministers threatened her that in case of refusal a republic would be at once established and she would become a political prisoner. She has further stated to friends that she would have refused and at once proclaimed a new constitution, containing all the old (and added) prerogatives, had she but received sufficient warning to prepare herself; but, even as it was, that she swore with a mental reservation. This, then, was the status of monarchy in Hawaii when Liliuokalani became Queen—a reigning sovereign who had at least twice striven to supplant her brother even at the expense, if necessary, of walking over his strangled corpse to the throne; a woman notoriously loaded with the grossest social vices, such as had contributed so largely to the late King's downfall in 1887, but still strongly upheld by the majority of the native people, who believed her professions and promises to restore them to an equal franchise; possessed, as her friends claimed, of qualities of justice, firmness, and courage, which events proved to be but selfishness, mulishness, and savage ignorance; a hater of whites and a promoter of race prejudices; an idolatress, a kahuna worshiper, and an advocate of the most abominable methods which distinguished the ante-Christian epoch. The natives soon turned from her in disgust.

The so-called "Reform" party, consisting chiefly of the "Missionaries," could do nothing with her. Foreigners, generally, feared and hated her. She gradually began to interfere in official appointments and Parliamentary elections, and to usurp autocratic authority in all directions. Her dismissal of Government officials and appointment of known thieves, vagabonds, and vicious ignoramuses from among her personal favorites and paramours to the most lucrative and responsible positions exasperated everyone outside her personal following. Her tour in state about the islands (as is the custom of Hawaiian monarchs upon their succession) was marked by the studied absence or the open insults of the great body of the Hawaiian people. Her retainers could not procure a supply of food from the natives and had to rely on the whites, while the hookuou, or giving of presents (an ancient Hawaiian custom), was a pitiable failure, only participated in by officials, or those otherwise dependent on royal favor. Secret leagues were formed, both among the whites and the Hawaiians, to remedy the existing conditions. Of these the Hui Hawaii Alohaaina (Hawaiian Patriotic League) was the most prominent, from the arrest of nearly one hundred of its members and their trial for treason.

I was myself a member and one of the organizers of this league, as also of a white league (under the same name), among the latter of whose members were most of those who actually "carried guns" in the overthrow of the monarchy last January. The mass of Hawaiians had by this time become possessed of a bitter hatred to the ruling dynasty. Of the most stable class of natives, the following sentiment, related to me by one who, under Kalakaua, had held in succession all the most distinguished positions in public and political life, is a sample of the then prevailing thought: "I have been trained from childhood to love and obey my alii (chiefs); no one would more gladly give his very life for them. But the days of the alii are past; they are no more; their successors are unworthy the name; my aloha for them has withered. I weep for Hawaii. The Kingdom must come to an end; and who can say what will be the best for our country—annexation or a republic?" And amid such sentiments the "Hui Hawaii Alohaaina" came into existence the 1st day of March, 1892.

But before entering into the details of this league, reference may be made to some of the Queen's official acts which had a strong bearing upon its origin and development. Though she took the oath to the constitution as above, the event proved it to be with a mental reservation, as she had claimed to her friends, and she at once laid plans to overturn it. She first refused to recognize the ministers, on the ground that they were the King's cabinet and "died with the King", thus voiding the constitutional provision rendering it necessary to precede dismissal by a vote of want of confidence of the legislature. Then followed several weeks of practical anarchy, political unrest, and severe business stagnation, during which the opposing parties literally slept on their arms. Finally, at the importunities of the mercantile class, who were most anxious to avoid such troubles as would ruin commerce, the cabinet were induced to refer the matter to the supreme court, under a constitutional provision which permits such reference by either the sovereign or cabinet, although the opinions promulgated in such instances are not conclusive, but merely advisory. The decision went against the cabinet, on the ground that as the constitution made no provision for the contingency the cabinet died with the King and the prerogative of appointment lay with the sovereign.

The Queen's obstinacy was caused by her determination to appoint C. B. Wilson to the portfolio of interior, where the great bulk of the public moneys are controlled and expended. This scheme was so grossly objectionable to the people, however, that, fearing a revolution if she carried it out, she selected men who were either personal friends of Wilson, or from whom she obtained a promise in advance that they would appoint Wilson to the marshalship of the Kingdom. This official had, by law, absolute command of the entire police force of the Kingdom, complete and unrestrained power in all appointments in that department, and practically controlled the administration of justice. Both his appointment and dismissal must be by the attorney-general, "by and with the advice and consent of the cabinet," according to law passed by the revolutionary (or "reform") legislature of 1887-'88. It was openly stated at the time that she compelled the incoming attorney-general to sign a commission for Wilson in advance, before receiving from her his own commission as a minister, though the attorney-general subsequently denied this charge on the floor of Parliament.

Wilson's "pull" on the Queen consisted in the fact that for many years he has been her favorite paramour (she has several). He openly and in the most shameless manner assumed family relations with her years before the death of her husband; and, although himself a man with a family, he moved into the dead man's own house and occupied his bed almost before his corpse was cold. The Queen had a private gateway cut through the palace wall immediately contiguous to her apartments in the "bungalow," that he might alone enter by a near and more convenient way—a scandal at which even the most obtuse of the native people drew the line. The pair openly lived together in the Queen's cottage at Waikiki (a suburb of Honolulu) during and succeeding the "sandbag" episode at the palace, just preceding the descent upon the league. This place was formerly an assignation house, built by the Queen, and openly used for that purpose, under the personal charge of her business manager, formerly her native coachman. All these and many other equally scandalous acts are matter of public notoriety at the capital, and have been aired and commented upon in scathing terms by the native press of Honolulu; but the English press

were either gagged by the palace party or kept silent to avoid the effects of the scandal abroad.

Through the Queen's influence over her brother (during his absolute power of official patronage) Wilson was given the superintendency of the Honolulu waterworks, though he was utterly ignorant of all theory regulating hydraulics, and the real work was necessarily done by another highly paid official. Wilson collected the water rates, however, and an investigation being demanded by a member of the Legislature of 1886, a parliamentary committee found he had stolen in the neighborhood of \$16,000 from the receipts. Then through the same influence the cabinet of the day entered into a stipulation whereby the matter was compromised, Wilson repaying into the treasury \$10,000. The princess paid over \$5,000 of this amount in cash, and by her further influence, exerted in the same direction, prevailed on the Legislature to pass an "act of indemnity" restoring to her the \$5,000 out of the public funds. To save further scandal, friends of the ministry indorsed Wilson's notes for another \$5,000 on the Government's pledge to retain one-half of his salary till the amount was recouped, while he himself of course retained the office, although members of the Legislature, from their place on the floor of the house, expressed the opinion that he should be breaking stones on the street with a ball chained to him.

At the revolution of 1887 the fellow was a spy on both sides. Whether he gave truthful information to either is hard to say; but the King subsequently informed friends that he at least betrayed him into the enemy's hands as soon as the revolutionary cause began to promise success. He was in the "Dominis conspiracy," so-called, in 1888, already described, and was the man to run over his coconspirators to first reach the Government officials and betray his comrades when he suspected the plot was discovered. Unless the official documents were stolen while he and his tools were in power, there are still confessions of his own, under oath, in the Government archives, "which would hang him"—to use the words of the then minister of the interior. The particulars of this conspiracy were suppressed by the Government of the day to prevent a lowering of Hawaiian bonds then selling in London on a two-million dollar loan, and for other reasons already stated. He was in the Wilcox insurrection of 1889, but kept out of harm's way; and it was developed at the trial of Loomens that it was he who introduced Loomens to the King, and sent him, by the King's order, to join the conspirators.

During the Queen's reign and his incumbency of the marshalship he was the absolute dictator in Hawaii. It is known that no act of importance in governmental functions transpired without either emanating from him or receiving his approval. He over and over again insulted the people, the Legislature, and the cabinet by openly commanding the Queen to disregard the premier, on behalf of the cabinet, when that minister was urging upon her the adoption, modification, or rejection of contemplated public acts. (By the way, the law recognizes no "premier," but the Queen insisted on so calling that minister who officially communicated with her outside her meetings with the entire cabinet.) Boodle, thievery, blackmailing, bribe taking, and general disregard of the laws were alarmingly common, and gambling houses, dives, illicit liquor dens, opium joints, and the wholesale importation of that deadly drug have been positively traced to his acquiescence for monetary considerations. He kept a body guard about him, composed in part of fugitives from justice from other countries, accused of all degrees of crime. He is a half-breed Tahiti-

tian, who, as a waif, was brought to Honolulu by an old Hawaiian sea-captain. He grew up here, learned the blacksmith trade, and followed it till his physical development attracted the attention of Mrs. Dominis, who at once procured a Government office for him and advanced him as occasion offered. Though physically large, active, and well-proportioned, he is morally and intellectually of a low order—a circumstance which is true of all the ex-Queen's favorites, and illustrates her savage tastes.

The feeling of disgust resulting from the palace scandals, as well as the general repugnance to having the laws maladministered by such notorious corruptionists and worthless paramours, combined to originate the league "to promote justice and equal rights in the political government of Hawaii" (as the oath expressed it)—the exact means being left to the development of events and the personal directions of the league leaders, to whom all swore obedience, but to include in any event the suppression of the monarchy, with close political connection with the United States as the ultimate object. Among the wrongs to be remedied was of course the differential franchise; and it was this belief of the Hawaiian leaguers that annexation would mean equal civil rights, which most strongly tended to bring the annexation view into prominence among them as the true solution of the question. At first the palace party encouraged the league. They thought to use them in the promulgation of a new constitution by throwing to them the sop of "equal rights" in exchange for their actual coöperation in the Queen's intended coup; or at least relied on their non-interference, or perhaps upon their preventing the reform party from interfering, while the Queen's party, supported by the royal guard and the Honolulu police (both under direct command of tools of the Queen, Nowlein and Wilson), would proclaim the instrument and set matters running thereunder.

The constitution was prepared, being identical with that which Her Majesty attempted to promulgate on January 14, so far as evidence of the latter's contents can now be furnished. It was practically the constitution of Kamehameha V, with the added prerogative of dismissal and appointment of the supreme court at will—a project dear to Liliuokalani since long before her accession—as that body had always been regarded, both by sovereigns and people, as the bulwark against unconstitutional encroachment upon the liberties of the masses by Hawaiian monarchs. The league preferred to take chances of getting equal rights by their own methods, especially as one of their greatest complaints had been as to certain unconstitutional acts already exercised by the Queen, through her hated paramours, with the connivance of a servile cabinet—acts involving interference in official appointments and with the administration of justice. The league, however, did not at once openly quarrel with the Queen's representatives, but "negotiated" at arm's length, with the object of being left unmolested by the authorities, or, rather, by Wilson, who was directing the "new constitution" conspiracy, from the Queen's side, and giving only such information to the ministers of the Government as the Queen's party chose they should know.

The league rapidly increased in numbers, and included many of the best natives and half-whites in the country. By May 1st there were over 300 sworn members. There was a quasi-military organization, controlled mostly by ex-officers or non-commissioned officers of late native volunteer companies, or of the guard; spies reported that the leaders of the league had arranged for a large supply of arms, to be landed

by smuggling from small craft at out-of-the-way points; the Legislature was about to meet, and it was the Queen's plan that the new order of things must be inaugurated in time to prevent its meeting. Evidently something must be done, and done quickly. The introduction, also, of a large number of "Queen Emma" men into the league—men who were known to be hostile to the house of Kalakaua—increased the suspicions of the palace party, and Wilson instructed his spies to report the "arms" story, to compel the Government to move, as soon as he became satisfied that the league was against the monarchy. The members of the Government were strongly opposed to it at first, but succumbed to the personal pressure of Wilson and the Queen. Certain of the ministers told me this themselves, and others sent their personal friends to me to assure me of the fact. They said, in effect, "Wilson is the Queen; the Queen is absolute; we cannot control Wilson." One member of the cabinet used those very words.

On the morning of May 19th two confidential friends of the Queen, Kanui and Kekipi, both defeated parliamentary candidates on the Queen's side at the elections in the previous February, came to Wilcox (representing the league), and the three had a long interview. These emissaries represented that they had been authorized and instructed by Her Majesty to request his immediate presence at the palace to consult with Her Majesty in regard to the new constitution which she had prepared, and which she now held for his perusal and advice before its promulgation; further, that the time had arrived when the league must commit itself positively and irrevocably to this plan, or be considered enemies of the Crown. It is now positively known that Kanui and Kekipi came directly from the Queen's presence when they visited Wilcox, who was taken by surprise by this ultimatum, and tried to edge by further "negotiating," there being special reasons why he should not at that time give a positive refusal. The Queen's men, however, forced the game, and finally the natives and Wilcox quarreled and a definite answer being insisted upon under a threat; and, Wilcox thereupon sent to Her Majesty a positive refusal, accompanied by a defiance, upon which, being reported at the palace, warrants were immediately made out for every member of the league whom the spies had "located"—some 87 in number.

Plans were laid to attack and shoot down in cold blood the executive council of the league, who were (according to information from spies) to hold a meeting at my rooms that night. This was to be done under cover of an alleged but bogus resistance to arrest in face of warrants; and to make the thing complete, martial law was to be at once declared, and the "disturbing element," who were not already assassinated, to be disposed of by court-martial, composed of officers of Her Majesty's personal staff and the royal guard. But the league had friends in the palace and at the headquarters of most of the Government departments, and were from time to time informed as to what was there transpiring; so the meeting did not take place; but, instead, Wilcox and other league leaders attended a public meeting of the liberal party on that evening and denounced the Government, the Queen, and royalty in the bitterest terms. If there was basis for the "arms" story no evidence was found in the searches by the police of residences of all known to belong to the league. But the details of the first move having failed, it was still contemplated by the Queen to remove at all hazards those she considered her enemies. It is positively known that a proclamation of martial law was drafted by one of the advisers of the Queen, and passed for revision through the attorney-general's office, and was

carried for some days in the pocket of one of the Queen's staff, while the authorities were busily engaged in hunting up more evidence.

The palace party calculated to stifle all necessity for such evidence as would convict in a court of justice by establishing a "military" court composed of ignorant kanaka partisans and body servants of the Queen. In this search for evidence (after the arrests) the authorities threw parties into prison without warrant or form of law, kept some without food for days, plied prisoners with promises of reward and offices if they would perjure themselves in such way as to make a "case" against the liberal leaders, and with threats of death in case of refusal, and used means to extort "evidence" of the kind they wanted in a manner which would disgrace brigands. These facts were proven at the trial by witnesses for the prosecution. But the failure of the Queen to destroy all opposition to her abominable course is due chiefly, after all, to the interference of Maj. Wodehouse, British commissioner (now minister), on my behalf, as a Canadian, by compelling the Government to try the conspirators in one of the courts of law instead of by a so-called military tribunal.

Passing over the trying period of danger and uncertainty of the legislative session, and the bitter fight of the Queen against the constitutional party, we come to the 14th of January and succeeding events, so near in time (and therefore in memory), coming down to the status in quo. The existing facts imply a Provisional Government treating with the Government of the United States for "annexation." Now, what is annexation? It has been years discussed in this country as a possible outcome of the near future, but always on the basis that it would necessarily include equal civil rights in the management of all affairs not in their nature under Federal control—as, for instance, in Texas, or in the Territory of Arizona. There is in this country a bitter objection on the part of the majority against any unusual system such as proposed in the treaty laid before the United States Senate. This I firmly believe—and such, I feel sure, is the belief of the great majority—that a governing commissioner (say) from Washington would, nay, must, be influenced by the missionary party here, and that it would result in a plutocratic rule of a half dozen or dozen men of a political family compact, who came here poor to serve the cause of religion on starvation salaries, and have developed by their superior thrift into a moneyed aristocracy, owning all the valuable lands and industries of the country.

This class has always been considered the enemies of not only the native race, but of all classes denized in the islands who are not of themselves. Their attempted monopoly of politics; their alternative subservience and hostility to the monarchy, according to their hold on office for the day; their changing to the cause of "Americanism," or their "Hawaiian patriotism," according to whether they are begging for differential duties, or fixing "a deal" with royalty; their contemptible airs of superiority over those not so rich as themselves; and their continually repeated efforts to grind the natives to inferior political position have alienated all classes against them. But having stolen in, like jackals, on the executive offices under the present régime, a great number of annexationists fear to openly object to their methods, lest it place the whole plan of annexation on the basis of swapping horses while crossing the stream. The commissioners arrived at San Francisco with the war cry, "Down with the Hawaiians." This has turned nearly all Hawaiians against annexation, many hundreds of whom were formerly open and active in its advocacy. If even now assured

that annexation would make them American citizens, as such is the case in say Texas or Arizona, they would forever abandon the thought of royalty and hail annexation with delight as the ultimate destiny of Hawaii.

Will the people of the United States, as represented in Congress or either branch thereof, permit the vast majority of the Hawaiian people to be driven by armed force into a distasteful political condition by a handful of political jackals of the missionary party, simply because the Hawaiians are poor and the other own the property? And this is practically the reason advanced by the commissioners. Does the action of the United States Government on the Samoan question indicate that America will use her armed forces to permit a minority of foreigners to coerce a majority of the native people; and would such a course be creditable to the American people? Would it be an exponent of the American principle of justice to the weak? But the entire question could be settled by forming a treaty which would remove the objections referred to, by interfering with no vested rights, and by giving political privileges to the rich and the poor alike. And while this might not altogether please the monopolists, an accommodation which would give equal civil rights to the Hawaiians in the management of local Hawaiian affairs is the one only which is just, beneficial, or practical from the standpoint of the future, from either the American or Hawaiian point of view.

It is not necessary to refute the arguments of that portion of the American press which opposes annexation on sentimental or economical grounds. That issue I assume to be already settled. It will be a sorry day for both America and Hawaii if annexation should now be deferred. Nevertheless, it will be a source of great grief to Hawaii and of future disgrace to the proclaimed political righteousness of the American people if the latter refuse us conditions which represent a fullness of political rights. The only hope of a condition of affairs which will make Hawaii a country in which a white man of self-respect and loving liberty can live and prosper is annexation, accompanied by an equal franchise to Hawaiians in matters of local administration.

Referring to the idea of an American protectorate, this would be bitterly repulsive to the great majority of the Hawaiian people, native and foreign, as many degrees worse, if possible, than "annexation" under the Thurston-Harrison treaty, with carpetbag government controlled by the family-compact oligarchy. It would, to our minds, mean the presence of a foreign armed force to bayonet into submission any resistance to tyranny, however great, if only perpetrated in the name of law and by the authority of the Government for the time being. It would mean the engrafting of a moneyed aristocracy into place and power, who, representing only the Missionary party, could, by their unlimited wealth, drown the cries of the people of this country from consideration of any man or body of men holding the power of review. Our appeals would not likely reach the Congress. This is the view which caused the unanimous uprising of the people against what is generally known as the "Blaine treaty" in 1889-'90.

This was a treaty drafted, as was said, by Mr. Blaine, then Harrison's Secretary of State, and brought from Washington by H. A. P. Carter, then Hawaiian minister to the United States. A majority of the cabinet were in favor of it, and tried to force the King to sign it; but C. W. Ashford, who was attorney-general, resisted it on the ground that it contained a "troops" clause, permitting the United States to land forces to "preserve law and order," which, he contended,

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 *Naniwa* 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.

No. 6.

*Statement of Volney V. Ashford.*HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,
April 8, 1893.

HON. JAMES H. BLOUNT,

United States Ambassador to Hawaii:

DEAR SIR: I inclose herewith a review of the political situation here, from the formation of the constitution of 1887 to its attempted abrogation by Liliuokalani on January 14 last. I can scarcely say that this covers all the points discussed, or upon which you requested information, though it probably includes most of them.

There is, however, a strange circumstance which I now see I omitted, to wit, that the men, as individuals and as a class, into whose hands fell the executive offices and entire control of this movement, are those who (aside from the thick-and-thin apologists of monarchy at all hazards) have always heretofore been the bitterest enemies of those who were suspected of favoring annexation. Dole himself, though a member of the revolutionary league of 1887 and a member of the "Council of Thirteen" therein, tried his best to "throw" the whole scheme just as the supreme moment arrived. Failing in this, he resigned his place on the council and deserted the league, and tried his best to pull others out. He did manage to pull out P. C. Jones, who was also a member of the "Thirteen," which position he resigned and deserted the league the same as Dole had done.

About the same time W. O. Smith, who, through his great personal intimacy with Dole, Jones, and others of the league, was acquainted with the general plan, and had given his adhesion to it and arranged to swear in before the council, but had deferred it several times, did come before that body. After hearing a part of the oath repeated, he drew his hand from the bible, made a contemptible, cowardly speech in favor of the continuance of monarchy, and withdrew, and never became a member of the league. Other prominent members of the Missionary party worked with all their energy against the cause. It was subsequently learned that just about the time of the withdrawal of Dole and Jones, the King, suspecting the dangerous strength of the league, made overtures, through prominent members of the Missionary Colony, to recede from certain objectionable positions he had assumed, to dismiss the Gibson cabinet, and form one from the Missionary party. The above desertions, the consequent narrow escape of the league from ruin, and the resulting enforced modification of the entire plan (as referred to in my statement) only saved the leading non-Missionary leaguers from the gallows, as we then, and always since, believed.

It is needless to say that this perfidy of that political element, at the supreme moment, convinced the non-Missionaries that treachery was the moving cause. When the demands for reform were made, under the compromise agreement, only the abject cowardice of the King and his chief advisers saved us from a bloody battle, in which, on account of delay resulting from the Missionary defection above, the King would have had an overwhelming advantage, having thereby time to fortify and strengthen his position. When the new constitution came into effect, the cabinet soon became a Missionary body, by pressure brought upon the King in making appointments to fill the vacancies of Godfrey Brown and W. L. Green, who resigned, and their whole line of official conduct to the time of their resignation, in June,

1890, was a series of insults and abuses to all the non-Missionary members of the league, and the filling of all the important offices of the kingdom between their brothers, the uncles and the cousins, etc., on the one hand, and the most vicious favorites of royalty on the other.

One of these latter was C. B. Wilson, whom Thurston, as minister of interior, kept in the office of superintendent of waterworks—though he had already been proven guilty of serious embezzlements (as related in “statement”); and although Thurston, then an opponent of Gibson, had said from his place in the legislature that Gibson, by retaining Wilson in that very office, was harboring a criminal who should be breaking stones, with a ball chained to him, Thurston continued to make this vagabond his chief favorite, and it was to save him, as a member of the “Dominis conspiracy,” that he refused to prosecute the conspirators, as heretofore stated. Of course, this was with a view to control Mrs. Dominis, when she should come to the throne. Such conduct as the above helped to alienate the non-missionary whites, who had belonged to the revolutionary or “Reform” party.

So long as the Missionary party could hold all the political offices, Kalakaua, and after him Lilioukalani, were good enough, and it was only when that faction lost all hope of a prevailing influence over royalty that royalty became unbearable. During the organization of the Hawaiian Patriotic League, a year ago, one of the leading missionary politicians said to me: “Your charges against Lilioukalani are, no doubt, true; but what does it matter so long as we have the prevailing influence over her. A republic or annexation would lead to the dominance of the natives.”

This party, almost without exception, tried to hunt down all participants in the attempt against the monarchy last year. I have heard from several sources, though not able to prove it juridically, that Dole, then justice of the supreme court, was in conference with Wilson many times, advising him what course to pursue, and what line to work up against us. Finally, he was the one who issued the warrants, a thing unheard of in the Hawaiian criminal practice, our criminal cases then all originating in the police or district courts. Mr. Justice Dole not only violated this precedent, but issued the warrants, (and then tried the cases) without consultation with any of the other judges, and against the advice (to Wilson—and known to Dole, as is said) of almost every attorney in town, and on the same statement of facts as were laid before himself. During the examination which lasted (with intermissions) for three weeks, he overruled every ruling of the common law courts of the United States and England—both on points of admission and rejection of evidence, as well as of construction—against the defense, and invoked the rulings of the courts of Bloody Mary and her times, in construing the law of treason, especially as to what constituted an overt act. His hatred to any and all who favored a change from monarchy was so marked as to excite general comment. And a chain of known facts points most strongly to the conclusion, at that time very generally believed, that the discharge of most of the defendants (including myself) was in accordance with a secret understanding that Wilcox and I should not expose at the trial the complicity of the Queen and her negotiations with the league in regard to their assisting her in promulgating a revolutionary and retrogressive constitution.

Of the “Councils” who now “rule” the country under the Star Chamber process, there are only three men, at most—possibly not a single one—who are independent of the sugar ring. In fact, fifteen of

eighteen, in addition to all the commissioners, are either entirely or in very great measure dependent upon sugar for their very existence, commercially speaking. This class has always been bitterly opposed to any ideas tending to an abolition of monarchy. The cause of their change may be correctly judged from an American point of view, but this I can not help saying, that my personal knowledge of these people refuses to admit that "Americanism" has anything to do with it; and I have the word of many of them to the effect that they would prefer England to the United States, unless the latter give them terms which will exclude the Hawaiians from the franchise, and any apparent tendency they or any of them have recently exhibited towards admission of Hawaiians to vote has been caused by the lesson they have learned as to the sentiments of people in the United States.

The natives distrust the whole missionary element, and it is very doubtful if those now at the helm can "deliver the goods," except under some process of compulsion.

In expressing this want of confidence in the governing faction, I desire to say that it is fear for annexation, through the mismanagement of the present régime, which induces me to speak on this subject. I am, and always since my advent here, have been an annexationist, from both a Hawaiian and American standpoint. I openly spoke, wrote, and acted in favor of annexation, when annexation meant treason, and when Dole, the present President, judicially construed a discussion of the possible future necessity for the same as an "overt act."

I hope these additional points may be of some service or interest to you as bearing on the whole case under review.

And I remain, yours truly,

VOLNEY V. ASHFORD.

INTERVIEWS ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY.

No. 7.

Interview with H. P. Baldwin, Maui, April 26, 1893.

Mr. BLOUNT. Please give me your name and residence.

Answer. H. P. Baldwin. I live really on Maui, where I am interested in two plantations, and also one in Makaweli.

Q. Suppose you were cut off from the power to make contracts to bring labor into this country; what would be the effect on your plantations?

A. Some of the planters consider it absolutely essential for us to have contracts, but I think that in order to bring about annexation most of them would be ready to yield that point.

Q. How would they get labor?

A. That is one of the most difficult questions to the planters here. The people have the same prejudice against the Chinese that you have in the United States. We imported a large number of Portuguese and a great many have left. I think if we were allowed Japanese and Portuguese we might get along. We got Norwegians here. They stood it fairly well for awhile, but they got ill working in our hot cane fields. The Portuguese have been very good labor for us.

Q. With the property qualification, such as now obtains, and add thereto a qualification requiring that the voter shall read and write, what sort of a local government would you have here? Could you have a satisfactory government?

A. I do not think we would have a satisfactory government—as I said in my letter to you. I am convinced that it would be a very difficult thing to form a local government to stand.

Q. Suppose you were admitted as a State into the Union, what sort of Government would you expect?

A. I think a State government would be undesirable for us.

Q. Well, what would you think, in the event of annexation, the form of government should be?

A. My choice would be for a Territorial government. I mean the governor and secretary of state to be appointed by the Federal Government, the legislature elected by electors with a limited franchise.

Q. Giving the controlling vote to the intelligent classes?

A. As far as possible.

I have read the foregoing and pronounce it a correct report of my interview with Mr. Blount.

H. P. BALDWIN.

HONOLULU, H. I., *June 13, 1893.*

No. 8.

Interview with C. R. Bishop, of Honolulu, April 27, 1893.

Mr. BLOUNT. How long have you lived in these islands?

Mr. BISHOP. Since October 12, 1846.

Q. You have spent your life here since then?

A. Mostly. A year and four months is the longest time I have been away. I was here twenty years before I went away at all. I was married in 1850.

Q. To whom?

A. Bernice Pauahi. She was a high chief's daughter. Her mother was a descendant of Kamehameha I.

Q. You have large landed interests here?

A. Yes; I owned considerable land at times. I had control of large land interests.

Q. And your wife had large interests?

A. Yes; you might call it large interests. Quite large interests by inheritance not very long before she died.

Q. You have had occasion then to give more than ordinary attention to lands in the kingdom?

A. Yes; I think so. I was intimately associated with Judge Lee, who was president of the land commission. We came here together. We roomed together.

Q. You spoke of the land commission; for what purpose was it created?

A. It was created for the purpose of giving title to all the people who had claims to land—the chiefs and the people.

Q. On what principle did they act in giving title?

A. The King and chiefs made this division in 1847. It was then agreed that the people should have the small holdings which they had occupied and cultivated since 1839. That was conceded by the King and chiefs on the advice of the foreigners in the Government and the friends of the natives outside.

Q. Why do you say it was occupied since 1839?

A. That date was fixed upon because it was the year in which the first draft of the constitution defining the rights of the people was made at Lahina. That is the reason why they took this date as a starting point. That was only the draft made there as I understand it. The land commission was for the purpose of giving titles to the chiefs and to the people for the lands which belonged to the chiefs, and which came to the natives under this concession.

Q. What was the principle upon which the lands were divided?

A. The chiefs had been given lands by former kings—by Kamehameha I, especially. They could not sell or lease them without the consent of the King and premier. There were other lands supposed to be the King's private lands. When the division was made these lands which he claimed were his own were set apart and called crown lands. That was his private estate really, and the others belonged to the chiefs and the people—the Government, the chiefs and the people. The people got their's out of the Government land and out of the King's land and out of the chiefs' land. These Kuleanas—it did not matter whether in the King's land, the chiefs' land or the Government land—they got them all the same by putting in a claim and having them surveyed. There were days set for them to come to prove claim. The

land commissioner took down evidence and made awards according to evidence.

Q. What do you designate lands which belonged to the King as his private estate?

A. They were called crown lands.

Q. Well, Government lands were intended to support the King in his administration of public affairs?

A. No; he was expected to support himself mostly out of crown land. The appropriations made for the King were comparatively small. The expenses of Government would be paid out of sales of land, rents, taxes, and duties. The Kings down to 1864 had the right and did sell more or less of these lands. They were really their private property.

Q. Well, in this division you speak of made by this land commission, the lands went to what class of persons?

A. They confirmed only the rights of the people to whom mostly the lands belonged. The crown lands was a large amount; the Government got a large share, and the largest part of the remainder belonged to the chiefs.

Q. You make a distinction between Government lands and crown lands?

A. The crown lands belonged to the sovereign. The Government lands belonged to the Government for the support of the Government.

Q. Were the Government lands leased out?

A. Yes, they were leased and they were sold. You might say they are nearly sold out. The Government appointed land agents in nearly every district of the islands, with authority to sell small pieces of land to the natives. It was intended to give land to the natives who were not entitled to lands under the law giving them lands occupied since 1839. It was intended to give them an opportunity to purchase lands. They cut up a large number of the large lands into small holdings, and sold them to natives at very low prices. A large part of them were sold at half a dollar an acre.

Q. Where one had already a holding did they sell to him, too?

A. Yes; I think so. I do not think it was confined strictly to those who did not own lands.

Q. Now, you spoke of the small holdings of land occupied by the natives from 1839 onwards being confirmed by this commission. Did the native occupiers of these Kuleanas generally take steps to have their lands set apart, or did many of them lose their lands by failure to comply with the mode of asserting and fixing their titles?

A. Most of them put in their claims, and had the lands surveyed and got their awards.

Q. You said a moment ago that the government sold land to natives at low prices on account of the fact that they had not gotten the lands assigned to them under the distribution authorized in 1839?

A. No; not lands assigned to them, because in most cases they had not shown any right to take lands.

Q. You mean to say that they were not occupiers of land?

A. They had not been occupiers and cultivators—that is, all the time since 1839, if at all.

Q. Then the natives, under that arrangement, who had not been occupiers of land were homeless?

A. Let me say this: Before this division and before this concession to the natives, allowing them to put in claims which would give them the title to land, they had certain understood rights in the places where they lived, for which they were to do a certain amount of work.

for the chief, and so long as they did that they had the right to stay where they were, and that has always been recognized. It is even now. There were three days a month of labor. He had no land that he could dispose of.

Q. Was not that true as to all the common class of natives?

A. Yes, that was the title they all had. There would be a family—a number living together. The head of the family would put in a claim for the land which he had occupied and cultivated. Then he had grown-up sons who would want land, and this sale of land to natives gave them an opportunity to become land owners—and gave an opportunity to those who had not been constant occupiers and cultivators of land to buy land for themselves.

Q. Up to that time they had no land?

A. They had no land.

Q. Can you give me some idea of what proportion of the people were not occupiers of land at the time of this sale of lands—1839?

A. That would be difficult; I don't know that I can.

Q. I do not expect a definite, mathematical answer.

A. But I can not do it. The natives never would have put in these claims and followed them up, if they had not been advised and urged to it mainly by American missionaries and other friends. They were pretty well satisfied to live on in that old-fashioned way. They were slow in sending in these claims and time was extended more than once to give them opportunity to make their claims. I should say that a very large proportion of the heads of families got land either by putting in their claims, or by purchasing small holdings.

Q. Please let me invite your attention to this question. You have alluded to a class of persons who were occupiers of land and those who were not occupiers of land. What was the mode of life of the persons who were not occupiers of land? Were they migratory?

A. More or less so. A good many of them were a sort of servants—attachés of some chief, and there were a considerable number of them sailors. Some were mechanics and fishermen. Some were educated and employed as teachers.

Q. What per cent would you say were not located on lands?

A. There were a good many people who lived about with one another. The natives were very free with each other's calabashes. A good many lived together—one man having the land and the others living with him. They were exceedingly liberal with each other. One man had plenty of food and the other hadn't any. The man who had any shared with the man who had none. It was as with the Indians—so long as there was food in camp they all had some. There was a class who spent a large part of their time in fishing, and I do not think that these were cultivators of land, not many of them. The people in the early times before my time became cultivators and fishermen. Those who were fishermen did not do much cultivating.

Q. What was the theory upon which these lands were divided between the King, chiefs, and people—in what proportion?

A. I do not know as to proportion.

Q. About what amount of land was there in a kuleana?

A. All the way from half an acre to ten acres. Some of them perhaps more than ten acres.

Q. What would you say the average was?

A. I should say the average would be between two and three acres.

Q. Was this division in which the native got his first title brought

about through the influence of the missionaries with the Crown or Government?

A. Largely by the missionaries and by other foreigners in the Government or out of the Government. It was a foreign idea. They were given in addition half an acre on which to build a house. They could not build on taro land. They had in addition to the land which they cultivated the right to go to the mountains for timber for house and fence building and for the *ti* leaf and for thatch grass. The *ti* leaf is used in cooking and in packing food and carrying it. They also had the right to fish in the sea belonging to the land of the chief, within certain limits and to certain kinds of fish.

Q. You mean that they got this under this 1839 settlement?

A. Yes; they had all that defined in the law.

Q. He lived principally upon his taro patch and fish?

A. Yes, principally; but in some districts they had some lands on which they cultivated sweet potatoes and bananas. Taro, fish, and sweet potatoes were the principal thing. They raised hogs.

Q. What was their clothing made of?

A. The clothing was formerly made of tapa. At the time I speak of, 1839, they used mostly foreign material—cotton and woolen goods.

Q. Were they generally clothed, or were most of them in a comparatively nude state?

A. In towns they were pretty generally clothed. In the country, except on Sunday, they were partially clothed. They wore very little clothing. You would see a well-educated native in the morning with his malo (a strip of tapa or cloth worn around the loins). After he had gotten through with his work he would wash himself and put on something of clothing. If he was a teacher he went to his school completely clothed, but very likely barefooted—most likely barefooted. The clothing in the country was a good deal a matter of ornament and show. On Sunday they dressed up and went to church and came home and threw off their clothing.

Q. Do the natives own much land?

A. There are a good many natives who do.

Q. I do not refer to the descendants of chiefs—I mean the common people.

A. There are a large number of the common people who own lands.

Q. What per cent of them, would you say?

A. That is very difficult to say. These small holdings that were acquired at the time I speak of were too small to be divided—generally were not divided. The young men who have come on since that time do not own land. Many of them have not tried to get any land. These small holdings have descended to heirs, and in many cases are still in possession of the heirs of the original holders.

Q. You do not know the percentage of the land owned by the natives?

A. I do not. The tax collector or assessor could give you a pretty good estimate by taking a little time.

Q. These lands were divided originally so that the Crown got a portion, the chiefs a portion, and the common people a portion.

A. Yes.

Q. These great sugar planters—from whom do they derive their title? Who were the original patentees of these lands?

A. Mostly the Government and the chiefs; and those chiefs are nearly all of them dead. Scarcely one of them from whom these lands have come is living.

Q. Do you mean that they have died without making a will or leaving heirs?

A. In very few instances have they any heirs remaining. Some of them made wills and some didn't. The high chiefs who received these titles and their heirs are mostly dead.

Q. And the lands themselves have gone where?

A. Many of them were sold by those chiefs themselves.

Q. To whom?

A. To different foreigners; to graziers. Some natives bought land.

Q. Much?

A. Not so very much.

Q. The bulk of them were sold or given to foreigners?

A. They were not given; they were sold, to a large extent.

Q. I saw some statements in some of your publications that the chiefs generously gave away large areas to foreigners.

A. I do not remember any such case. Kamehameha I gave land to Young and Davis and to other chiefs. He gave them lands, but I do not think Kamehameha III or other Kings or the chiefs ever gave very much land to foreigners. The chiefs were an extravagant people. They had very little idea of economy, and lands to them had but little value. Large tracts of land had but small value. They were not used for anything. They were covered, many of them with grass or ferns, or shrubbery of some sort, and the first use to which these large tracts of land were put was for grazing. The horses increased rapidly; the cattle increased, and a good many lands were occupied for grazing.

The chiefs from the first were careless about property. They had no idea about saving. They got into very extravagant habits during the sale of sandalwood. There was a large sandalwood trade from 1810 to 1825. Traders came here and tempted them with all sorts of handsome goods—sold them vessels and sold them goods. The kings and chiefs got very much into debt, and then had to pay. The only thing they could pay with was sandalwood. I believe the trade here one year amounted to something like \$400,000 in sandalwood. They bought broadcloths and satins and vessels and all manner of things—and a good deal of liquor. They got into extravagant habits. They kept on with that kind of habit. They kept getting into debt, and when they got the titles to the land so that they could dispose of them many paid their debts by selling land. They would sell large tracts of land without surveying—sell them by name. The chiefs took titles to their lands by name.

The land commission awarded them by name. The chiefs themselves, during their lifetime got rid of a great deal of land. Some of them left, when they died, debts to be paid. I had the settling of my wife's father's estate. He did not own as much land as many of the chiefs. He built a house where the *Boston's* sailors have been staying on King street. He built many houses for his people. He was a popular chief and very kind to his people, who were attached to him. He supported a company of soldiers. He had quite a large company—perhaps fifty to one hundred men. So in building and in fine clothing, horses, furniture, etc., they got into debt. I had to sell off in settling his estate quite a quantity of land—fish ponds, and so forth, to get the estate clear. The plantation lands have come nearly altogether from the Government and the chiefs, and considerable of the land is leased.

Q. Who owns what is called the Bishop estate lands?

A. It is in the hands of five trustees for the purpose of establishing and maintaining two schools; one for boys and the other for girls.

Q. How many acres are there in these lands?

A. About 430,000 acres, a good deal of which is of no value.

Q. What is the income derived from them?

A. About \$50,000.

Q. They were lands left by your wife?

A. Yes.

Q. You have been out of the country for some time?

A. Yes; six months.

Q. You were not here during the period of the revolution?

A. No.

Q. What is the feeling of the masses of the people towards the Provisional Government and annexation—those two ideas seem to run together—or have you been here enough to be able to answer?

A. Do you mean natives or people generally?

Q. You can answer it as to people generally.

A. Well, I should think that a large majority of the natives would be against annexation if left to them. Of course the Chinese and Japanese don't think much about it one way or the other. The Portuguese seem to be in favor of it. As near as I can get at it a large proportion of Americans, a considerable number of Germans, and some English are in favor of it.

Q. If it was left to the people to pass on under your Australian-ballot system, with the present qualification of a voter for the house of representatives, that would likely be the result?

A. They would vote against annexation, I think. They would vote against annexation unless they could see some immediate personal advantage in some way. I do not think they would consider very much what the advantage or disadvantage would be to them. It is a sentiment against any change.

Q. Is there anything of a race feeling in it; that they would rather the Government be under native princes?

A. Yes, I think so. Their preference would be to be ruled by their own people even if everything went to the bad. Things might go to the dogs, they would adhere to that.

Q. Well, your political contests which you have had since 1886—have they been largely on the lines of a struggle for power between the native and the white races?

A. That has been growing. For a long time back there has been something of that disposition on the increase. That feeling has been growing. It has been used more or less through native newspapers and in the elections.

Q. Prior to the constitution of 1887 the Crown appointed nobles?

A. Yes.

Q. Then it was quite easy, with the native vote outnumbering the white, for the Crown and native people to control the legislative body, was it not?

A. Yes; if they had so determined.

Q. Well, in 1886 was not the legislature in control of the crown and native people?

A. I do not remember now how they stood. We have always had a considerable number of foreigners as nobles, and a number always have been elected to the house of representatives. Some years the number of foreigners has been pretty large, and then again not so large. Kala-

kaau was inclined more to appoint natives. I was made a noble in 1860. I sat in the house when there were two houses for several sessions.

Q. Well, the complaint in the revolution of 1887—one of the complaints—was against his exercise of that power of appointing nobles, was it not?

A. I do not remember.

Q. The constitution of 1887 took it away?

A. Yes. That is, the power which he got partly through the appointment of nobles. They felt he was abusing the power which he had. They complained of him for interfering in the elections and for getting people who he thought would favor any schemes of his, and also in interfering in the appointment of all the minor officers—like tax assessors, tax collectors, and district justices—getting everything as much as possible into his own hands, and of his extravagance. Through such a legislature he could get appropriations made to suit him.

Q. The revolution of 1887 was to change that?

A. Yes; it was to change that. Now, a man can not be elected who is holding any office at all. Giving men these minor offices was one way of paying them.

Q. Has there been discontent with the constitution of 1887 on the part of the Crown and native population more or less since then?

A. Yes; but I do not think the people generally were discontented if they had been let alone. The Crown was discontented all the time from the time of the revolution. It wanted to get power back again.

The shorthand notes of the foregoing have been read to me by Mr. Mills, and it is a correct report of my interview with Mr. Blount.

CHAS. R. BISHOP.

(Mr. Bishop was on the point of leaving Honolulu for the United States.)

No. 9.

Interview with Sereno E. Bishop, Honolulu, Tuesday, April 11.

Mr. BLOUNT. Mr. Bishop, will you be kind enough to tell me—because I know you are a thoughtful man—the causes immediate and remote which led to the recent revolution?

Mr. BISHOP. The immediate cause was a succession of aggressions upon liberty and good government by the Queen, and the final act of attempting to overthrow the existing constitution by violence.

Q. Will you be kind enough to refer to these acts specifically?

A. The first definite act was the refusal of the Queen to appoint a cabinet in accordance with the choice of the legislature.

Q. What day was that?

A. I can not give you the precise date. There was a series of these proceedings from, I think, August to November, during which time the legislature rejected, successively, three Cabinets which she had appointed by vote of want of confidence, she persisting in sending in again and again men that the legislature considered unfit for the office.

Q. You mean by that that the individual members of a cabinet were repeatedly rechosen and rejected?

A. In some cases the same individuals were rechosen, but generally not more than one at a time. Other men equally objectionable were substituted in their places. They were men in whom the business

community had no confidence. The next act of distinct importance was the manifest collusion of the Queen with the lottery ring. It finally appeared that the passage of the lottery bill was a definite part of her policy by which to render herself independent of the business people by means of a subsidy of \$500,000, which that lottery paid to the government.

Q. How would that render her independent?

A. It would furnish a means of revenue of such an amount that she hoped to be able to dispense with the support of the banks.

Q. Get along without taxation of other property?

A. No; not get along without taxation, but to get along without the support of the business men, which was necessary to supply money in case of stringency, which has often arisen here.

Q. Well, please proceed on that line.

A. The matter culminated during the absence of the American Minister and the ship-of-war *Boston* by the passage of the lottery bill, driven through the House in the absence of several of the best members, and especially by the removal of the excellent Cabinet, in which all had great confidence, and which had restored financial confidence in the government and business prosperity. They were removed by a vote of confidence, the vote of the same men who passed the lottery bill. The Queen proceeded immediately to appoint another cabinet composed of the worst elements of previous cabinets which had been successively rejected by the House.

Q. Can I interrupt you here? Who were the members of that objectionable cabinet?

A. They were four men—Parker, Colburn, Cornwell, and Peterson; every one of which men, I am compelled to say this—

Q. I want to know the truth.

A. Not one of these men possessed any confidence of the public. They were men of notorious character in some respects, especially as to their business reliability. Not one of them could by any means at his command have raised \$10,000 for his own use, owing to his personal deterioration of character and failure in business. That was the general character of them.

Q. Were they truthful men in their ordinary relations?

A. I should speak differently about different ones. I should say that Mr. Parker might be regarded, for anything I know, as an honorable man in his ordinary relations, but a prodigal man. Mr. Colburn, the minister of the interior, was notably a falsifier in business matters, so that he would not be trusted in any business matter.

Q. What do you mean by falsifier?

A. He would give false weights and measures.

Q. What was his business?

A. He was a feed dealer. The next man was Cornwell, minister of finance; I should say that he was a wreck financially and morally in every way. As to his character for truthfulness, I do not know.

Q. What do you mean by a wreck morally?

A. I mean that he was so far degraded in his personal character as to licentiousness and gambling that he had lost the ordinary shame which men possess. I am sorry to speak in that way, but you wish to be answered truthfully.

Q. I do. I want to see the situation. I don't care what it is. I want to see it.

A. He was in possession of large property which he has wasted. He has to my knowledge—not to my personal observation, but to my

knowledge—displayed himself in public matters in a very gross way personally—particularly in connection with Hula dances.

Q. You mean going to see Hula dances?

A. No; but in cheering and publicly commending the vilest portions of it before the people present. Licentiousness is a common practice in a country where most of the women are weak, but he carried it to an excess of grossness. He has run through his property, so that he has hardly anything left.

Q. And the next man?

A. The fourth man, Peterson, is of very old family—a native of the island, I believe. He was one of our promising lads, but when he came back here from the United States he fell into association with the lottery and opium rings, and he lost character and lost ground.

Q. On that account?

A. On that account mainly. I do not know of any individual transactions of his. I never heard of any that indicated dishonesty, but he was associated with them in their proceedings and he was supposed to have dealings with them in opium smuggling. I do not know what the facts are about that. He was intimately associated with them, especially with Paul Neumann, who was the reputed chief of that company and has been for a long time. Paul Neumann was for many years the chief adviser of the King. He was a back stair adviser—a private counsellor of King Kalakaua in all his arbitrary proceedings toward the establishment of arbitrary power. It is unpleasant for me to speak evil of men. I said before, the culminating act was one which took the public by surprise. It was the drawing up of the household troops in line in front of the palace, which I personally witnessed, and the attempt to promulgate an entirely new constitution by arbitrary means.

Q. What do you mean by attempt to promulgate a constitution by unlawful means?

A. I mean that she presented such a constitution to her ministers and they demurred. She used violent language toward them. They fled, and after several hours of contest with them she finally yielded so far as to give an announcement to the natives that she would not promulgate it—to her intense regret. She added it was her intention to promulgate that constitution in a short time. She gave the people hopes that she would do it. That act of the Queen put her in a position which practically wrecked her Government; that is, no further confidence or reliance could in any way be placed in her or her administration from that time on. It was felt by the whole intelligent community to have gone to pieces. There was an absolute necessity for substituting some other government in its place. I became informed of an element in the Queen's proceedings which awakened an apprehension in my mind of some fanatical excitement. I heard that she was under the influence of Kahunas; that she had been for two weeks in consultation with Kahunas before her endeavor to submit the constitution, and that on that very day she was conducting sacrificial worship.

Q. How did you get that?

A. I do not remember how the information came to me now. There was a good deal of excitement about the idolatrous doings in the palace. I was going on to say that my alarm was excited, that I handed in a note to Mr. Stevens on Sunday expressing my sense of the probable need of protection from the American forces for fear of some kind of a fanatical uprising among the natives. I never heard from Mr. Stevens on the subject. I do not know what he thought of it or what influence it had upon him. I was only speaking of my own apprehensions. I

would say that it had been the custom on previous occasions to have the American forces landed for protection and public safety. On two previous instances, in 1887 and 1889, American forces were landed by the American Minister.

There was a determined resistance of every effort to remove the marshal (who has the reputation of being her present favorite), Marshal Wilson, and this opposition was led more by John E. Bush than any other person in the legislature. A majority of the legislature was insisting upon it. It was one of their grounds for voting out ministers—because she would not agree to remove Wilson.

Q. What was their objection to Wilson?

A. It was not so much that he was her personal favorite, but that he was obnoxious to them, especially to Wilcox. He had been active in the arrest of Wilcox for conspiracy. I do not know whether the grounds of opposition were sound or not. I know Mr. Thurston was not very ardent in the matter of having him removed. It was John E. Bush and Wilcox. John E. Bush was in the habit of calling her all kinds of foul names.

Q. What is your opinion of the credibility of Bush?

A. He has no character for veracity or morality of any kind. It is as bad as it can be. I have known his record for a long period. He has about as bad a record as anybody in these islands in every respect. I will say about Bush that his earlier progress in public life was owing to the fact that his wife was at the King's service entirely. That was the secret of his success. It was a notorious fact.

Q. What country was she from?

A. She was a native.

Q. Dead?

A. Yes. When she died his influence with the King somewhat declined. In reference to this matter of the marshal it should be added that the Queen declared publicly to a committee sent to ask her to keep Wilson in office that he should be kept in office. It was an unconstitutional declaration. I give this as one of her unconstitutional acts.

Q. The Provisional Government was established on the 17th?

A. The 17th.

Q. Three days, then, afterwards it was the avowed purpose to seek annexation with the United States?

A. Yes; that is a matter of record.

Q. Out of what did that declaration in favor of annexation come? Did it come out of the moment, or had there been a progress of opinion for years on the line of connecting this country with the Government of the United States?

A. There had been a progress of opinion growing for a good many years in favor of annexation to the United States, and looking to it as a certain event of the future. I would say that the royalist paper "Bulletin" distinctly avowed that as a certainty in a year—either last year or the year before.

Q. Now, was there a feeling in the mind of the people in that meeting reaching back through a period of months, looking forward to some opportunity of connection with the Government of the United States?

A. There was nothing said about annexation in that meeting.

Q. I do not know that I gave you my idea.

A. As to what feeling existed among individuals or among leaders in that meeting—I suppose that is what you wish to know—it would be a matter of opinion with me. I should say that at that meeting there was no definite thought about annexation among the people; that that

was an afterthought which grew up perhaps during the next day—that is, of actually proposing annexation as an immediate thing. I know that it was not in my own mind. I was not thinking about that. I was thinking about what kind of a government would be put up. It was quite evident there was going to be a change. Annexation might or might not come. People had to act and think rapidly. We had had some training in the revolution of 1887. That had been an education to our leading men.

Q. What do you mean by education? In what particular?

A. An education in planning for a form of government. An education in prompt action of the right kind.

Q. What do you mean by prompt action of the right kind?

A. I mean such action as was actually taken. Experience had taught the people that no confidence was to be placed in any royal promise; that there was only one thing to be done—to make clean work and sweep the monarchy away. The people here had a very distinct education in what may be termed the strategy of a revolution.

Q. Do you mean that the white element here had learned what they could accomplish by courage and organization?

A. Yes; exactly. I would add to that also that the native population got an education in the impossibility of resistance to a determined action on the part of the whites.

Q. Now, Mr. Bishop, was this change of Government brought about by any action from the other islands—or was it done entirely on this island?

A. Entirely. There was no time to communicate with the other islands. The white population of the other islands were as thoroughly in sympathy as the white population of Honolulu.

Q. Did they have any knowledge of it?

A. None.

Q. Did the native population on the other islands know anything of the movement?

A. I think they knew of the movement to proclaim a new constitution.

Q. That is not what I mean—

A. Well, they could not. The whole thing was done so rapidly. There was no vessel going up to the other islands during those days. I think no vessel went up during that period.

Q. In the education you say the whites received here and the natives received in connection with revolutions, was there in the minds of the whites to enable them to succeed, and in the minds of the natives to induce them to submit, any calculation as to the aid of the forces of any foreign government?

A. I should say there was none whatever. I was myself fairly intimate with the public sentiment in that matter, and I am certain that there was no calculation of any such aid. There was a calculation on the maintenance of the usual practice of landing troops to maintain order against mob violence, and to protect the property of citizens. There was an expectation of that.

Q. How was that force to be applied? The Queen's Government was in existence up to the time of your recognition?

A. It may be said to have had no manner of existence. It had no real existence. It was wrecked by the panic produced by the unconstitutional acts of the Queen. All persons had ceased to look to it; at least, all owners of property and intelligent people.

Q. Then you did not expect the use of troops to enforce or sustain any action on the part of the Queen?

A. We did not expect they would. We did not regard the Queen's Government as a source of order. The attitude of the Queen herself, as shown on the morning of that Monday, the 16th, in this terrified proclamation, showed that they themselves were in a state of panic.

Q. The people then did not expect that in the use of foreign troops that the Queen's Government would derive any support from that quarter.

A. No; they did not. Mr. Stevens' sympathies were well known by various manifestations. They were known to be in favor of the progress of constitutional government. He had so declared himself on public occasions like the 4th of July.

Q. What do you mean by that. Please be more specific.

A. I mean that on at least two public occasions—one of which was the 4th of July—Mr. Stevens had made addresses in which he spoke of the necessity of the Hawaiian monarchy conforming itself to constitutional progress.

Q. How did that apply to any condition of things here?

A. It applied because Kalakaua's Government and the Queen's Government were manifestly seeking to establish absolutism.

Q. And the condition of things here induced the interpretation of these two speeches to mean that—

A. He was heartily in sympathy with the movement of constitutional government. He was going to show himself as a good American. It was kindness in him to exercise his influence as the American representative.

Q. You did not think the forces were going to be used when they came on shore in the interest of protecting the property and persons of American citizens in connection with the Queen's government, or in support of it.

A. I was well satisfied they would not be used to support that government.

Q. Did you think that the new government was likely to be recognized and that in the protection of person and property the troops would likely act on a line in harmony with the new government?

A. I did not suppose—I had some indications that led me to believe that the troops would not be used in any way to assist in establishing the Provisional Government. They would be left entirely to their prowess or strength to accomplish the end.

Q. Were the troops landed before that government was recognized?

A. They were landed before the government was formed. They were landed on the evening of the 16th. The government was not formed until the morning of the 17th.

Q. Now, suppose disorders had broken out in that condition of things—in executing the power—the purpose of protecting persons and property here—what was expected as to the tendency of the action of these troops—that it would be with the white population or with the native element—with the new political movement or with the Queen's Government?

A. Well, it was expected that they would repress any mob violence whatever—that they would assist in preventing any incendiarism in town, or attacks upon private property.

Q. Suppose there had been a conflict on the streets—a battle on the streets—what side do you suppose the United States would have taken?

A. My belief was at that time that the United States would have remained entirely neutral. I have no doubt of that. I had no doubt then.

Q. Did you look for any trouble at the time these troops were put on shore?

A. We were apprehensive at that time of secret disturbance—attempts to create insurrection and disturbances. We were apprehensive about incendiarism.

Q. Insurrection against what?

A. Attempt on the part of the natives to injure the whites.

Q. You mean race conflict rather than insurrection?

A. Well, I do not mean any organized insurrection—we were afraid of local disturbances in town. We were in a state of uncertainty and apprehension. We felt we needed protection. We had not organized Government forces.

Q. You wanted these forces here to preserve order until you had organized?

A. And after that if they chose. We were accustomed to have such forces landed—Mr. Merrill had had such forces.

Q. I am not questioning the propriety of it, but I am trying to find out the public mind in this situation.

A. I understand. Now I am expressing what my own view is as an intelligent person, knowing what the customs and proprieties of things would be internationally. I am only giving you my opinion.

Q. I am only asking your opinion. I am inquiring from you because you have the reputation of being an intelligent man, a man of character. These troops were landed at the instance of whom?

A. I understand that they were landed at the request of the committee of public safety—organized before the Provisional Government was organized. It was felt that the community was in great danger, and it was necessary to take immediate steps.

Q. The protectorate was established to continue during the progress of negotiations, was it not?

A. So far as it was a protectorate. I do not know how far it was entitled to be called a protectorate. I think the proclamation of Mr. Stevens settles that matter. I do not know anything outside of that. I think it was pending orders from the United States Government.

Q. Was there a fear here that were the troops aboard, the government would not be able to protect property—the Provisional Government?

A. The troops had been on shore all the time to assist in maintaining order. They took no active part then and were always confined to their barracks.

Q. Do you think that during all that period and up to the establishment of the protectorate that these troops were necessary on shore in order that order might be preserved?

A. Well, it is hard to say. I cannot judge. I will say this: I know from my personal knowledge of volunteers of the force that they considered themselves very hard worked in controlling the town, and while they encountered hardly any signs or disposition to make disturbance they had a sense of insecurity. They were called off from their business to a degree that was a great trial to them, and the putting up of the American flag enabled martial law to be dispensed with and gave a feeling of general confidence and security which was agreeable to us all.

Q. Martial law and the United States troops you felt necessary to give adequate protection and restore confidence here. Is that true or not?

A. I should not say that the presence of the United States troops

was a necessity. It was very desirable. I think that the Provisional Government could have maintained our security without them.

Q. Mr. Bishop, there has been a controversy (if I am not correct you can correct me) for a good many years on the part of the people of the white race here and the native race in the matter of governing the country. Is that true or not?

A. It is true.

Q. Have the political alignments here been as a general rule racial—white race against other races?

A. Not until recently.

Q. How recently?

A. My first recollections of any indications of such an alignment I should say were early in the reign of Kalakaua, about eighteen or twenty years ago.

Q. And did it take shape in the form of questions of taxation, or what form did it take?

A. In the shape of appointments to public office. They claimed that natives should hold a larger proportion of public office than they had been accustomed to.

Q. And the other side did not like it?

A. The other side did not feel that the natives were fit for office. They were notoriously incompetent. The first indication I remember of such a feeling was one day seeing Samuel Parker—then a young man—landing at Lahaina from a vessel from Honolulu and proclaiming loudly that Kalakaua was going to do the right thing by the Hawaiians—give them a proper share in the Government.

Q. What had been the share before this announcement of Parker?

A. It had been customary to have one or two natives or half whites in the King's cabinet of four.

Q. How about the court?

A. The supreme court?

Q. Yes.

A. It has always been customary to have three white judges.

Q. Because they were learned in the law?

A. Yes; the natives were incapable of being learned in law.

Q. That had for some time been accepted as proper?

A. It has ever since it has been the rule. It has never been changed.

Q. How are your judges selected?

A. Appointed by the Sovereign with the advice of the cabinet. There has been a very satisfactory administration of law and justice.

Q. How about your foreign ministers—any rule obtained?

A. They were always white men.

Q. And appointed by the Crown?

A. Yes.

Q. On confirmation by anybody else?

A. The cabinet, I think.

Q. Not confirmed by the legislative body?

A. No; a large part of the offices sought to be occupied by natives were subordinate civil offices.

Q. Was that what Parker had in mind, or did he want to enlarge it?

A. He wanted to enlarge it, to have more natives in the cabinet.

Q. In the constitution of 1887 did the qualifications of electors leave the whites in the majority in the election of nobles, or the natives?

A. The whites in the majority; that is, a majority of nobles.

Q. The constitution allowed citizens of other countries who were liv-

ing here at that time to vote, not thereby forfeiting their citizenship in other countries. Was that intended to strengthen the white vote?

A. It was intended to strengthen the white vote by enabling them to vote, as they were not willing to renounce their citizenship.

Q. With a view of giving the white element strength in political controversies?

A. Yes; to give them adequate representation in the legislature, so that they should not be entirely overridden by the native representatives.

Q. This constitution was extorted from Kalakaua by a mass meeting?

A. Yes; by force of public sentiment manifested through a mass meeting. That demonstration of the determination and unity of the white citizens so terrified him that he was ready to do what he was wanted to do.

Q. Now, is it to be inferred from transactions like that that the intelligent people here are of the opinion that the native population as a mass are qualified for government, capable of carrying on a government?

A. I should say quite the contrary.

Q. Referring to the mass meeting which extorted the constitution from Kalakaua and to the recent mass meeting which brought about the change here—are we to believe from these that the intelligent classes in this community—the whites—do not believe that the mass of the native population are capable of self-government?

A. Not without assistance.

Q. What is your view about that? I do not know these people at all. I am trying to get at the inside facts of the case.

A. My view is that, while the native people here are lacking in adequate intelligence and force of purpose to conduct self-government long, they are so well disposed that with a sufficient power of white guidance—white coöperation—and the removal of racial contention, which has been sedulously cultivated by the late dynasty, they will usefully coöperate in republican government. They possess sufficient intelligence and good disposition so to do.

Q. On that point of being led by the white element, and easily in the absence of attempts to excite racial feelings, could you trust to universal suffrage?

A. Without limitations we could not.

Q. What limitations could you trust to in the matter of suffrage?

A. I think the limitations would have to be quite high, as to education and property qualifications.

Q. What would you put them at?

A. As to education, I should require a good knowledge of the English language—sufficient to enable the voter to read and understand the Constitution of the United States.

Q. In regard to property qualifications?

A. I think it should be made so high as to exclude unskilled laborers.

Q. You have about 9,000 voters among the native population—how many would that exclude?

A. The educational qualification would exclude two-thirds—the number qualified would rapidly increase.

Q. What property qualification?

A. The same property qualification as now required of voters for nobles—\$600 income. That would exclude unskilled laborers.

Q. How many skilled laborers do you think would vote?

A. I do not know. There has been very great carelessness in admit-

ting such voters. I think the number of such voters having that property qualification would be about one-fifth.

Q. That is your opinion?

A. Yes; my private opinion.

Q. What would you think would be the opinion of the intelligent people here on this question?

A. I think they would generally agree with it, except as they are governed by a strong American prejudice of universal suffrage.

Q. A majority of the whites, would they adopt your opinion or the manhood suffrage idea?

A. I think the great majority of the whites would adopt my idea as a matter of necessity, although contrary to their theoretical principles. They would sacrifice their theory for obvious necessity.

Q. Mr. Bishop, what would be the effect on values here if you were to go into the United States—property values?

A. I think there would be an appreciation of most property values within two years of at least 50 per cent.

Q. Why do you think that?

A. On account of the immediate restoration of financial confidence. It would put into operation at once a great variety of new enterprises, such as the proposed railroad around Oahu, which is now waiting for the result of the present negotiations.

Q. Anything else?

A. Yes; there are other causes. The rapid immigration here of energetic whites from America, from the United States, which would follow annexation.

Q. What would bring them?

A. The sense that they were going to be in the United States, that they were coming to their own country—the protection of the American flag.

Q. They have that already there. I mean what would bring them here?

A. Attractions of land. Opening to enterprise. They are deterred from doing so now by the political uncertainty of the country.

Q. Any other causes?

A. I think those are the main causes.

Q. The sugar bounty—has it had any influence at all in the matter?

A. In promoting annexation?

Q. Yes.

A. Ever since the bounty has been put on it has increased, I think, the desire for annexation, but at the same time there was an apprehension that the bounty would soon be removed, so that it was not a very powerful influence.

Q. What would be the effect on your labor here?

A. Very unfavorable to sugar-planters. It is apprehended it would be. I think it would be. I think the planters would suffer a good deal in reference to their contract labor.

Q. Suppose they had no contract labor, could not they bring Japanese here and Portuguese in sufficient quantities to supply plantations?

A. Their passage would have to be paid by the planters.

Q. You think they would not do that unless there was a contract?

A. No; they could not get their money back unless they were bound.

Q. That would seem so to me. I saw a statement from Mr. Paul Neumann, in which he took a different view, but did not give his reasons for it.

A. Paul Neumann would say anything that would suit the occasion.

Q. You think the contract labor system would be done away with if there was annexation?

A. It is so understood.

Q. When these contracts are out do the laborers leave the country?

A. Not necessarily.

Q. Some of them—the Chinese—would have to go back, would not they, under your last legislation?

A. I am not very familiar with the last legislation. My attention has been taken up with other political aspects.

Q. Do you think the Chinese would remain here?

A. They have remained here in very large numbers. There has been a very large decline in Chinese population.

Q. Would you expect the United States Government to permit the Chinese population to remain here in the event of annexation?

A. Just as they permit the Chinese population to remain in the United States. I suppose on the same terms.

Q. The Japanese population—would you expect them to remain mostly when their term of service was out?

A. I believe the Japanese are under some obligation to their own Government in the matter, which may constrain them.

Q. Do you think if that is not true that they would like to remain—most of them?

A. I think they would.

Q. Well, the Portuguese element—is that permanent here?

A. I think it is—unless they are compelled to leave here for want of employment.

Q. Now, taking your native population—the Portuguese population and the Japanese population that remain here—it would be overwhelming in point of numbers against the white element?

A. The Portuguese we count as whites. They are whites. They are whites in intelligence when they receive education.

Q. I do not care whether you call them whites or not.

A. I am disposed to insist that they are whites. They have the European Christian ethics. They belong to Christian civilization by inheritance.

Q. With the Japanese population living here, and the Portuguese population here, and the white population here, what would you do with the question of suffrage? Would you be inclined to the lines you have already indicated in that condition of things?

A. Well, it would establish English as an absolute condition of suffrage.

Q. And the property qualification?

A. Yes; but the English would exclude the ignorant Portuguese, and exclude the Japanese and Chinese almost entirely.

Q. You mean the qualifications for reading English would exclude most of the Portuguese and most of the Japanese?

A. Yes; it would exclude Portuguese who were not educated. I was going to say that it is my opinion that there should be an exception made from the educational qualification in reference to all persons who had voted hitherto for a considerable number of years—say fifteen. It would be an injustice to a large class of intelligent and excellent natives not to let them exercise suffrage.

Q. You desired to express some views a while ago on some subject?

A. On the question of the expectation of intelligent people here in respect to the action of the troops of the *Boston*. On the Sunday following the establishment of the Provisional Government Mr. P. C.

Jones, the minister of finance, and myself held a conversation on the steps of the Stone church, where we were about to conduct Bible classes. Mr. Jones expressed himself confidentially to me about his feelings on the occasion of assuming office. He stated to me that he thought he had never had such a sense in his life of personal peril he felt at the time when he and the other members of the Provisional Government left Fort street to proceed to the Government house for the purpose of seizing the Government. From that I am convinced that the members of the Provisional Government expected no assistance whatever from the United States forces.

Q. What day was this?

A. It was the Sunday following the day they took the Government—was Tuesday, the 17th. It was the 22d of January.

Q. The American flag was then up?

A. No; the American flag was not put up for two weeks afterwards.

Q. Were the troops on shore all the while.

A. Yes; they were on shore all the time. They were out of sight mostly on the premises which they occupied. My son-in-law, Jonathan Shaw, was active as a volunteer from the moment of the assumption of power by the Provisional Government. He has always spoken to me of experiencing a great sense of danger at the time that he took up arms to assist the Provisional Government in occupying the government house. He had no expectation of support at that time from the United States troops. He is a bookkeeper and general business man of intelligence. I would urge the point that the proclamation made by the Queen and her cabinet on Monday morning, the 16th, demonstrated a condition of panic on the part of the Queen's Government. It was a most humiliating proclamation for her to make. It proves that the Government had practically gone to pieces—and this supports the theory that the reason why not the slightest opposition was offered by the large force assembled and armed on the Queen's side to the Provisional Government. It was due entirely to a state of panic on the part of the natives.

Q. The natives here in the city of Honolulu?

A. The organized native forces. They could not possibly have been brought up to face the whites. This feeling was enhanced by actual experience they had had of being shot down by the whites in the insurrection of 1889, in which no white man was wounded. Twelve natives were shot down.

Q. Was that the Wilcox insurrection?

A. Yes.

Q. Now let me ask you there, was that an insurrection against Kalakaua?

A. It is hard to say what the inside intention of the revolution was, but my opinion is that Kalakaua was privy to it. It was purely an attempt to restore the old constitution in the interests of absolutism.

Q. Where was he at the time; was he at the palace?

A. No; he was not at the palace; he was at his house on the beach, and at an early hour he went on board the American ship-of-war, which was in port.

Q. For what purpose?

A. For safety.

Q. From whom?

A. I do not know. His royal guard in the palace was instructed to keep Wilcox and his men out of the palace so as to save the palace from injury. Wilcox made no attempt to gain possession of the palace,

although he went to the barracks, in the rear of the palace, and obtained all the rifles and cannon he could use. They were freely given to him by the King's forces in the barracks.

Q. Now, did the whites suppress the insurrection?

A. Yes; it was done entirely by the whites. It was done by authority of the Thurston cabinet. The King's own cabinet suppressed the insurrection as being an insurrection against the King. They understood it very well that the King was conniving at it. It was also stated that Liliuokalani aimed to destroy the King and put herself on the throne.

Q. How much was that believed here among the white people?

A. I think the general concensus of opinion was in favor of the former theory that the King was privy to the whole thing.

Q. Now, you say that the shooting down of the natives on the part of the whites in the Wilcox insurrection was probably the cause of the panic in the royal troops in the late movement?

A. I think it contributed to it. No native would face a combination of white volunteers. The men who shot down the natives were volunteers—not organized, but riflemen gathered for the moment.

Q. Mr. Bishop, I notice in correspondence between the minister here and the State Department a letter in which he speaks of arms being landed here from San Francisco for the whites in connection with the movement of 1887?

A. Yes; there was. That was an organized movement.

Q. What became of those arms? I do not want you to answer it unless you feel perfectly free about it. Were they retained by private citizens?

A. My impression is that they were retained by private citizens. I think they were owned by private citizens.

Q. Is it true or not that the white people here with a view to their own security keep themselves supplied with arms in their houses? I mean as a general rule?

A. I think it is quite extensive, but I do not think it is universal.

Q. That would indicate a feeling on the part of the whites that it was necessary for them to be in a condition always to protect themselves by force, although they might never have it to do?

A. That is the feeling undoubtedly.

Q. I was led to ask you that question by a man named Lillie. He spoke of keeping arms in his house.

A. I would say that apprehension is felt solely in regard to the adherents of royalty. There is no fear from other sources.

I have carefully read the foregoing and pronounce it an accurate report of my interview with Mr. Blount.

SERENO E. BISHOP.

HONOLULU, *May 12, 1893.*

No. 10.

Interview with William Blaisdell of Kealia and Kapaa Kauai, Wednesday, April 19, 1893.

Mr. BLOUNT. Mr. Blaisdell, please tell me your occupation?

Mr. BLAISDELL. I am a plantation manager.

Q. What plantation?

A. The McKee Sugar Company.

Q. What is the amount of capital involved?

A. About \$1,000,000.

Q. How many hands employed?

A. An average of 700.

Q. Where are they from—what race?

A. Principally Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Hawaiians, and a few South Sea Islanders.

Q. How many Japanese?

A. About 400.

Q. About how many Chinese?

A. About 100.

Q. About how many Portuguese?

A. Something like 120.

Q. How many natives?

A. Not more than about 75 or 80 at present.

Q. You are here representing an annexation organization?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. As a delegate?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were the gentlemen who came up with you representing the annexation organization on the island?

A. H. P. Baldwin, George N. Wilcox, George Mundon, and J. Konoho.

Q. What is the occupation of Mr. Baldwin?

A. He is a sugar planter.

Q. Do you know anything of the capital he represents?

A. He represents from that island a capital stock of something like \$2,000,000.

Q. Does he represent any interest on any other island?

A. Yes; he is the principal owner of several plantations on Maui.

Q. Is he from the State of Maine?

A. I do not know. His father was one of the original missionaries.

Q. Well, Mr. Wilcox, is he interested in sugar?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is his business?

A. He is a planter,

Q. How much capital does he represent?

A. Well, in the sugar business he is estimated at being worth something like \$1,000,000, and his plantation business I should think is something like half a million.

Q. Do you mean in addition to his sugar interest?

A. No, sir; his sugar interest would amount to about half a million dollars. He has other interests besides. He is a principal shareholder in the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Company. In fact, he has interests all over the islands. He has a great deal of sugar stock outside of his own plantation.

Q. You are speaking of Mr. Wilcox?

A. Yes.

Q. He is the principal owner of the steamship line also?

A. I don't know that he is the principal owner. I know he owns considerable stock.

Q. Is he the Wilcox known in connection with the phrase, "Wilcox Cabinet?"

A. Yes. His father was one of the early missionaries.

Q. What is the business of those two natives who came with you?

A. George Mundon does a little business in the way of hauling wood, cutting wood, and supplying wood to the plantations.

Q. What plantations?

A. Ours principally.

Q. Is he in your employ?

A. Not directly—well, I suppose he is.

Q. The other native. His business?

A. He is a minister of the Gospel.

Q. You all came in together yesterday evening. Did you represent the same organization?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you represent the same locality?

A. No, sir; we represent about the whole of the island.

Q. Will you tell me the causes which led to the dethronement of the Queen?

A. Well, poor government.

Q. Could you not be more specific? Poor government is a very loose phrase, and won't carry much information with it.

A. Of course it was something that has been coming for some time, but what decided the question was the Queen's wishing to put a new constitution on the people—force a new constitution on the people.

Q. What do you mean by the phrase, "has been coming for some time?"

A. Things had been drifting into disorder and corruptness in government matters.

Q. What sort of disorder?

A. Mismanagement.

Q. Well, was life and property safe?

A. No, sir; well, I won't say that altogether, but things were drifting that way. We felt that property at least was not safe.

Q. Was there a looking forward to a change of government on account of the discontent with the political condition in the islands?

A. Well, I do not think so. Of course we are not as well posted on the other islands, away from the capital here.

Q. You were not here during the scenes immediately preceding and during the dethronement of the Queen?

A. No, sir.

Q. Then, on that question you can not answer?

A. No, sir.

Q. You have already said you are representing annexionists?

A. Yes.

Q. What is your opinion as to the feeling in favor of the existing Government with a view towards annexation?

A. When the Queen was first overthrown there were very few in favor of annexation, very few of the planters especially. I was one that did not see that we could be improved, especially in view of the contract-labor system which is our mainstay.

Q. You mean mainstay for sugar interests or for the islands?

A. Well for the islands, because it is the main industry of the islands; but as things developed, and after looking over the matter carefully and talking over the matter with other interested parties—that is, planters principally—we came to the conclusion that we would rather take our chances on the labor question than to take the chances of an independent government. We were in hopes that if annexation was secured that the United States would take our labor question into consideration and allow us some privileges in that way.

Q. In what way?

A. In bringing in Asiatic labor or not interfering with our present system of labor. We feel, of course, that good government is the

foundation of prosperity, and that without good government we have no use for labor. I think if we could have been assured of a good independent government we should have preferred it.

Q. What sort of an independent government?

A. A thoroughly reliable home government.

Q. Without annexation?

A. Yes, sir; because the benefits we might get are very obscure. We didn't feel that we could depend on that at all.

Q. What would be a reliable government here do you think?

A. I do not think it is possible to have good government and free suffrage.

Q. Just there I would be glad if you would give me your views with precision.

A. Knowing the native race as well as I do—have worked them for years, was raised among them and had them in responsible positions—I know their character and know they can not be relied upon. They are not educated to it.

Q. They are not educated to what?

A. To manage themselves—to govern themselves.

Q. You mean for participation in governmental affairs?

A. Yes; a native can never conduct any business for himself. In no instance that I know of has a native attempted to go into business for himself and made a success of it—that is, any business of any extent. He has always been associated with some foreigner and the foreigner at the head always. It is very hard for them to understand business. They have not got the knack of acquiring, and what they do acquire they can not hold on to. They are very weak in this matter.

Q. Well, now, when it comes to voting, how are they?

A. Very easily led, one way or the other. Up to within the last three or four sessions of the legislature they were very indifferent about it, but since then there has been a little race prejudice.

Q. For ten or twelve years?

A. I won't go back as far as that. I will say six years. Of course it was anything to beat the *Howle* (the white man). Very often now in elections, especially outside of Honolulu, you ask them how they expect to vote, they say, "Oh, it makes no difference to us. As long as the plantations are running of course we can always expect employment, and we look to the plantations for support."

Q. How long is it since the Australian ballot law was enacted?

A. Only the last election.

Q. In your legislature you have nobles and representatives. Now I want to speak as to representatives. Were a majority of the representatives elected to the last legislature in sympathy with the reform party or against them?

A. Against them.

Q. What was the effect of the Australian ballot system on the native? Was he more or less easily influenced under this system as compared with the former?

A. I think that if the candidate was a Hawaiian; that is, if there were two candidates, a white man and a Hawaiian, he would, of course, vote for the Hawaiian.

Q. Under the secret ballot system?

A. Yes, sir; that is, speaking of the majority.

Q. Suppose the question was left to the native population to determine by ballot under the Australian system whether they desired to return to royalty or annexation, what do you think that vote would show?

A. I think it would show a return to royalty—that is at the present time. In talking with natives I found a great many were in favor of annexation, but they are afraid that they would lose their civil rights, that is, they think they would have to forfeit that.

Q. Let me ask you if this is the situation. That when they are approached by their employers, desiring to be in accord with them, they declare themselves willing for annexation subject to an expression of fear that they will lose the right of suffrage?

A. I do not quite get your question.

(Question repeated.)

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In other words you think you can influence a considerable native vote by reason of the relations existing between you, but for the fear that they would lose the right of suffrage under annexation?

A. I can hardly answer that. Of course there is their regard for their Queen on the one hand. They feel that annexation is inevitable—a good many of them—and they would express themselves as in favor of annexation provided they were allowed their free suffrage. But I think under any circumstances if it was put to a vote and no financial interests involved, if they were not dependent upon others for support, they would vote against annexation.

Q. Do you think they are in favor of the restoration of the Queen?

A. A majority of them? No, sir. You cannot depend upon the Hawaiians. They say one thing to-day and another to-morrow.

Q. Now, the class of men they elect to the legislature—are they intelligent, reliable people?

A. Not always; no, sir.

Q. Your constitution provides that a voter for nobles shall have unincumbered property of the value of \$3,000 or an income of \$600?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. If the nobles were elected by persons having the same qualifications as those who elect representatives, would that place the control of the nobles in the hands of the native voters?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have said that they elect a majority of the representatives?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The same thing then would obtain as to the nobles?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then that body would likely sustain a ministry in accord with native ideas?

A. Yes, sir, decidedly.

Q. And that would leave the property of the Kingdom and the rights of foreigners to the disposition of native voters?

A. Yes, sir, entirely. Property would not be secure.

Q. Property would not be secure?

A. No, sir.

Q. Please tell me why?

A. I would have to answer that in a general way—that no property can be secured under bad government.

Q. You think a body elected in the way last indicated would be a corrupt body of men?

A. I do.

Q. You think it would be an ignorant body of men?

A. Yes, sir; as regards the science of government.

Q. You think the business conditions of the islands would be disregarded in legislation?

A. Yes, sir; I think the natives would be controlled by unscrupulous people. The natives are very easily influenced, one way or another.

Q. Do you think the animosity towards the white people would continue?

A. I have no doubt of it.

Q. Please tell me this—do you think that it is necessary to the preservation of order and the making and enforcement of good laws that the foreign element should give direction to political affairs on these islands?

A. Yes, sir; I do. Of course, in speaking of the Hawaiians, I speak of the majority, There are exceptions, of course. There are some very good Hawaiians that I have a great deal of respect for, but their not being interested to any extent financially—having nothing to lose in that way and being dependent upon others for support—they are not careful, they are easily influenced.

Q. Are they easily influenced with liquor in elections?

A. Since the Australian ballot system was adopted, not so much so. Previous to that and previous to the formation of the Reform Party, it was a custom for the candidates outside of the polling places to have feasts—laaus—and the native would get a free feed and a free glass of gin provided he would vote for a certain representative. His ballot would be handed to him and he would go to the polls and put it in. There was a great deal of that. I think that was one of the main reasons for the formation of the Reform Party.

Q. Were there a majority of them subject to this influence you have just spoken of?

A. Yes, sir. I have seen it open and aboveboard.

Q. That thing, then, often determined the election of a representative?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that generally the case in elections for representatives prior to the Australian ballot law?

A. I think it was a good deal so.

Q. Well, is there anything else you want to add?

A. We have been charged as sugar men with being at the bottom of this movement. I want to contradict that emphatically.

Q. Was it not really a Honolulu movement?

A. Yes, sir. Although of course we felt that something of the kind might happen. In talking over matters with our president, Colonel Spaulding, I told him I thought something might be done to oust the Wilcox cabinet. He said he didn't think the Queen would dare to do it.

Q. Well, if she did oust them did you expect any trouble to come out of it?

A. I did. Things had gone so far and we had had so much of it, that I felt sure something would come of it. At the same time I was surprised that she did do it.

Q. That she did remove the Cabinet?

A. Yes, sir; and that she signed the lottery bill and the opium bill.

Q. You think the peace of the islands depends on the power of the white element to direct this government?

A. Yes, sir; I think so, I feel so—decidedly so. Of course, we are at a little disadvantage, as property holders with large interests away from Honolulu. We feel at a disadvantage compared with the Honolulu people. There we are pretty much at the mercy of the people at large, that is, the natives, and our property being scattered over thousands of acres, and being very easily destroyed by fire, of course we

feel concerned. We can not call for protection from any force—naval force or anything of that kind. A few natives with a match could destroy thousands and thousands of dollars' worth of property in a short time. Fire in the sugar cane is very hard to fight. A great deal of property would be destroyed in a short time. Therefore, of course, we feel justified in asking for annexation or for protection against civil disorder.

Q. Is there anything else you want to add?

A. I want to deny again the charges made, that the planters are at the bottom of this movement. You can easily see how annexation would affect us. It would undoubtedly do away with our contract system of labor.

Q. What would be the effect on you of laws prohibiting contract labor?

A. It would require 25 per cent more labor to keep up the supply.

Q. Suppose the United States should prohibit contracts being made by corporations with people in Asiatic countries, what would be the effect of that?

A. It would raise the price of labor.

Q. What would the effect be on crop products?

A. It would increase the cost of a ton of sugar.

Q. Can you get any European labor of any amount here; could you look to Europe as a source for labor?

A. No, sir. We have tried that. It was a failure. We got some German families, but we had to give it up. They did not seem suitable. They could not stand working in the sugar cane.

I have carefully read through the foregoing and pronounce it a correct report.

W. BLAISDELL.

HONOLULU, *April 20, 1893.*

No. 11.

Statement of William Blaisdell.

KEALIA, KAUAI, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,

May 9, 1893.

DEAR SIR: I hereby take advantage of the privilege granted me by you to communicate by letter anything of interest in addition to my statement made to you a fortnight or so ago.

If I remember rightly, I forgot to reply, in answer to a question asked me, "Whether the planters had introduced any other nationalities than Asiatics in this country as laborers," that for several years during the time we received 2 cents a pound for our sugar several thousands of Portuguese families were induced to come to the Islands from Azores under contract to this Government, and then transferred to the planters.

They proved to be the best and most reliable class of laborers brought to this country; no other class of labor has given as good satisfaction. But when the price took such a tumble and we were obliged to make sugar for \$40 a ton less, we were compelled to look elsewhere for less expensive laborers, or go to the wall.

The first cost of importing Portuguese was a considerable expense as the distance is so great between the two countries; that expense had to be borne by the planters. They also received higher rates of wages than any other class of labor in the country, and, in addition, were fur-

nished free house room, fuel, medical attendance for the whole family. Notwithstanding their greater expense to the Planters as laborers than the Japanese or Chinese, they were, on the whole, a more desirable class of employés than any other class of labor, and I hope that, if we are annexed to the United States of America, our circumstances will be so much better, financially, that we can again encourage the immigration of that class of labor to this country. There may be some trouble in getting them here, if the contract-labor system is abolished, for they have not the funds wherewith to defray the expense of bringing their families out here, let alone themselves. The Planters, therefore, would have to advance them that much, and the binding of the laborer to serve for a certain time is the only security the employer can obtain for the refunding the amount of the advance, which is deducted from his wages in monthly installments, and as the new settler can spare but a very small portion of his earnings each month, he is as a rule two years working out the debt.

Much has been said against the contract-labor system by people who do not understand it; much more can be said in its favor by those who do. As a rule the contract laborer is better off in every respect than the noncontract man. A contract man is free to do as he pleases when his ten hours of work are over. It is true he is compelled to work when physically able, and if a man claims to the contrary, he reports to the physician, and if, after an examination, the physician finds the least thing ails the laborer, he is excused from work, and if, on the contrary, he is sound in health, is lazy, and feigns illness for an excuse to get a day or two to idle or gamble, he is ordered to work, which order should he disregard, he is taken before a magistrate, and, if he fails to prove that he is physically unable to work, he is ordered by the court to go to work, and, should he still refuse, he is sent to jail, there to remain until he agrees to do as ordered.

It is a common rule on all plantations to occasionally grant a leave of absence for several days to a man who has proved himself worthy of it. A good man is seldom, if ever, denied that privilege.

The fact of the laborer being compelled to work when able, enables him to earn more wages than the noncontract men. He, therefore, always has money laid by for a rainy day; whereas the day laborer or noncontract man does not work more than 80 per cent of his time, and spends that time, when not at work, in idleness and gambling, and in running from one part of the country to another.

I maintain that where there is a large number of the lower class, as there is in this country, and also where the rate paid to the laborer is so far in excess of what it costs them to live, that some such system is necessary in order to discourage idleness and its consequent evils. In fact, it is as necessary as compulsory education is in this country. Every Government school has a truant officer and he is kept busy bringing in truants and recruits. That will explain my reason for the statement made you that "if the contract-labor system is abolished we will require 25 per cent more laborers in the country to supply the demand as well as it is supplied at present."

Since my return from Honolulu I have been from one end of this district to the other (50 miles) to ascertain as near as possible what the sentiment is among the natives in regard to Annexation. The Royalist politicians have sent several agents down here from Honolulu to influence the natives against it by every means possible. A certain Capt. Ross, a noted character, of whom, no doubt, you have heard much, was one of them. The misleading statements that he has made to these

simple-minded people regarding America, its people, and form of government, and saying everything possible that a base-hearted person can say to encourage race prejudice, is enough to disgrace him in the eyes of every American, or anyone else that can boast of having an enlightened mind.

He has told them that America can not take care of her poor people, of which there are many thousands in every city in the Union, and that they are dying off by the hundreds for the want of something to eat. It is that class of people, he has told them, that the United States will send here among you, and as they have nothing, they will kill off you natives in order to get your lands, etc. You will be treated like slaves, and run over by the white people. The above is only a sample of what he told the natives, and although the better class do not place much confidence in all that he told them, yet they are somewhat alarmed at what he said, and do not know which way to turn.

As they are not directly interested in any of the industries and enterprises of the Islands, and are only small landowners, they therefore feel that they can not be materially affected by bad government, and that it would be better for them to take their chances in that, rather than Annexation and its doubtful benefits. And, again, the exciting of race prejudice, which has been intensified by the Royalists, has been an important factor in influencing them against desiring to annex their country with that of a white man. They are a timid and simple-minded lot of people as a rule, and are therefore easily influenced against anything foreign that they imagine may do them harm.

Almost all of the better educated natives are officeholders, such as district judges and policemen, and they, for fear of losing their positions under a new form of government, do all they can to encourage their less fortunate countrymen against annexation, and this is not a difficult task when you understand that they have never read the Constitution of the United States, and all they know of America is that there is such a place some 2,000 miles away from the Islands, where all manner of crime is committed, and that there is a possible chance of such criminals coming to the Islands to flee from justice, consequently the islands will be overrun with all sorts of bad characters; this, in fact, has been told them by the Royalists.

I have worked hard to explain away such delusions and stories, and am also having the Constitution of the United States translated into the Hawaiian language, and will distribute copies of same to all natives on the Island, and will have it explained thoroughly to them. I feel sure that this course will do much to dispel many points of doubt that they now adhere to. I also feel sanguine that, after a few years of Annexation, and they enjoy all the benefits and privileges thereof, few, if any, will be willing to give it up.

But to ask them to decide in favor of it under the present circumstances would be very similar to asking the Indians of America a hundred years ago whether all the white people should be allowed to remain in that country or not, and if they had had an idea that their decision would result in expelling the whites, every one of them would have had to emigrate from whence they came. The result would undoubtedly be the same in the present case here on the Islands if the question of Annexation were put to a popular vote, as the natives and dependents upon Royalty are in the majority.

But it must be acknowledged by the whole world that the foreigners or white people have done all in their power to educate the Hawaiian race to rule and govern their own country; made all efforts

to guide them on to prosperity and develop their resources; acted as their advisors and only took part of managing the affairs and occupying such positions themselves as the natives were incapable to conduct. A number of attempts have been made in the course of the last fifty years by the white people to place well educated Hawaiians in those positions, but for the lack of strength of character (a natural failing of the whole Hawaiian race) the experiments have proved utter failures, and the positions filled again by *honest* and *reliable* white men.

All positions that natives were competent to fill have been given them; even then they would have disgraced themselves were they not held in check by the white men at the head of the several departments in which they were employed. But a short time ago, not over a month, it was proved beyond a doubt that the deputy sheriff of this district and subordinates (all Hawaiians) were paid a regular salary by keepers of Chinese dens to wink at their operations, and to permit the carrying on of same, free from molestation. One of the gambling dens was in the house owned by the deputy sheriff and rented to Chinese for that express purpose by him.

A proprietor of one of the dens refused to pay the sum of money won by one of his countrymen at one of their games; the cheated party threatened to expose the place if he did not get the money due him, but the threat did not alarm the offender, inasmuch as he thought the matter would be reported to the deputy sheriff, the landlord, with whom he felt secure. But the injured party knew of the local police being bribed and reported the whole matter to Mr. Wilcox, the sheriff of the Island. He sent a constable from another district to make a haul on the den. They succeeded in doing so and exposed the whole matter. The foregoing is an illustration of the character of a native, even when placed in a responsible position.

Is it a matter of wonderment that the white people, and especially those who have so much at stake in this country, and whose patience has been so sorely tried and confidence abused, have at last taken matters into their own hands and ask for protection from those whom we are sure can give it.

Any independent form of government will not stand very long under existing circumstances; we can not see any way out of the predicament than annexation with the United States. Those who have extensive investments in this country can not depend upon the future security against corrupt legislation until the United States has the management of public affairs and the handling of the revenues of the Islands; and I claim that we have the *right* and are *justified* to ask the United States to protect us, and to accept the trust, for patience has ceased to be a virtue.

As an example to illustrate how far the native will allow his feelings to be influenced by race prejudice, I will mention a circumstance that occurred here in this district, and, as I am familiar with every detail connected therewith, I have no hesitancy in giving it to you as a fact. During the last election for representatives for election in this district two candidates were in the field, one a Hawaiian-born white man, Mr. A. S. Wilcox, brother to G. N. Wilcox, of the "Wilcox cabinet," and in opposition a native by the name of Kahilina. A. S. Wilcox was nominated by the foreigners and those natives of the better class. Kahilina was asked to run by the Queen.

A. S. Wilcox is a man with an irreproachable character and his conduct as a man throughout his life is an honor to human nature. He

was born and raised in this district, where he has always lived, and has been a sugar-planter for the past twenty-five years, employing natives in preference to any other class of labor, and his conduct toward them has won their love and respect. He has never let an opportunity go by to do the native a favor.

A few years ago a number of natives in the neighborhood of his home, Hanalei, desirous of replacing their grass huts with wooden houses, and not having funds to carry their plans into effect, went to Mr. Wilcox for aid, as has always been their custom in such cases.

He gave them the necessary funds and as security for the payment of same they gave him mortgages on all their lands and other property. They built their houses and, native-like, the time for the redeeming of their mortgages came around and found them unprepared to do so. Mr. Wilcox allowed the matter to go on for years and finally, tiring of carrying it along on his books, he canceled all the mortgages, on which he had never received a cent of interest let alone the principal. Likewise in many other instances, too numerous to mention, he has befriended the native and does so to this day.

The other candidate, Kahilina, is a full-blooded Hawaiian, well educated. For a while he held a position as district judge in Hanalei, Kauai. But that position was taken from him before many months had elapsed, as it was proved that he accepted bribes and appropriated court funds for personal use and lived in open adultery. This is the character of the man that the Queen and her party put up as their representative to run against Mr. Wilcox. I may here state that Mr. Wilcox refused the nomination, but when he learned that Kahilina was to run for election, and rather than to have such a man go to the Legislature to represent a district where the foreigners had invested so many millions and had so much at stake, he consented to contest the election against Kahilina. The first thing Kahilina did when he found that Mr. Wilcox was in the field against him was to run down the white man, and did all in his power to excite race prejudice, as he could find nothing in the character or past life of Mr. Wilcox with which to weaken his chances with the natives.

Prior to the day of election Kahilina went into the precinct where Wilcox was born, and among the natives he had befriended, as mentioned above, knowing that there Wilcox was a favorite, and there he told the natives not to vote for a white man. "Wilcox may be all right, and a good man himself, but he represented the white people, and they would treat the natives as the white people treated the Indians in America; they were overrunning the country and would soon gobble up all their land." This had the desired effect. When the election was over and the count made of the votes cast in each precinct of the district it was found that very few natives voted for Mr. Wilcox, and none of those whom he had befriended. Mr. Wilcox was elected, but by only the foreigners, Americans, English, Germans, and Portuguese. When the natives were upbraided for voting against Mr. Wilcox, after all his kindness toward them, they acknowledged their indebtedness to him for all past favors, but they did it "because he was a *haole* (white man) and represented the white people."

Only in political matters is that sentiment expressed; outside of that the natives acknowledge their dependence upon the foreigner, and will go to them first to ask a favor in preference to one of their own nationality. There is not a foreigner on this Island, and I will go as far to state on any of the Islands, but what feels that the native is a special charge and do all in their power to administer to their comfort

and welfare. A visit through the Islands would convince you of that fact at every step. Leave the race to themselves and they would drift right back to where they were fifty years ago. They would do so now were it not for the fact that the foreign element is continually tugging at the other end. They have no conception of the great watchword of the enlightened world, "progress;" they have no objection, however, to be carried along with it so long as they are pampered like a lot of children.

To a person who thoroughly understands the character of a Kanaka it is no surprise that matters have taken the turn that they have in the past two months. According to all rules of progression, it had to come some time, and now that it has arrived, we who have the welfare of the country at heart, and for the good of all concerned, feel that there is no hope for domestic tranquillity in the future unless the United States will accede to the prayers of the respectable people of this country. Left to ourselves domestic strife is inevitable, and will ruin the whole country in a very short time. This must not be permitted. It is the unquestionable duty of the United States to ward off that danger and consequent destruction of homes and interests of thousands of her citizens, and if she should not do it she would be shrinking from a duty that she would always regret. She will have to do it sometime and probably not at a time so favorable to all concerned. "A stitch in time will save nine."

This country's resources can be increased tenfold if the large tracts of Government and crown land were taken out of the hands of large leaseholders and divided up among enterprising citizens as homesteads. There are thousands of acres of the richest land to be found on the face of the globe in the hands of a few, and only a small portion of which is under cultivation, whereas if settled upon by enterprising people with small means, they can be made to produce millions of dollars annually, as sugar and rice are the only products that are admitted into the United States free of duty. Those industries alone have received attention, consequently on an extensive sugar estate there are thousands of acres of land that could be made to produce almost anything else under the sun, but are given up to cattle grazing, because they are not altogether suitable for either cane or rice.

Upon such lands thousands of families could build beautiful homes live in a climate second to none on the face of this globe, where flowers bloom and all kinds of vegetables grow all the year round. This will surely come about with good government and an available market for all products of the Islands.

I would give much if you could visit this, the garden Island of the Group; you would then learn from your own observations the truth of the above statements. You could see from your carriages some of the grandest scenery to be found on the Islands—a beautiful country covered with verdure from the tops of the mountains to the water's edge, and an abundance of water everywhere, and yet there are miles and miles of this beautiful country unsettled, with the exception of the rich valley bottoms.

I shall regret very much if you leave this country without honoring us with a visit; you could do it and be absent from Honolulu only three or four days. I therefore on the part of all the people on Kauai cordially invite yourself and party to pay us a visit. Everything possible in a quiet way will be done for your comfort, etc. I fear that I have already imposed too much upon your patience and valuable time, and will therefore close, trusting that you will do all in your power to gain

for us the protection that we feel so much the need of and is our only hope for future prosperity.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,
W. BLAISDELL.

Col. JAMES H. BLOUNT,
United States Commissioner, Honolulu.

No. 12.

Interview with Crister Bolte, of Honolulu, May 5, 1893.

Mr. BLOUNT. What is your occupation, Mr. Bolte?

Mr. BOLTE. I am a merchant in the corporation of Grinbaum & Co.

Q. Are you connected with the Planters' Labor and Supply Association?

A. I am.

Q. Are you a stockholder in sugar plantations?

A. I am.

Q. Is the Planters' Labor and Supply Association made up of persons interested in planting, either directly or by owning stock?

A. Yes; it is made up of persons owning stock in plantations and plantations themselves. There is hardly any person of property in this country who is not an owner of some sugar stocks.

Q. Are the members of this Planters' Labor and Supply Company all owners of sugar stocks?

A. I believe so.

Q. Were you here on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of January, 1893?

A. Yes.

Q. Please tell me what you know about the occurrences during that time?

A. Previous to the 14th of January we had a cabinet consisting of Wilcox, P. C. Jones, Cecil Brown, and Mark Robinson. These were all people of intelligence, integrity, and property. They commanded the confidence of the whole community. Various attempts had been made by the legislature to get rid of them. Finally, on the 13th of January, they did oust them.

The cabinet, consisting of Sam Parker, Billy Cornwell, John Colburn, and Peterson, was appointed by the Queen, and on the 14th of January the legislature was prorogued. These people did not command the confidence of the business community. Sam Parker has squandered away all his money. He is considered a big boy; no stability in him. Billy Cornwell is of the same character also; has no property. John Colburn is a man of property, but of very doubtful character—not considered honest and straightforward. Peterson is an able lawyer. He has had the best of chances here to be a respectable man, but he seems naturally inclined towards associating with a class of people who have no respectability to them.

Q. What do you mean by the word "respectability"?

A. A man who leads a pure family life, pays his bills, keeps his word, and various other ways.

Q. What is his business?

A. He is a lawyer. He goes off on carousals. Does not go home at night. There is trouble in his family. Now to proceed: The legislature was prorogued on the 14th at 12 o'clock, and before that time news

came down town that the Queen was going to proclaim a new constitution and abrogate the old one. The business men down town came together and talked matters over.

Q. At what place?

A. W. O. Smith's office. They came to the conclusion that if the Queen can alter the constitution to suit herself she might as well alter any other law to suit herself. Anyway through altering the constitution alone she would get perfect control of the affairs of the country, because, in this constitution it says—as Minister Colburn told us at this meeting—that she intended to appoint the nobles, which is one-half of the legislative body. We decided to let things go on for a while to see how it would end up. At 4 o'clock we had another meeting, which was largely attended.

Q. At the same place?

A. At the same place. It was then stated by Minister Colburn and Minister Peterson that she had not proclaimed a new constitution; had told the people to go home, abide their time, be of good cheer, and she would give them a new constitution anyhow. At the first meeting Paul Neumann was present and said the Queen was going to proclaim a new constitution. At this last meeting it was decided that the people who were there could not be satisfied with the Queen just withdrawing from this as if nothing had happened, and they came to the conclusion that the people must have guarantees for the future, and appointed a committee of thirteen people, of which I was a member, to devise ways and means by which such guarantees could be gotten.

This committee met several times at various places, and decided that the only perfect safeguard against future occurrences of this kind would lie in annexation to the United States, or in a protectorate, or in anything of that kind, but that we could not go on with the form of government as it was then. They decided to call a mass meeting of citizens on Monday afternoon at 2 o'clock, and see what people there would say about it. At this meeting were various speakers, some of the committee of thirteen and also others. The people were asked by the speakers if they were satisfied with the promises the Queen had made and let the matter drop—let everything go on as it was before, or if they wanted a change and guarantees for the future. They desired guarantees for the future, and appointed the committee of thirteen—or rather continued the committee—to take such further steps as might be necessary.

Q. Let me ask you what you meant and what people meant by saying they wanted guarantees?

A. I meant a change of government. What the people meant I can not say, but I am fully convinced that they meant the same as it has been very often spoken of during the last few years.

Q. What has been spoken of so often?

A. Annexation to the United States has been advocated publicly in the papers—I meant change of government.

Q. Why didn't you use language that conveyed distinctly the idea—dethronement of the Queen and annexation to the United States?

A. The Hawaiian Government, as it was then, was still in existence, and in stating there publicly we wanted to dethrone the Queen and have a government of our own with an intention of being annexed to the United States, might be going a little too far.

Q. You mean making you liable to interference on the part of the local authorities?

A. Yes.

Q. And that you were trying to avoid at that time?

A. Yes, especially for this reason. We did not know whether the action of the committee would be indorsed by this large majority of the people at the mass meeting. We thought it would.

Q. Was there any expression in that meeting asking for guarantees for the future in a shape of a vote?

A. Yes; the resolution was all prepared.

Q. It was a resolution indorsing the report of the Committee of Safety?

A. Yes. The meeting dispersed, and the committee of safety went back to W. O. Smith's office to talk matters over.

Q. What time in the day was that?

A. About half past 3. After talking matters over and seeing that the Queen had concentrated her forces—meaning thereby that the soldiers were all in the barracks—the palace barricaded with sand bags and the station house barricaded—

Q. How about the Government house?

A. I didn't notice anything going on there. The station house has always been considered the stronghold of the Government. It looked as if there might be trouble. So we came to the conclusion to ask Mr. Stevens if he would protect the life and property of the citizens by sending some soldiers ashore, stating that we considered the situation very grave—even dangerous. After a short while Mr. Stevens sent his answer that he would.

Q. Sent it to the meeting?

A. Yes; sent it to the meeting, and then at 5 o'clock the soldiers came ashore. They were quartered at various places. That same evening, Monday, January 16, the Committee of Safety had another meeting.

Q. Where?

A. At Mr. Henry Waterhouse's house. They called in, besides the Committee of Safety, a few other gentlemen.

Q. Who were they?

A. Mr. Young, Fred Wundenburg, Cecil Brown, and John H. Soper. We talked matters over to see what would be best to do, and came to the conclusion we would form a Provisional Government and ask Mr. Dole if he would be the President, and that this Provisional Government should try to get annexation with the United States, because so far as we could make out at that time that was the only solid basis on which we could safely rely. Mr. Dole was not at the meeting. I had my horse with me. I was detailed to speak to Mr. Dole. I arrived at his house about half past 8, I think.

I told him what decision we had come to, and asked him if he would accept such an office. He was utterly surprised at it. He had had nothing to do with the affair before, only had been at second meeting at W. O. Smith's. He said he could not then quite see that the view we had was quite correct, but still he had not given the matter much consideration. After a lengthy discussion I induced him to go along to the meeting, so that he could hear what they had to say. After everything at the meeting had been thoroughly explained to him and discussed with him he said that he felt it was his duty, as well as the duty of any other citizen of these islands, to do all they could to get pure and stable government, but he was not quite convinced then that it was necessary to take so radical a step as to overthrow the old Government. Later on, at about 12 o'clock that night, he had come to the conclusion we could not go on the way we were, but whether he would

become President or not he would not say until 10 o'clock the next morning.

The next morning at 10 o'clock we met at W. O. Smith's office, and he said he had resigned his position as judge and would do what he was requested to do by us. We then proceeded to form the Government. It took us up to about 12 o'clock. We made all the necessary arrangements and adjourned to meet again at half past 1. At half past 1 we talked all matters over again for a little while and went to the Government house and took possession of it. At the Government house there was nobody, no armed men, supporters of the Queen, except Charles McCarty, who was doing some clerical work for the lately adjourned legislature. He said he was waiting for somebody to come to help him defend the Government house.

Q. To you?

A. No.

Q. You don't know that he said it?

A. Only from friends who told me.

Q. Who did he tell?

A. I think Andrew Brown.

Q. What does he do?

A. He is a coppersmith. He worked in the Honolulu Iron Works. Lately became superintendent of the water works. At 2 o'clock when we arrived at the Government house there came our supporters—brought their rifles and pistols with them.

Q. Do you mean at the same time, or do you mean that they got there a little before or a little after you?

A. There was preconcerted action. We told them we would go to the Government house at 2 o'clock.

Q. Had you commenced to read the proclamation before your troops got on the ground?

A. I do not recollect distinctly. They were there before we finished reading the proclamation. The chief clerks at the different departments were called in to confer with the newly-appointed ministers, among them Mr. Hassenger and Mr. Hastings. They were told to go right on with their work. Letters were written at once to the representatives of foreign countries informing them that the Provisional Government was now the Government of the Hawaiian Islands. After a short time they answered, recognizing this Government.

Q. That same day?

A. Mostly the same day. When we arrived at the Government house the ministers were not there. Mr. Hassenger, chief clerk of the interior department, said he believed they had gone over to the palace. He telephoned for them, but he got no answer, or they answered they were not there. Later on in the afternoon—I should think about 4 o'clock—Deputy Marshal Mherton came to the Government house to ask some question of Mr. Dole. I forget now what the question was. He then said, incidentally, that the ministers were at the station house, and he was handed a copy of the proclamation to give it to the old ministers. They had not been officially informed of anything, because we could not find them. Also a verbal invitation was sent to them to come over to the Government house to talk. Sam Parker came over to the Government house. He said in effect this: "You have possession now. We can not do anything." He was asked to get his colleagues. He said they did not like to come, but would some of us come to the station house and talk there?

Q. Had you then been recognized by the United States minister?

A. No. We had not been recognized by anybody at that time. Sam Damon and I were appointed and we went there to talk with them.

Q. To try to induce them to give up?

A. Yes.

Q. What reason did you give them?

A. That we had possession of the Government house now and that it would be useless shedding of blood if we got into a fight over this thing.

Q. Did you give any other reason?

A. No; only just stuck to facts.

Q. Any mention of United States troops on your part or the part of anybody during that conversation?

A. No; I did not say anything about it.

Q. Did anybody?

A. I can not say whether Sam Damon said anything.

Q. Did they say anything to anybody in your presence?

A. No.

Q. How did they answer you? Did you have no discussion?

A. Not there. We invited them to come to the Government house and talk with Mr. Dole.

Q. Did they make any agreement with you, or did they postpone it and go to the Government house?

A. Peterson said if we would guarantee him his liberty——

Q. Safe-conduct?

A. Yes. We promised him that and all went together to the Government house.

Q. What time of day was this?

A. About 5 o'clock.

Q. What time is it dark at that season of the year?

A. Between 6 and 6:30. At the station house was Ned Macfarlane. He said to me that he thought the old government would give up or the Queen would give up if we would accept a protest of her. He said, "I know such a protest does not amount to anything, but still she wants it and so you had better accept it." I told him that so far as I was concerned in the matter they could put all the protests they wanted.

Q. Was this conversation at the barracks or Government house?

A. At the station house. The four ministers, Sam Damon, and I took two hacks and went to the Government house. All said about the same thing, that they would have to give up, but they wanted to enter a protest. Then Sam Damon went with the ministers to the Queen. He reported after he came back that the Queen had said in substance the same thing.

Q. What time was it when they came back?

A. Fully 6 o'clock.

Q. About quarter of an hour before sunset?

A. Yes. Very soon after Billy Cornwell came over bringing the protest that you know of. Mr. Dole acknowledged the receipt of the protest on the back of it, stating the hour, and he then said the Queen would send orders to the station house that her people should vacate the premises. Very soon after that Captain Zeigler with a number of our men went to the station house and took possession, and the others went away leaving their arms.

Q. Who was in command of the station house?

A. Charles B. Wilson, marshal.

Q. What do you mean by very soon after? What time was the station house given up?

A. About five minutes after Billy Cornwell delivered the protest.

Q. How do you know that? Were you at the station house?

A. No.

Q. You did not know then what time it was given up?

A. We heard immediately. They telephoned from there.

Q. How long after?

A. I can not say. It was all done in a short time. I went home and got dinner. I was home about 7 o'clock.

Q. You said that same day Mr. Stevens and all the foreign governments recognized your Government. At what time in the day did they recognize you?

A. First came Mr. Woodhouse and Mr. Fuji.

Q. What time was that?

A. Four o'clock.

Q. What time in the day did Mr. Stevens send his recognition?

A. I can not say.

Q. Won't you try to approximate?

A. I can not.

Q. Had the sun set or not?

A. If Mr. Pringle brought the letter then the sun had set, and I think he was the one to bring the letter.

Q. When did you learn of the recognition? How long before you went home?

A. Just before I went home. That was what I was waiting for.

Q. How did you learn that?

A. By letter being read aloud.

Q. Who had the letter?

A. Mr. Dole.

Q. Do you know how long he had that letter?

A. He did not have it until—I think—Mr. Pringle brought it in.

Q. Are you sure about that?

A. I am not positive about that.

Q. You do not know that Pringle brought that letter at all?

A. No; but I am under that impression. I believe he delivered the letter, but I did not see him hand it over.

Q. Now will you say how long before you went home before you heard of that letter?

A. I was waiting for that letter to go home.

Q. You do not know who brought the letter?

A. I think Mr. Pringle.

Q. You do not know but what that letter was there half an hour before that?

A. I did not see the letter unless it was Pringle who brought it.

Q. You do not know but what that recognition was delivered to Mr. Dole sometime before you knew of it?

A. No; but I have reason to believe not, because some way or other I know that they said we can not be recognized as fully in possession of the Government until we had the station house and barracks in our possession. We were among ourselves wondering why Mr. Stevens did not send his recognition. This was what my friends said.

Q. What friends? Mr. Dole didn't say that—Mr. W. O. Smith didn't?

A. He may; I don't know who.

Q. Did Mr. Thurston tell you anything of that sort?

A. It is impossible to tell you what individuals said. There were so many there; it was not like a regular well conducted quiet meeting.

Q. How many attempts were made to oust the Wilcox cabinet before it was voted out?

A. Only one definite attempt.

Q. You were speaking of the character of members of the last cabinet of Liliuokalani. What do you say as to Mr. Parker's character for truth and veracity?

A. I do not know. I have never had dealings with him.

Q. What is his reputation?

A. I do not know. Nobody expects very much out of him. They look upon him as an overgrown boy.

Q. What do you say as to Mr. Peterson's reputation for truthfulness?

A. I would say myself that I do not believe he is a truthful man.

Q. What is his general reputation in that way?

A. That question I do not like to answer. I would rather state from personal knowledge.

Q. What about Mr. Colburn? What is his reputation for truth?

A. His truthfulness and honesty is very poor, I know.

Q. What is Cornwell's reputation for truth and veracity?

A. The same as Sam Parker's. He is considered a boy. With regard to truthfulness I can not say.

Q. How many persons were present in Mr. Smith's office at Saturday's first meeting?

A. Perhaps thirty.

Q. How many at the second meeting?

A. More than one hundred. People standing out in the street. Could not get in there.

Q. You talked of annexation to the United States in there, did you or did you not, on Saturday?

A. Yes.

Q. Why did you think of annexation to the United States; was there a disposition of that sort in the country?

A. Yes; it has been discussed openly in newspapers over the signature or name of various people, among them, Hartwell, Sereno Bishop, and others.

Q. Was that the general disposition amongst the whites in this country?

A. It is.

Q. Was it at that time?

A. It was.

Q. So you felt sure of that on that day—Saturday?

A. We knew that was the feeling of all who were at the two meetings on Saturday, as well as the large meeting in the skating rink.

Q. Before that, was it the general inclination of the whites in the Hawaiian Islands?

A. Yes; I should consider it so.

Q. You had a meeting on Monday about 3 o'clock of the committee of safety, after the mass meeting?

A. Yes; about half-past three.

Q. You were present?

A. Yes.

Q. At that time how many arms did you have?

A. They were not collected, but they were all over town. I had seen some of my friends on Saturday, and at one house they told me that they had between 50 and 60 men armed.

Q. Of course you made some estimate of your arms. How many men do you think you had and how many guns do you think you had?

A. I can say what I thought myself. My own opinion was that we could have three or four hundred easily.

Q. You appointed a committee to wait on Mr. Stevens and ask that troops be brought on shore?

A. Yes.

Q. Who carried that communication to Mr. Stevens?

A. I am not sure. I think Thurston and Waterhouse. I am not sure. It may have been somebody entirely different.

Q. Did you see Mr. Stevens that day?

A. No.

Q. Who reported Mr. Stevens' reply about troops?

A. The same committee.

Q. What did they say?

A. They said that Mr. Stevens had heard their request and conversed with them about matters, and he considered that the situation was sufficiently dangerous to send troops ashore.

Q. Was he informed of the purposes of the mass meeting?

A. He did know about it. Everybody in town knew.

Q. And knew of the purposes of the movement?

A. I can not say.

Q. You say everybody in town knew?

A. That we desired annexation had not been said by us at the mass meeting. We said we wanted stable government. The committee was to devise ways and means to get stable government.

Q. Was it known that one of the methods of getting it was to get rid of the Queen? Was that the impression of the meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. That meeting was composed of a large class of whites, and it is a fair inference that the white people here knew what it meant?

A. Yes; I think so.

Q. The meeting that called for troops—they determined then and there to dethrone the Queen—the meeting after the mass meeting?

A. After the mass meeting we said we have to decide what to do about this, and the first thing we have to do is to get things into safety, and it was only in the evening on Monday, the 16th of January, at Henry Waterhouse's house, that we definitely made up our minds which course to pursue.

Q. What course?

A. The course we have pursued—dethroning the Queen and forming the Provisional Government.

Q. Your committee that met after the mass meeting were all in favor individually of dethroning the Queen?

A. Yes, individually.

Q. Why did not you determine to do it then instead of postponing it until night?

A. Because we wanted to go home to get our dinner and come back after dinner.

Q. Then, the night meeting was a continuation of the discussion which began after the mass meeting, and concluded with the determination to dethrone the Queen and establish the Provisional Government?

A. The night meeting was an adjourned meeting of the 3 o'clock meeting.

Q. What did you do at the 3 o'clock meeting?

A. We said we are a committee of safety. We must get things safe

first. We will appoint a committee to wait upon Mr. Stevens and ask him to send soldiers ashore.

Q. And having done that you adjourned?

A. We waited until the committee came back. The committee said Mr. Stevens was willing—the soldiers would come ashore at 5 o'clock. Then we adjourned to meet in the evening.

Q. Was there any communication between any of the gentlemen who met at Mr. Waterhouse's house that night and Mr. Stevens?

A. None to my knowledge.

Q. No committee went to see him?

A. No.

Q. Why did you want the troops to come on shore? What was the idea of the committee?

A. The idea of the committee was this: The natives were armed—at least the soldiers and friends of the Queen were all armed—that evening. We didn't have any armed forces in readiness. Each individual had his own arms, but we had no organized forces; so in case of a row we would not be able to resist anything.

Q. Suppose they had made an attack on the committee of safety, what would you have done?

A. We could not have done anything. They would simply have caught us. We had our men out watching. We were afraid of an attack.

Q. By the government troops?

A. No, by the natives, because there were some among the natives who had been preaching for them to set houses on fire.

Q. You wanted troops to keep them from setting houses on fire?

A. Yes; as soon as the natives in this country know that there is a strong force anywhere which they can not subdue or will show real fight it is then their character to be very quiet and keep still.

Q. If the troops had not been landed you would not have been safe?

A. We would not have considered ourselves safe.

Q. If you had not gotten a favorable answer from Mr. Stevens about the landing of the troops, what would you have done then?

A. That is impossible to answer, because we had not made any plans.

Q. You were not willing to do anything until you got the answer.

A. That is a question I can not give an answer to. We did not decide about it.

Q. You said you met to do one thing—to ask for troops and to stay there until you got Mr. Stevens's answer, and then you adjourned. Is that correct.

A. Yes.

Q. Having gotten that answer and the troops on shore you assembled at night, and at that night session you determined to dethrone the Queen and establish the Provisional Government?

A. Yes.

Q. You never took up that subject until you got the troops on shore?

A. At previous meetings. Saturday afternoon we were appointed. Sunday we had a meeting. At this meeting we talked over matters. The general feeling was that annexation to the United States would be the best solution of the whole question, and this, of course, would necessitate the overthrow of the Queen's Government.

Q. That was known at Saturday's meeting and at Sunday's meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have any meeting before the mass meeting on Monday?

A. We had another meeting on Monday morning.

Q. And still the same feeling?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there anything said in this meeting with reference to the use of troops?

A. No; although I can not state so positively.

Q. Was anything said on Sunday about the use of troops?

A. Only that we expressed the wish that we could get the troops to make things safe.

Q. Then on Monday before the meeting, was there anything mentioned about the troops?

A. It was still said if we could get annexation to the United States and have United States troops on shore there would be no trouble.

Q. You thought if you got troops on shore everything would be quiet?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you think it at the mass meeting?

A. Yes; still thought the same thing.

Q. And you thought at night when you assembled and determined on dethroning the Queen that you would have no trouble, the troops being on shore?

A. Exactly so.

Q. You thought the presence of United States troops—an organized armed body of men—would prevent any hostile movement on the part of the government forces?

A. Not of the forces, but of an excited mob.

Q. You went up to the government building—the troops were near by. Did you still feel that the presence of those troops would likely restrain hostilities?

A. No; I can hardly say that. I expected that there would be somebody in the Government building—that there might be some formalities.

Q. What sort of formalities?

A. The same formalities as we have had before at the 1887 revolution. They trotted out with their guns and talked.

Q. You expected there would be a talk and they would surrender?

A. Yes.

Q. The opinion you have expressed about the presence of troops—was that the general opinion in the meeting of the committee of safety?

A. The committee of safety thought that as soon as the United States troops were on shore the property of everybody would be safe—no house-firing; no plunder.

Q. When the troops came on shore what did you expect of them in the event of a conflict between the Provisional Government forces and the Queen's Government?

A. We did not expect them to do anything.

Q. Just to stand and see the fight?

A. I do not know. My opinion is that they came on shore to protect life and property. Their presence would avoid any attack upon property or life.

Q. How would they accomplish it? You are proposing to depose the Queen; she has armed forces. Suppose those forces had gotten into battle. What did you expect the United States troops to do in the way of protection of person and property during the battle?

A. This is a peaceable country. We only scare one another. No blood shedding happens here. This is the third revolution since I am here. At the first revolution not a shot was fired. At the second

there were two or three young native men who had had a military training in Europe. They fired a few guns that they had. There were seven or eight native people killed—wounded and killed. As soon as these people had been wounded and killed the rest of the natives ran away. Hid away in the house in the palace yard—the bungalow it is called. During the whole afternoon was kept up a fusillade from both sides. Nobody was hurt. In this instance I personally expected there would be something similar to either the first or second revolution.

Q. What were the deliberations of the committee of safety in that meeting?

A. No further than this: We must get the soldiers on shore. Their very presence on shore without doing the least thing will make life and property safe. We did not expect any resistance, because we had as many men as they, or more. But their being there, there would not be any trouble at all. But even without them we did not expect any trouble.

Q. Then why did you determine to try to get them there before you determined to dethrone the Queen?

A. Because we wanted to protect property.

Q. What need had you of the protection of property if you did not expect the people to fight? Suppose the troops had not been on shore, what danger was there to property? You just expected to march up and take the Government building without fighting?

A. Yes; but we wanted to have the troops.

Q. And you determined to ascertain whether you could get the troops before you went further. Is not that true?

A. Yes; if we could not get them we must make our own arrangements.

Q. Do you mean to say that if Mr. Stevens had said you should not have the troops you had determined to go on anyway?

A. We didn't come as far as that, we were waiting for Mr. Stevens's answer before we decided anything further.

Q. If you did not think the natives would fight, whether the troops were on shore or off shore, why did you need the United States troops to prevent the burning of houses and other riotous acts?

A. We wanted them to stay over night, because things of that nature are generally done at night.

Q. Was it your idea that those troops were just to protect you that night?

A. No; it was our idea to have them on shore and keep them on shore as long as possible, until everything was quiet again.

Q. Now let me ask you, did the committee or not, in their deliberations, consider the presence of those troops on shore as important to your success in the effort to dethrone the Queen and set up a new government?

A. When we asked for them we had not made up our minds to dethrone the Queen. We had not made up our minds to anything definite. A change of government was to come, but we had not decided as to what means should be taken.

Q. They had to be quartered somewhere. You had to have a large house. What did you do?

A. Arion Hall was vacant. It was the handiest place and we chose it.

Q. Did you all think that was the best place?

A. Yes.

Q. To whom does it belong?

A. Arion Hall belongs to Mr. Waller.

Q. And in the meeting after the mass meeting you concluded that was the best place to put them?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you all think that the natives and the Queen and her followers would think that those troops were in sympathy with your movement?

A. I do not know what was in their minds.

Q. You said the meeting of the committee of safety in the afternoon of Monday was assembled to do its first work, to wit, to ask for troops.

A. Yes.

Q. Was it not the idea in the minds of you gentlemen at that time to do away with the royal government?

A. Why certainly. It has been in our minds for many years.

Q. Did it show itself in your discussions?

A. At the very first meeting at W. O. Smith's office they talked about such things.

Q. I invite your attention to the meeting of the committee of safety at half past 3 o'clock on Monday afternoon. In the interchange of views that took place there was there an expression in favor of the landing of the troops, and of taking up in the night session the question of dethroning the Queen?

A. What is our first duty? It is to make things safe. For that purpose we must ask Mr. Stevens to let us have his soldiers. The committee came back and said the soldiers would be on shore at 5 o'clock.

Q. Was not anything said in that meeting about taking steps towards dethroning the Queen at the night session?

A. Not by me or to me, nothing definitely said, but it was the prevailing idea since the first meeting.

Q. It was in the minds of the mass meeting and in the minds of the committee of safety at the time that call took place, so that there was no occasion to interchange any opinion on that subject at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. So, understanding each other, your object was first to get the troops on shore. Is that true?

A. Yes; to get things safe. I say that the intention of getting troops on shore that afternoon was only considered from a standpoint of safety.

Q. And that consisted in the fact that you thought the presence of the troops would prevent the burning of houses.

A. Or any disturbances of any kind.

Q. Suppose the Queen's troops should have been ordered to arrest people, what would you expect?

A. We knew most likely they would not be ordered to arrest anybody.

Q. But suppose they had commenced to make arrests of the committee of safety and other persons, or commenced to fight against the followers of the committee of safety, what did you expect the troops to do at such a moment?

A. Nothing. I fully understand the situation. These people did not come to prevent anything by the existing Government, but knowing the character of the Hawaiian people so well there was small risk that we took.

Q. What time did the committee of safety adjourn on Monday afternoon?

A. I think about half-past 4 or quarter to 5, something like that.

Q. What time did it assemble in the evening?

A. Half-past seven, about.

Q. In your evening session after the troops were landed, did you take up the question of dethroning the Queen?

A. We did.

Q. And determined to dethrone her, and determined on a Provisional Government for the purpose of annexation?

A. We did then definitely determine these things, and more especially decide upon the manner in which it should be done, but about annexation was spoken at the first meeting at W. O. Smith's.

Q. At whose house was this meeting?

A. Henry Waterhouse's.

Q. How far is that from the American minister's house?

A. Next door.

Q. What is the distance between the houses?

A. Twenty yards—maybe thirty yards.

Q. Were many Americans in this movement in the mass meeting?

A. People of all nationalities.

Q. Which nationality had the largest number there?

A. I believe Americans.

Q. How many Americans do you think were there?

A. It is impossible to say.

Q. Would you say that the great body of Americans in Honolulu were there—all the men?

A. I believe so—I can not say. It is impossible to recognize each person. I will say that I saw many Americans, many Germans, many English, and some Portuguese.

Q. How many Portuguese.

A. I took a Portuguese friend of mine, Mr. Mendonça. There were not many Portuguese. Some of them do not understand English very good. There was a large crowd of people, which has been estimated by different people at different numbers. I estimated it at 1,200. Others claimed there were more. How they were divided I do not know.

Q. Did you ask any other power to send troops on shore?

A. No.

Q. Anything said about it in the meeting of the committee of safety?

A. Nothing that I know of. There were no other warships anyway.

Q. Well, you had troops on shore on Monday night, and your idea was to prevent the burning and destruction of property that night?

A. For the future. Not only for that night, but until things were settled.

Q. Do you mean until you could organize the affairs of government?

A. Yes.

(Mr. Bolte was at this point shown the letter from the committee of safety to Mr. Stevens—dated January 16, 1893—and asked in regard to the nationality of the signers thereof.)

Q. What nationality is Mr. Cooper?

A. American.

Q. Mr. McChesney?

A. American.

Q. Mr. Wilder.

A. American.

Q. Mr. Bolte?

A. German.

Q. Mr. Brown?

A. American.

Q. Mr. W. O. Smith?

A. Hawaiian.

Q. Mr. Waterhouse?

A. Hawaiian.

Q. Mr. Lansing?

A. American.

Q. Mr. Suhr?

A. German.

Q. Mr. Thurston?

A. Hawaiian.

Q. Mr. Emmeluth?

A. American.

Q. Mr. Castle?

A. Hawaiian.

Q. Mr. McCandless?

A. American.

Q. Do they all vote here?

A. Yes; they all vote here.

Q. This was a call, then, from Germans, Hawaiians, and American citizens for troops, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And they were landed to protect all classes?

A. Yes.

Q. Who drew up the application to the American minister?

A. Either Mr. Thurston or Mr. Smith.

Q. In this paper you set out your reasons for your application?

A. Yes.

Q. With a requirement that each elector shall be able to read and write could you have stable government on these Islands?

A. What language?

Q. Either Hawaiian or English.

A. We could not.

Q. Tell me why.

A. Because the Hawaiians are indolent people. They do not want to do any work to earn money. They prefer easy jobs, such as Government offices of any kind—either as clerks in the Government house, as judges, sheriffs, policemen, poundkeepers, or anything of that nature. That gives them a living and also a sort of authority—a sort of power of domineering over others—which they like immensely. They know that they can get this power only by keeping together and getting a government of Hawaiians—whether they be brown-skinned or white-skinned—I mean with Hawaiian sentiment. They want to domineer over people who have some property. They let their horses go into the sugar cane of others, let their cattle run on the pasture of others, and various things of that sort. You cannot get justice when they are brought into court. Hawaiian judges will let them go, or fine them such a small amount that property holders do not care to go into court. You cannot get justice in jury cases with Hawaiian jurymen. They never convict anybody on testimony. They judge by sentiment.

Q. Do you think you could have and maintain an independent government here with the population you have without aid from outside power?

A. I do not think so.

Q. Why?

A. Ever since 1887 there have been attempts at revolution from the native Hawaiian side. One real outbreak occurred in 1889—the Wilcox insurrection. At that time the people who were implicated in this revolution were found not guilty in court by a jury of their own countrymen, and only one man of the revolutionists, who was a Belgian or German, I do not remember now, was found guilty by a white jury and punished. You will see anywhere and on all occasions that the native element runs together like mercury to confront anything that comes from the side of the white people.

Q. You mean in politics?

A. In anything, and it is a very strange thing to see that the half-whites almost invariably go with the natives.

Q. Do you ever have any white men of intelligence and courage and ambition for place—without property—who will go with them and lead them?

A. We have men of ambition, intelligence, courage, and no property. The last point I can not say, but the first three applies to V. V. Ashford. There are others. I could give you a whole string.

Q. I only wanted to know if the native population could get and accept that class of white men as leaders of their race and party?

A. They would, because they have done so already.

Q. Have you been troubled much with this class of men?

A. Very much indeed.

Q. For how long?

A. Ever since I have been in the country—since 1879.

Q. And for these causes you have felt that to have stable government you have to look to some power outside the islands?

A. Yes.

Q. You still feel that way?

A. I do.

Q. Now, without indicating anything by my question as to the disposition of the United States (for I have no right to do so), suppose you should undertake annexation to the United States, what form of government would you think necessary in order to maintain order, security, life, and property in these islands?

A. I should prefer personally an oligarchy—submitting my interests to the judgment of respectable men.

Q. Appointed how?

A. I suppose after we were annexed the President of the United States would appoint a governor, and let this governor or the President of the United States appoint three or four secretaries and let them appoint advisory boards, but I do not think that would satisfy the people.

Q. What property qualification would you consider sufficient for a voter?

A. I think a man ought to earn \$2 or \$2.50 a day.

Q. That would be about how much in the course of a year?

A. Between \$600 and \$750 a year.

Q. Would that disqualify enough of the natives to give you political power?

A. I think if it was about \$2.50 a day that it would, because people who earn \$2.50 a day are mechanics, and people who earn less than that are mostly laborers. Mechanics are naturally of a higher class than laborers.

Q. Are there many mechanics among the natives?

A. Very few in proportion to their large number.

Q. What proportion of them would you say are mechanics—one in fifty?

A. No; one in twenty-five.

Q. What would be your idea about the American notion of not allowing anybody to hire labor from abroad?

A. I want stable government first. Annexation to the United States in any way, and I will take my chances as to the rest.

Q. Suppose you were not allowed to send agents abroad and the individual citizen was not allowed to send abroad to bring laborers to the sugar plantations, what would be the result on the value of the product and the value of the property?

A. The United States laws permit a board of immigration to make known in other countries how things are there with reference to laborers, what wages they may expect, and how much work there is. The laws also permit that people may come as free immigrants; also, that personal friends and relatives may assist their friends and relatives to come to this country, and I know a good many people among the laboring classes here who are willing and ready to do so. I think there are a great many among the Japanese as well as the Portuguese, who are most desirable classes, who would assist their friends to come here, but it will be necessary that these people should be entitled to a small piece of land after they have been in the country for a certain number of years; say three or five years. They do not require much.

A Portuguese family would be satisfied with a piece of three acres. We would establish villages all over the country in the neighborhood of plantations. The men and boys would go down to the plantation to work, and the women and children stay at home to look after the garden, etc. The men go home from their work at 5 o'clock, so there are almost two hours of daylight. They can do whatever hard work there is after that time.

I have carefully read the foregoing and pronounce it an accurate report of my interview with Colonel Blount.

HONOLULU, *June 10, 1893.*

C. BOLTE.

(This page was handed in by Mr. Bolte June 21, 1893):

The answers which I have given to Mr. Blount's questions, "When was for the first time anything said about deposing or dethroning the Queen," might lead to misunderstandings in reading this report. I desire, therefore, to hereby declare as follows: Words to the effect that the Queen must be deposed or dethroned were not uttered to my knowledge at any meeting of the committee of safety until Monday evening, January 16, 1893; but at the very first meeting of citizens at W. O. Smith's office, on Saturday, January 14, at about 2 p. m., or even before this meeting had come to order, Paul Neumann informed the arriving people that the Queen was about to promulgate a new constitution. The answer then given him by Mr. W. C. Wilder, by me, and by others was: That is a very good thing and a splendid opportunity to get rid of the whole old rotten Government concern, and now to get annexation to the United States. Paul Neumann thought that that might be going a little too far. At the second meeting at W. O. Smith's, between 3 and 4 p. m. on Saturday afternoon, January 14, 1893, when the committee of safety was appointed, sentiments of the same nature, that this is a splendid opportunity to get rid of the old régime, and strong demands for annexation, or any kind of stable government under the supervision of the United States, were expressed.

Therefore, even if the words that the Queen must be deposed or dethroned were not spoken, surely the sentiment that this must be done prevailed at or even before the very first meeting, on January 14, 1893.

C. BOLTE.

HONOLULU, *June 10, 1893.*

No. 13.

Interview with W. Porter Boyd, consular clerk, Honolulu, Tuesday, June 13, 1893.

Q. Mr. Boyd, what is your occupation?

A. I am in the consular service.

Q. In what position?

A. I am a consular clerk and vice-consul-general at this place.

Q. Were you at your office on the 16th of January, 1893?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you on the streets on that day?

A. Not until the afternoon about the time of the meeting.

Q. Where was the meeting held?

A. At the armory.

Q. Was there any signs of disturbance on the streets?

A. No, sir.

Q. Business going on as usual?

A. Yes, up to the time of the mass meeting, when they closed to go there.

Q. Women and children on the street as usual?

A. I think there were very few women and children about.

Q. Was there any excitement looking like disorder?

A. No; I do not think there was. I didn't see any of that.

Q. Was there any suggestion of disorder except what might come from the movements of the committee of safety?

A. So far as I know there was not.

Q. What I wish to know—was there anything exciting the public mind except those events growing out of the movement of the committee of safety?

A. I should say there was not.

Q. Was there any indication of hostility manifested by the carrying of arms or threats on the part of what may be termed the royalists?

A. To my knowledge there was not.

Q. Did you attend the mass meeting?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. As an observer?

A. Yes.

Q. How many people do you suppose were there?

A. I should say from eleven to twelve hundred.

Q. Many Portuguese there?

A. I can not answer. I do not know.

Q. What did you understand to be the object of that mass meeting from what you saw and heard?

A. It was first to hear the report of that committee of thirteen, and then take other steps for the protection of the persons and property of citizens of the islands.

Q. What did you understand them to mean by the protection of the persons and property of citizens?

A. I understood that it was to prevent the change of the Constitution.

Q. Did you understand that it was to dethrone the Queen and set up another government?

A. That was not my understanding at the time.

Q. Was that the understanding in the community so far as you can gather from contact with people?

A. I should say that of the very pronounced annexationists that was their wish—that was their object—but whether this meeting was for that purpose I do not know.

Q. There was no expression in the crowd, so far as you could gather, containing the idea that this was a movement to dethrone the Queen and set up another government?

A. No, sir.

Q. Had you heard of any meeting of the committee of safety before that meeting?

A. I had heard that they had had meetings, and that they had a report to make.

Q. Did you hear what it was to be?

A. No, sir; and I do not believe any one else did.

Q. After the mass meeting, what did the people do? Did they go to work again that afternoon?

A. I think they did—I think the stores were open.

Q. Don't you know?

A. No; but that is my impression now. On second thought I am sure that they opened their places again.

Q. Do you think that the crowd that came to that meeting and then went away and went back to their business had any impression that the Queen was going to be dethroned the next day?

A. I do not believe that they thought that. Everything was left in the hands of the committee. The mass meeting gave the thirteen power to go ahead and do what they thought best; and only that thirteen knew, so far as I can learn.

Q. But there was no mention that the power to do what they thought best went so far as to dethrone the Queen?

A. Not any further than the way they denounced the action of the Queen on the Saturday before.

Q. But would that indicate that they meant to dethrone her by denouncing her action?

A. Yes; it was my impression that it would be either that or she would remain on the throne under certain restrictions.

Q. Was there any excitement when the troops landed that evening other than that growing out of the fact of seeing troops landed?

A. Yes; of course much more than if troops had been landed as they have been before for drill.

Q. Were many people down at the wharf when they landed?

A. I do not think so. They did not seem to know until the troops were landed. Both central offices rang us up and asked us why the *Boston* troops were landed.

Q. Was it understood that they landed at the request of the committee of safety?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why did the committee of safety want them to land if everything was quiet?

A. They knew what they were going to do, and they feared some trouble or some interference in their plans.

Q. Now, was it understood, so far as you could gather by both annexationists and antiannexationists, that those troops were friendly to the movement of the committee of safety?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it encouraging to one side and depressing to the other?

A. I should say it was—for the reason that it was at the request of this committee, and the others did not know what it was for.

Q. Did antiannexationists seem to be depressed when they found the troops had been landed?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they apprehensive that they would be favorable to the other side?

A. I should say they were.

Q. Was this a continuing feeling up to the dethronement?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Mr. Boyd, in view of what you have stated and what you observed that day, would you suppose that this feeling restrained action on the part of the Queen and her friends against the committee of safety?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see Mr. Stevens on Monday, the 16th of January?

A. Yes.

Q. Had he been aboard the *Boston*?

A. I was told he had been there all afternoon.

Q. By whom?

A. Mr. Severance.

Q. How did Mr. Severance know it?

A. Mr. Stevens, I believe, had told him.

Q. Did he say what he was there for?

A. No, he didn't.

Q. Was Mr. Stevens at the consulate?

A. Yes. He said the *Boston* boys were going to land and would detail a guard for the consulate.

Q. Had Mr. Severance any desire for it?

A. No; it was the first knowledge he had of it.

Q. Had you any uneasiness at the consulate-general?

A. None whatever.

Q. Did you hear anything from the telephone or otherwise in reference to the landing of the troops?

A. Only that they were landing, and asked why they were landed.

Q. Who asked?

A. The central office asked first.

Q. Did the people in the city make any inquiry?

A. Yes; some.

Q. Did it seem to be a surprise generally?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it a surprise to you?

A. It was.

Q. There was nothing in the city to indicate the need of military forces, so far as you could see?

A. Nothing, so far as I could see.

Q. Did you have any conversation with Judge Hartwell January 14, 1893; did you hear any conversation between him and Lieut. Young?

A. Not further than that he said that something would drop about

3 o'clock, and asked if he was going to be aboard. He said all the officers will know.

Q. Are you sure that was on Saturday?

A. That was immediately after the prorogation on Saturday.

Q. Did Mr. Atherton say anything on the day of the proclamation dethroning the Queen? What did he say?

A. Mr. Draper, I think, Mr. Severance, and myself were with some others in the office, as was Capt. McCullough of the *W. G. Irwin*. We were all impatient. Everybody was anxious to know what was going to happen. He said something was going to happen about 3 or 4 [o'clock.]

Q. He didn't say what it was?

A. No. I had no idea what it was. Of course I had some idea.

Q. Were you not thinking about dethronement?

A. Yes; I was.

Q. Is this Mr. Atherton the man in whose yard the *Boston* men stopped when they first landed?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. After they landed they went up by the palace?

A. Yes. The main body went on up to Atherton's yard. They stopped there a few hours. It was after dark before they went back to Arion Hall—back of the opera house.

Q. Did Mr. Atherton seem to be satisfied over what was going to happen?

A. Yes. He seemed to be satisfied that everything was coming out as he wished.

Q. Any excitement on the street before the pistol shot?

A. No; just the ordinary crowds walking about.

Q. Did they seem to know what was going on?

A. No.

Q. Were the stores open?

A. Yes.

Q. Any ladies on the street?

A. Very few.

Q. Any children?

A. I do not know that I noticed any children.

Q. What time did they close the stores?

A. They closed them when the report of the pistol was heard, so far as I remember.

Q. What did they do then?

A. They went out on the street, towards where the shot was fired.

Q. Did they go armed?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. As if they were going to fight, or only as if to see what was going on?

A. Just for curiosity.

Q. No manifestation of any hostile movement?

A. None whatever. A Mr. Paris, connected with the "Advertiser," was our authority. We used to question him, and he used to tell us what was going on. In the afternoon he told us there were three different places where they were enlisting to support any movement the committee wished to make.

Q. Did those men who were enlisted have arms?

A. He didn't say so, or where they were going to get them.

Q. Was that after the proclamation or before?

A. It was before.

Q. Did he say what they were enlisted for?

A. To carry their point. He did not say what it was.

I have read the foregoing and it is a correct report of my interview with Mr. Blount.

W. P. BOYD.

HONOLULU, *June 13, 1893.*

No. 14.

(Statement of J. O. Carter, May 3, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893.)

No. 15.

Interview with J. O. Carter, Honolulu, May 13, 1893.

Mr. BLOUNT. Are you a brother of the Mr. Carter who was at one time minister to the United States?

A. I am.

Q. What business are you engaged in?

A. I am a sugar factor and commission merchant.

Q. I see in the correspondence between the American minister at this point and the State Department, during Mr. Harrison's administration, reference to the relations between the ex-Queen and Mr. Wilson, the ex-marshal. Please tell me what you know of the character of the Queen.

A. So far as I know I have always found her to be a gentlewoman, very kindly and generous, and I do not know anything against her, except what parties have circulated in Honolulu.

Q. Do you give any credit to these stories?

A. No; knowing this community as well as I do, I do not credit them.

Q. In what way do you mean?

A. There is more loose talk about men and women in this town than any place I have ever seen in my life. I never knew such a place for loose talk.

Q. Was she invited to private houses to entertainments by Americans and Europeans?

A. She was.

Q. Did the ladies of these nationalities resort freely to the palace and manifest respect for her?

A. They did to my certain knowledge.

Q. To any considerable extent?

A. It was limited only by her.

Q. She was welcome at any house?

A. I never knew anything against her being invited. She was most certainly welcome.

Q. What is the foundation of these rumors against her character?

A. I suppose the fact that Wilson and his wife resided in that bungalow and resided in the cottage at Washington Place when she was there.

Q. Did they live in the house with her?

A. Not to my knowledge. I understand that Wilson and his wife

lived in the bungalow at the palace and in the cottage at Washington Place.

Q. The bungalow was 30 or 40 yards from the palace?

A. Certainly; all of that.

Q. Did Mr. Wilson and his wife live in that bungalow?

A. I understand so. I never called on them.

Q. What were the relations between the Queen and Mrs. Wilson?

A. I think she very largely brought Mrs. Wilson up. Mrs. Wilson was the daughter of an American, John S. Townsend. He deserted his wife and family, and the Queen showed her kindness to the girl. But that was before she was Queen; before she was heir apparent. Natives have a way of bringing up children in that way.

Q. She took this Mrs. Wilson up at about what age?

A. I can not say; but at quite an early age. There are two kinds of children among the natives—Keikehanai and Keikehanau. The latter is a child of the body the former an adopted child.

Q. Has she (Liliuokalani) ever had a child?

A. She never had any children.

Q. What do you know of Mr. Wilson?

A. I know that he is reputed to be half Tahitian; that he was a blacksmith and that he was marshal of the Kingdom.

Q. His father was of what nationality?

A. I do not really know.

Q. Does he seem to be about the same type of person as the half-castes are?

A. Just about.

Q. His associations generally are with those people?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he come here as a child?

A. That I can not tell you.

Q. What reason did the Queen have for appointing this person to the office of marshal and for having him to live in the palace grounds when she was at that place and in the cottage when she was at Washington Place?

A. She believed thoroughly in his loyalty. He has the reputation of being courageous, and she believed that he would protect her against persons who were disposed against her.

Q. Protect her in what sense? Was she apprehensive of any assault?

A. I think she has been from all that I could gather.

Q. Of what?

A. Of this party of revolutionists.

Q. Do you mean that she has not felt sure but what some movement would be made looking to her dethronement?

A. Whether it was that or overturning of the State I can not say.

Q. And you think that was the reason, in connection with Wilson's loyalty to her and his courage, that she persisted in holding him in office?

A. I can not think of any other reason.

Q. What was the reason of the desire on the part of the opposition or Reform party to get Wilson out of that place? What sort of officer did he make?

A. He was in charge of the police. He was a very good marshal, and the proof of that is that when the Reform party came into power they did not put him out.

Q. In 1887?

A. I do not mean that. I mean lately—in the Legislature they did

not put him out. Mr. Neumann invited them to come before him and a committee and make their complaint about Mr. Wilson; said that he would listen to them, and if they gave sufficient reason why he should be deposed they should do it. Neumann told me so himself.

Q. What reason do you suppose they had for the attacks on Wilson?

A. He was in their way.

Q. In their way in what thing? Do you imagine that there was any annexation movement in the minds of the Reform party?

A. Individuals in the party were always pronounced annexationists. Hartwell was; Mr. Gren was; Mr. Thurston—I won't say that of Thurston. The only insight I got as to his feelings was that he remarked to me one day that he believed in bringing things to a smash.

Q. How long ago was that?

A. During the session of the Legislature. It was at a meeting of the company we were in. He said, "I believe in bringing things to a smash and then we will rebuild."

Q. What is your interpretation of all that turning out of cabinets and putting in of cabinets? Did it illustrate that smashing-up policy?

A. Thurston was a ringleader in all that work and I believe it was to that end.

Q. How in point of intelligence did the Wilcox cabinet compare with the Macfarlane cabinet, take them as a whole?

A. In point of intelligence there was not much difference. In the matter of having the confidence of men of wealth the Jones-Wilcox cabinet was undoubtedly the superior.

Q. What is the character of Mr. Samuel Parker as to truthfulness?

A. I have never heard it questioned. He is a frank, open sort of person, and such persons are not liars as a rule.

Q. Does he circulate in the best society in Honolulu, he and his family?

A. Yes, they can circulate wherever they want to.

Q. He and his wife are both half-castes?

A. They are.

Q. What is Mr. Peterson's character as to truthfulness?

A. I would always accept his statements.

Q. Is that generally true here?

A. That I can not tell you.

Q. Do you know his general reputation for truth and veracity?

A. I think I do.

Q. From that character would you believe him on oath?

A. I would.

Q. Do you regard him as a truthful man?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know the general reputation of Cornwell as to truth and veracity?

A. I have never heard it questioned.

Q. From that reputation would you believe him on his oath?

A. Certainly.

Q. How about Mr. Colburn; from your general knowledge of his reputation for truth and veracity, would you believe him on his oath?

A. He has the reputation of being sharp in business practices. I am loath to say I would not take his word under oath.

Q. Has it been the practice of any foreign nation or nations to land troops here in case of disturbance?

A. I never saw it done except on the part of American forces. When

Kalakaua was put on the throne both English and American forces were landed. Admiral Skerrett was the captain of the *Portsmouth*.

Q. What effect was produced on the mind of the native population by the landing of American marines on the 16th of January, 1893?

A. The effect was to intimidate them.

Q. Was that intimidation helpful to the movers in the revolution?

A. Most certainly.

Q. Could they have succeeded without the impression that they were backed by the United States forces?

A. They would not have undertaken it without. I feel sure of that.

Q. What was the condition at that time in the city as to peacefulness?

A. It was the most peaceful, law-abiding community you would see anywhere.

Q. The stores open as usual?

A. Yes. They closed the stores on the 16th so as to let everybody attend the mass meeting.

Q. Were women and children going about on the streets as usual?

A. Yes.

Q. Did the people go back to their stores after the mass meeting?

A. I think not. It was late in the afternoon.

Q. Was it on account of the lateness of the hour that they did not go back to their stores?

A. Yes; that was the only reason. There was no disorder. Women and children on the street.

Q. The next morning, the morning of the 17th, were people going about as usual?

A. I saw no difference. Our place opened up and I think all the rest of the places on Queen street opened up.

Q. Sometime during the day of the 17th were you sent for to go to the Government building?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What time in the day was that?

A. About 6 o'clock, I think. I dine at half past 5, and during dinner I was rung up, and went down to the Government building with Mr. Mehrtens, who came for me.

Q. Were you sent for by the parties in this new movement?

A. I do not know that. I was taken by Mehrtens right to the Government building.

Q. And brought in the presence of whom?

A. The Provisional Government.

Q. Please state what occurred there?

A. There was a deal of excitement. I asked why I had been sent for. I do not know who answered me. I was told a committee was going over to the Queen—that I was to go with the committee. I went with the committee.

Q. They didn't ask you to go, just told you you were to go?

A. I was told that there was a committee to be sent to the Queen and I was wanted to go.

Q. For what purpose?

A. To state to her that the Provisional Government had been formed and that she was deposed, and to assist her in making any protest she might want to make.

Q. Did you go?

A. Yes.

Q. Please state what occurred?

A. We went into the blue room. Her Majesty and one or both of the princes were there. Her ministers were there—Mr. Widemann, Mr. MacFarlane. Mr. Damon I suppose was the committee. I do not know whether there was more than one. I went with him. Mr. Damon made a few remarks, in which he said that the Provisional Government had been formed; that she was deposed, and that she could make a protest if she desired. There was a pause. I spoke up and said it was an unpleasant thing to be present on such an occasion. She had my sympathy; that it was a question of yielding to force; that if she would accept my advice she would yield and counsel her people to be quiet and orderly; that I should advise the surrender of the station house and barracks; that in case she acted in the line I marked out, I believed her case would be a better one for presentation at Washington.

Q. What force did you refer to?

A. The forces of the Provisional Government, backed by the *Boston*.

Q. Was it your impression that the *Boston* forces would coöperate with the Provisional Government forces?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had the Provisional Government been recognized?

A. That is a matter of hearsay. It was commonly reported so on the street.

Q. You were in the crowd at the Government building when they sent for you?

A. I overheard that Mr. Stevens had recognized the Provisional Government.

Q. Was it the common acceptance in that crowd, so far as you could see or hear?

A. In the afternoon it was the understanding on the street that Mr. Stevens had recognized the Government. I heard a rumor that Stevens had recognized the Government and that a steamer was to be chartered and sent with commissioners to Washington.

Q. That occurred on the streets?

A. Yes; I heard it on the streets before I went to dinner.

Q. In a conversation with me you referred to certain newspaper articles pointing to the character of the Queen. What were they?

A. A sermon in the Commercial Advertiser of February 17, 1893, preached by the Rev. E. G. Beckwith on the accession of the Queen.

Q. Who is he?

A. Pastor of the Central Union Church.

Q. Is he an Englishman?

A. An American.

Q. What denomination is his church.

A. Congregational.

Q. What was the other article?

A. A leading article in the same paper of February 5, 1891, and the Bulletin of June 26, 1891, containing an account of the Oahu College jubilee, naming the persons present, among whom was the Queen.

Q. Did you ever attend a breakfast given by the American minister to the ex-Queen?

A. I did, with my wife.

Q. When was that?

A. April 19, 1892.

Q. Who was present besides the Queen?

A. Hon. Jonathan Austin; Hon. S. M. Damon and wife; Hon. and Mrs. Samuel Parker; Mr. Haines, of San Francisco; Mr. and Mrs. H.

W. Severance; Mr. and Mrs. Mizner, late United States minister to Guatemala; Hon. and Mrs. W. G. Irwin; Lieut. Dyer, U S. Navy; Dr. Clarke, U. S. Navy; Mrs. Henry Waterhouse and others.

Q. These people were invited to meet the Queen, were they?

A. Yes, sir.

I have carefully read the foregoing and pronounce it to be an accurate report of my interview with Mr. Blount.

J. O. CARTER.

HONOLULU, *June 10, 1893.*

No. 16.

Interview with H. Center, Honolulu, June 24, 1893.

Q. Where do you reside?

A. Spreckelsville, Maui.

Q. What is your occupation.

A. ~~Manager of the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company.~~

Q. How long have you been in the Hawaiian Islands?

A. Nearly sixteen years.

Q. When a laborer works carelessly, what remedy have you under the law to compel him to work?

A. We sue him for damages in court. If I can prove what is a proper day's work, and a man does not do it, I can sue him for the amount of work not performed. You can not deduct by law from their pay. We do sometimes deduct and the man stands it because he escapes thereby the cost of court, which is about \$3.50 in addition to the loss of pay. If they were paid 50 cents a day, if he did only half a day's work, we should only sue him for 25 cents, but if he lost his case he would have to pay \$3.50 in addition.

Q. If a laborer leaves his employer during the contract term what remedy does the law furnish to compel him to return to his employer?

A. Upon producing the contract before the district judge and entering a complaint the judge issues a warrant, which is served by the Government police, and the party must be tried forty eight hours after being put in jail. If convicted and it is his first offense on that contract he will be reprimanded, ordered back to work, and charged costs. On the second offense on the same contract he is fined or imprisoned and charged costs if convicted, and after the expiration of his imprisonment ordered back to work. The third offense he is fined or imprisoned three months, and all further offenses are punished at the discretion of the court.

Q. Can the natives generally read and write?

A. Yes; it is very seldom you find a native who can not read and write very well. Generally the Kanaka language, but very frequently English. They are learning more English now.

Q. What is the disposition of the native population towards the Provisional Government?

A. Hostile, altogether hostile, so far as I have come in contact with them. They dread to lose their ancient customs and rights, and also because there was an attempt made to disfranchise them.

Q. What is their general character for uprightness?

A. They are honest and straightforward. They are remarkably true to any one who is true to them. They would steal nothing.

Q. How do they compare in fitness for the use of the elective franchise with the laboring class of the United States?

A. They compare very well indeed.

Q. If the question of annexation were left to the people of these Islands by a ballot under the Australian system, with the qualification of reading and writing, what, in your opinion, would be the result?

A. There would be an overwhelming majority against annexation. No native who was not influenced would vote for it.

Q. Can you get labor here from European countries to work your plantation successfully?

A. We can not to raise sugar at the world's price. Of course under the protection of the United States it might be a little better for us. We have now no advantage from the United States.

The shorthand notes of this interview have been read to me by Mr. Mills and they are correct.

H. CENTER.

HONOLULU, *June 26, 1893.*

No. 17.

Statement concerning number of troops landed and returned to the Boston.

Guns landed: One 37 m H. R. C.; one Gatling.

I have looked the log over and find the following to be a pretty accurate account of the forces landed from the U. S. S. *Boston* at Honolulu, January 16, 1893, together with those landed from and returned to the ship at different times:

Landed at 4:30 or 5 p. m., January 16:

| | |
|---|-------|
| Three (3) companies of blue jackets, 36 each..... | 108 |
| One (1) company of marines and (2) music..... | 32 |
| Music for battalion | 12 |
| Officers (9 naval, 1 marine)..... | 10 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 162 |
| | <hr/> |

Extra men landed:

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| January 24, for Camp Boston..... | 2 |
| February 16, for Camp Boston | 1 |
| March 15, for Marine Guard | 1 |
| March 17, for Camp Boston..... | 14 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 18 |
| | <hr/> |

Total number of men and officers landed for service..... 180

Returned on board:

| | |
|--|-------|
| January 27, men | 2 |
| January 30, men | 1 |
| February 3, Lieut. Young's company | 35 |
| February 3, officers | 2 |
| February 23, men | 2 |
| February 27, men | 2 |
| February 28, men (1), marine (1), blue jacket..... | 2 |
| March 1, men | 1 |
| March 13, men | 1 |
| March 15, men | 2 |
| March 18, men | 1 |
| March 20, Lieut. Coffin's company | 36 |
| March 20, officers | 1 |
| March 22, men | 1 |
| | <hr/> |

Total number of men and officers returned before April 1..... 89

Total number of men and officers landed before April 1..... 180

Total number of men and officers left on shore March 20, 1893..... 91

On February 15 Lieut. Young's company landed for the Admiral's review, and returned after the review the same day. There were 36 men in the company and two officers.

The total number of men at Camp Boston April 1:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| Men | 52 |
| Officers | 6 |
| Marines at Government building | 33 |
| Marine officer | 1 |

Total force withdrawn from on shore April 1, 1893..... 92

I think this is very near a true state of facts.

Yours, etc.,

D. W. COFFMAN.

No. 18.

(Statement of John F. Colburne, April 15, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 3, dated April 2, 1893.)

No. 19.

(Statement of William H. Cornwell, April 24, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 3, dated April 26, 1893.)

No. 20.

(Statement of S. M. Damon, April 29, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 4, dated May 4, 1893.)

No. 21.

(Statement of Lieut. Hebert L. Draper, May 5, 1893, printed with Mr. Blount's No. 5, dated May 6, 1893.)

No. 22.

Interview with Charles T. Gulick, Honolulu, May 13, 1893.

Q. What is your occupation, Mr. Gulick?

A. Notary public and business agent.

Q. For whom?

A. General; that is carrying on business agency. Agent for Pitt and Scott's express, and for the Burlington railroad. My business is also negotiating loans as well as real estate.

Q. Have you been a minister in any reign?

A. Under Kalakaua, 6th of August, 1883, to 30th of June, 1886.

Q. At any time since then?

A. Under Liliuokalani from September 12, 1892—about two months.

Q. I see in the correspondence between the American minister and

the State Department some statements as to Wilson, the ex-marshal being the paramour of the ex-Queen. I wish to ask you as to your knowledge of her character in point of chastity?

A. I would say to begin with that I know nothing against her character in that line.

Q. Was she received in all of the best families in this city—among the whites?

A. She was; she always has been.

Q. Were they pleased to have her accept invitations to their entertainments?

A. They always have been.

Q. Did they accept invitations to entertainments at the palace?

A. Not only accepted them, but were always anxious to get them.

Q. Did you ever hear of anybody keeping away from there on account of her character?

A. I have not.

Q. Do you know anything of the history of Mrs. Wilson?

A. I do.

Q. Please state it.

A. Mrs. Wilson is a half white woman who, at the early age of 10 or 12 was taken by the present Queen and educated. Was admitted into her household as a member. As she grew to womanhood Charles B. Wilson, her present husband, met her, took a fancy to her, and, with the approval of the Queen, he married her. When the Queen came to the throne Mrs. Wilson became one of her ladies in waiting, which position she held up to the overturn of the Government.

Q. Where did Mr. and Mrs. Wilson live?

A. In the bungalow.

Q. That is a building in the palace yard?

A. Yes.

Q. What distance between the bungalow and the palace?

A. Two hundred and fifty feet I should think.

Q. You have heard some scandal about the Queen and Mr. Wilson?

A. I have.

Q. Did they grow out of the political campaigns here or did they have a firmer basis?

A. I think they grew out of the political campaign entirely.

MONDAY, *June 19, 1893.*

Q. When the American troops were landed here on the 16th of January, 1893, was there any indication of disorder on the part of the population?

A. None whatever.

Q. Were ladies and children on the streets as usual?

A. They were.

Q. When it was known these troops had been landed, what was the impression made on the minds of the royalists by that fact?

A. There was a feeling of bewilderment, as they were unable to account for it. The people in the streets followed along inquiringly and people in their offices went out. I was at my office. I went out to see what it all meant. Nobody seemed to know how to account for it—what the object could be. It inspired all who were royalists with concern and apprehension.

Q. Apprehension of what sort?

A. Apprehension of some impending disaster to the nation or encroachment upon their rights and independence. The feeling at that time was vague.

Q. The next day what was generally the feeling on the part of the Royalists?

A. There was a feeling that it was a high-handed, unjustifiable move, and that there was no call for it.

Q. Was there any opinion that it was in aid of the movement of the committee of safety?

A. I may say that that was the general impression; but matters at that day had not formed themselves, had not crystallized, so that everyone was looking around and asking his neighbor and inquiring as to what would come next.

Q. Was that the condition of mind the day after the troops were landed?

A. I think I may safely say it was.

Q. What was the feeling on the part of the foreign element here?

A. My communication was principally confined to those who were in sympathy with my own feelings and views. All of us who were in sympathy with the Government and country and desired to see its perpetuation as an independent country were, as I said before, impressed with the fact that it was a high-handed move. With regard to the other people, those who might properly be considered revolutionists, there was an activity apparent on the street which would seem to indicate that they were making preparations for some definite move. This was in the forenoon of the 17th, the day following the landing of the American troops.

Q. What was the impression made on your mind when the troops were landed on the 16th as to the object of their being landed?

A. The impression left on my mind was that they were landed in support of a revolutionary measure having in view the overturning of this Government.

Q. What time did that impression obtain generally in the community; did it commence before the Provisional Government was proclaimed?

A. Yes; early in the day.

Q. How long before the proclamation of the Provisional Government dethroning the Queen?

A. To my knowledge six or eight hours. I would qualify that by saying that it is altogether likely a number had that view the night before.

Q. When the American protectorate was proclaimed here, was the condition of the public mind one of quiescence, awaiting the action of the Government of the United States, or otherwise?

A. I should say that the public was quite ready to await the result of deliberations in Washington.

Q. Was there in the minds of the opponents of the Provisional Government any disposition to commence hostilities against it?

A. Not at all.

I have read the foregoing and they are accurate reports of my interviews with Mr. Blount.

(Mr. B. said it was unnecessary for Gulick to certify to this.—E. M.)

No. 23.

Statement of Charles T. Gulick.

Col. J. H. BLOUNT,

United States Commissioner, etc.:

DEAR SIR: I send you by bearer a very hastily prepared sketch of some features of Hawaiian History with our present condition in view.

Time has not permitted of as careful an arrangement and comparison of facts and analysis of motives as I could have wished, but if the sketch assists in the most humble way in arriving at a true understanding of our situation, my object will be fully attained.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHAS. T. GULICK.

MAY 8, 1893.

 A FOOTNOTE TO HAWAIIAN HISTORY—MAY 8, 1893.

In order to arrive at anything like a true understanding of the present condition of affairs in our little Kingdom and the conflicting influences and interests to which may be attributed the unfortunate order of things now existing, it would seem necessary to take a brief glance at the last seventy years of the nation's history with that object in view.

In the year 1820 a little band of Puritan missionaries, in number four, with their wives, landed on these shores, the ostensible object of their visit being to evangelize the heathen, or, in the words of a quotation frequently made by themselves from their principal text-book, to preach "glad tidings of good things."

They seemed to wish it understood that they were actuated by a self-sacrificing charity and devotion rivaling, if not superior to, that of Paul and his associates and followers when he started out on a similar errand, and this view of the case does not seem so unreasonable when we take into consideration the fact that our Puritan friends were taking their chances in what was to them a veritable *terra incognita*, while the first apostle, instead of pointing for Scythia with his momentous message, preferred to work the most brilliant centers of ancient civilization, where he would be much more likely to find people and conditions congenial to his cultivated tastes.

The worldly goods of the newcomers were few indeed, and their intellectual stock in trade was almost as beggarly, consisting for the most part in a number of trite quotations from the Puritan Bible, worn threadbare with constant and injudicious use. They were welcomed by a race of incomparable physique, open-hearted, generous, and hospitable to a fault, qualities which to the average New Englander (such, for instance, as were sent here with the Redeemer's message seventy years ago), accustomed to the withering narrowness and penury of his native land, were as strange as a quadratic equation to a Hottentot. In fact, the newcomers were so overshadowed by the importance of their "message," as well as themselves, that they had no time to throw away on the amenities of life which are so highly valued under conditions of our more advanced civilization, and not wholly despised by even barbarous people.

They found the Hawaiian in that state of mental evolution, which would have gladdened the heart of the earnest philosophical teacher.

He had already realized that he had outgrown the trammels of his idolatrous religion, and that the mysteries and mummeries of its priesthood were worse than folly, and had just returned from a gleeful dance around the bonfire of the trumpery connected with the superstitions of the past. He received the newcomers with open arms, in the simplicity of his heart, not doubting but that they would give him something better than what he had just thrown away that would satisfy, morally and mentally, the craving of his better nature.

Our Puritan friends were more fortunate than their brethren of the South Seas, where tradition would have us believe that missionary on toast was a favorite delicacy.

They had no war to wage against the Prince of Darkness, no settled evil notions and vices to combat, no idolatrous or pagan religion to overturn, no conquest to make conquering "foot by foot from barbarism," as Gen. Armstrong would have us believe in his letter to the *New York Independent*, of May 30, 1889.

They found the door wide open. A pleasant expectant face and beckoning hand encouraged them to enter; they did not hesitate a moment, but dropping their manners outside with that exasperating brusqueness which they have taken fine care to hand down to their children's children even to the present day, they bounced right in.

The simple islanders crowded around them, loaded them with presents, gave them lands of their own selection, built them houses and churches, furnished them with food, and besought them for instruction. The immense council houses of the chiefs were not large enough to hold the vast throngs which assembled to hear them relieve themselves from time to time of a portion of the "message;" consequently open air meetings were resorted to, the size of the audiences being limited only by the range of the speaker's voice, and as the stomach and lungs of our friends were the best developed organs of their equipment, they sometimes spoke to immense gatherings.

The mental development which prompted the Hawaiian to destroy his wooden deities and relegate the priests to more useful employment enabled him to discover at a very early stage that something was lacking in the new teachers. To his disgust, he found that the veneering was very thin and that from his standpoint at least, in accepting the new doctrines and forms in place of those just cast aside, he was trading one set of mummeries for another without any perceptible gain or advantage. He found that the new teachers were not only human (which of course he expected, as the day when his grandfather had looked upon Capt. Cook as a deity had long gone by), but he found, also, that they were prompted by motives and guilty of actions which he and his race despised and was endeavoring to rise superior to.

His knowledge of the world, outside of his own people, being limited to the few visitors who had touched on his shores during the twenty or twenty five years preceding the advent of the newcomers, and the still fewer foreigners who had made their homes with him during that time, did not help him to determine where the difficulty lay, whether in the teachers, the doctrines taught, or in both, and he desired to see something of the outside world for himself.

The King and a strong delegation were accordingly sent to England. While there it was learned that there were other teachers equally capable or possibly better, and other religions more ancient and very likely more satisfying to the hungry soul than those he had so rashly taken to his bosom in 1820. These things could not be known without a trial,

and accordingly an invitation was extended to the Catholics to send teachers, who in due course of time arrived at the islands.

Our Puritan friends had about ten years the start of their Catholic brothers in the race to deliver the "message" to the simple islander, during which time they had made good use of their opportunities. Notwithstanding this great advantage, they did not look with favor on the advent of their Catholic brethren. In the first place there was one quotation from their text-book peculiarly applicable to the present case (and they were nothing, if not strong on quotations), which was, "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me," and then the Catholic brother had a little different version of the "message." The encouragement which our Puritan friends had received at the start had made them aggressive, and they had, by successive steps, directed with more skill than has been shown by any of their descendants, secured the virtual control of the Government, which has, however, been continually denied by them all until the appearance of Armstrong's letter in the Independent of the 30th May, 1889, referred to above. The Government at that time (about 1830) was a monarchy assisted by a council of Chiefs.

During the decade following 1830, the little original band of "message" bearers received very considerable additions to their ranks, all being recruited from the same uncompromising, intolerant stock from which the first were drafted, the recruits, with one or two exceptions, being of the \$200-a-year class of New England Parsons. They were never noted for individual aggressive courage, but numbers, as with (baser mortals), gave them assurance, and a taste of power sharpened their cupidity. The Catholic (or anyone, for that matter, outside their own pale) was an interloper who must be routed at all hazards. This they endeavored to do through the agency of the chiefs, while keeping themselves in the background, so that should odium or failure attend their efforts, they could disclaim any responsibility in the matter. Their machinations resulted in the disastrous occurrences of 1839, 1843, and 1848, the details of which can be gleaned from the newspapers and histories of those times, and are entirely in keeping with the recorded characteristics of the gentle Puritan from the first day that his dirty paw smudged the pages of European history.

They managed in a degree, hardly comprehensible at this date, to retain their hold on not only the chiefs but the common people, and their dictum was supreme in every sphere, social, moral, governmental, and even individual. As a consequence some of the most absurd regulations were promulgated, the ears and claws of a few still showing themselves in the Hawaiian statutes of to-day. The country was dotted all over with unnecessary churches, Kawaiaha'o among the number, built by the painful labor of the uncomplaining native to satisfy the wishes of his teachers and everything was subordinated to the one idea of religion as they taught it. The advantage of teaching their willing pupils any of the arts of civilization and at the same time instructing them how to avoid the pitfalls of the new order of things never seems to have entered their heads. The consequence was that as far back as 1840 there were graduates of Lahainaluna (the mission high school on Maui) who had passed creditable examinations in Conic sections, who had to don the malo and go into the taro patch if they desired to earn an honest living, not having been taught a single practical idea which would assist them in earning a living in a civilized way.

As a matter of fact such genuine benefactors of the Hawaiian race

as Locke of Waialua, Oahu, Goodrich of Hilo, Whitney of Waimea, Kauai, and Shipman of Kau, Hawaii, who endeavored to teach the people of their respective districts to work as civilized men, with modern tools, and to improve their homes and take a civilized and intelligent care of their families, were frowned upon and denounced by the balance of their devout brethren for neglecting the all-important "message." The unwavering loyalty of the people to their teachers, under the circumstances, speaks volumes for the constancy of the old-time Kanaka.

About the beginning of the decade commencing with 1840, the commercial interests of the country demanded a more formal government and governmental methods conforming in a measure to those of the nations with whom it was in communication. Persons capable of assisting in the work of reorganization were not plentiful and the chiefs naturally looked to their spiritual advisers for assistance, as they had been instructed from the beginning that there was nothing on the earth or in the heavens above or in the waters under the earth beyond their ken.

Again luck favored our Puritan friends. It would never do to have it appear that they sought secular employment and preferment. Equally impossible would it be for them to permit any except the Lord's anointed to embrace such an opportunity. Consequently, under cover of the plea of the necessity of getting the permission of the A. B. C. F. M., which at that time took a whole year, they perfected their plans, and Judd, Richards, Armstrong, and Andrews rather ostentatiously severed their outward connection with the mission and took positions under the Government, or more properly speaking, took the Government. This was just into their hands; nothing could have been finer. And from this time on, through all the various changes and vicissitudes of fortune, they looked upon the little kingdom as the veritable promised land, and taught their descendants to recognize and claim it and all belonging to it, together with the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues, and profits thereof as their rightful heritage for all time.

The development of the whale fisheries of this ocean and the increased commerce resulting therefrom brought to these shores quite a number of visitors of various nationalities during the decade under consideration, some of whom became permanent residents. Many of these people were men of education, knowledge of the world, and more than usual ability.

These were confronted by a singular social condition of things not a little puzzling to the uninitiated. Our Puritan brethren had by this time increased in numbers to such an extent as to form a community of their own, and, as before remarked, were drafted from a stratum of society which was not only destitute of the advantages of social training and polish, but which with genuine loyalty to their creed and their history, affected to despise the manners and courtesies which amongst civilized nations are the evidences of good breeding. With them the sum of all the virtues consisted in the exhibition of those Puritanical characteristics so familiar to the reader of English history, and the moral obliquity which prompted them to haze the Catholic out of the vineyard caused them to surround themselves with a barrier of social exclusiveness as impenetrable as an East Indian caste. An exception, however, was made in favor of those who were sufficiently hypocritical to make a pretense of adopting their creed and outwardly conforming to their ways.

These being the conditions of social recognition it will be readily

seen that the recruits from what they were pleased to term the "world's people" were, with scarcely an exception, the most unworthy sneaks whom greed of gain had tempted so far from home. And in some cases, family and business alliances the most incongruous were made with persons of more than doubtful morality, if judged by the Puritan standard. It must not be forgotten, however, that deviations from their generally exclusive rule had, in almost all cases, solid material advantages to commend them—considerations which the Puritan has never yet been known to ignore.

The Hawaiian, at this period, presents many interesting and curious features to the student of history. The memories of the great Kamehameha had not lost their influence, and the ruling chiefs, in many cases, proved themselves not unworthy successors to the founder of Hawaiian unity, giving evidence of firmness, moderation, and judgment which challenge the admiration of all who are acquainted with the complicated problems demanding their solution at this stage of their national existence.

Their reception of the white men was altogether unique. History furnishes no parallel. While in all time and in every part of the world the colonization of a superior race has been vigorously resented and repelled by force of arms, usually resulting in the ultimate subjugation or extinction of the aborigines, the Hawaiian welcomed his white visitor, encouraged him to remain, adopted his religion and dress, aped his manners, sought his instruction, and finally asked his assistance in framing a government on a civilized model. A reception so unusual was quite to the taste of our "message" bearing friends, who did not fail to make the most of it, while some of the world's people were more modest, as appeared at the time of the election of representatives to the first Legislature in 1845, when the Hawaiians urged their white friends to accept their suffrages and show them how to carry on the business of legislation, they themselves being desirous of learning the methods of representative government before assuming any responsible part in its management.

All the lands, without exception, belonged to the Crown and to the heads of the powerful chiefly families. Without hesitation the chiefs enfranchised the common natives and divided the lands between the Government, themselves, and the people, giving titles in severalty on terms which have commanded the approval of all acquainted with the conditions.

Up to this time the nation had encountered no serious difficulties excepting those occasioned by following the advice and instructions of the "message" bearers, which were prompted by a selfish jealousy of all others in the field.

In arranging the machinery and perfecting the methods of government it was very soon discovered by everyone outside their own following that the unassisted efforts of the "message" bearers were wholly unequal to the task; consequently the services of such men as Wyllie, Robertson, Record, Lee, and others, professional men, not of the fold however, were secured, and the little nation very soon took its place in the great family of independent states by virtue of treaties negotiated with rare tact and good judgment, chiefly through the efforts of Wyllie,

By 1853 the little ship of state was fairly under way. Representative Government was running smoothly, and the common people were learning their duties as freeholders, and taking such part in public affairs as their intelligence fitted them for. Honolulu had become an important shipping port not unknown in the business centers of the

world. The permanent white population of the city and the Kingdom had rapidly increased, and in cultivation and general intelligence was probably above the average of communities of its size, as people who go to settle so far away from home are usually the most enterprising among their fellows. This class of people was sufficiently numerous in the city itself to form a separate community or society, as it were, who were in the habit of thinking and acting for themselves, and to whom the little country owed most, if not all, the standing it held abroad.

This class lived on the best of terms with the Hawaiian chiefs and people, some of them having formed matrimonial alliances with the native families of the higher grades. Our Puritan friends did not look with any more favor on this class than they did on the Catholics, meeting out to them but scant courtesy, and but little, if any, of that Christian charity of which they were presumed to be the exemplars. In fact, they had no use for anyone whom they could not bully and brow-beat into a cringing sycophant or a willing tool. They took the most offensive ways of reminding people of their supreme hold on the King and Government, quite in keeping with their early training, or the lack of it, wholly and contemptuously ignoring such men as Wyllie and Robertson, who had done the work and gave character to the Government under the new conditions.

This state of things could not last long and resulted in the appointment, after several popular meetings, of a committee of 13 citizens (some of them now living), who waited on His Majesty Kamehameha III, demanding the dismissal of Judd and his associates. This was readily acceded to, but not without some expressions of surprise on the part of the King and his native advisers at the existence of such a bitter antagonism between people of a race claiming so great a superiority to the Hawaiians. The common natives were bewildered at the exhibition. They attended the meetings without taking part. As their fathers, shortly after welcoming the first sky pilots, saw reason to repent of their rashness, the sons began to entertain grave doubts with regard to the wisdom of the new tinkers in Governmental affairs, as well as to the results of their tinkering. The effect on our "message" bearers was indescribable. Each one of the 250 odd men, women, and children belonging to their guild looked upon the downfall of the Judd cabinet as a personal calamity. They realized that the heritage was in danger. This was the first genuine setback they had ever experienced.

For the next twenty years the Government, while by no means perfect, was, under the virile rule of the last of the Kamehamehas, administered with evenhanded justice, having regard for the interests of all and endeavoring to secure the greatest good to the greatest number. During this time the most capable men in the realm, regardless of nationality or creed, were called upon to assist the head of the nation with their counsel. This call did not, however, at any time during this period include any member of the Puritan guild, whose interests were not by any means ignored, as some of their members were honored with subordinate appointments, where they could do no harm. During all this time—to the appointed an eternity, to the rest of the nation a respite—there was no publication which would admit their drivel but was loaded with their complaints, and no pulpit into which they could climb but resounded with their wails and maledictions.

Another page of history is completed and the Puritan is again in luck. The last of the Kamehamehas is gathered to his fathers at the close of 1872, and as the Hawaiian saw the last representative of his race

who had strength and genius enough to keep ahead of the wheels of the juggernaut of human progress enter the family mausoleum there is little wonder that his grief was inconsolable and that he gave himself up to despair. Poor Lunalilo, a weak, but in some respects brilliant, offshoot of the old stock, was unanimously elected to the vacant throne, as by law provided. Our "message," bearing friends, all but famished from their long fast, were at his collar in a moment and never let go their hold till they dropped him in the grave, after only one brief year of power. As was their traditional custom, they had again made the most of their opportunities, securing as many as possible of the subordinate offices, positions on the various boards, Privy Council, House of Nobles, etc.

During the reign of Lunalilo the course of events was somewhat modified by an element not altogether unknown, but exceedingly distasteful to our friends, in the person of Walter Murray Gibson.

The throne was again filled by the election of Kalakaua in 1874.

As Prince Lunalilo was, according to the Hawaiian standard, of a chiefly rank superior to that of any one living at the time of his election to the throne, he had no competitors, and his elevation to an heretofore hereditary throne by a popular election seemed in no way to affect the current of events. The position was looked upon as almost his by right of inheritance and was cheerfully confirmed to him by legal formalities. When, however, it became necessary to fill the throne a second time in the same way the whole situation was quite different.

The oft repeated statement that "Paris is France" might with perfect propriety be paraphrased to apply, during the period under consideration, to the little capital city of Honolulu, which, in almost every sense, was to all intents and purposes the Hawaiian Kingdom. The only safe harbor for deep-water vessels was here, all the business agencies were located here, and all the enterprises throughout the Kingdom centered in and were controlled from the city. During the twenty years since we last noticed the make-up of its society, the conditions had somewhat changed and should claim our attention for a moment.

Social and business methods had, so to speak, crystallized; several commercial houses had been established, which, in all respects, would compare favorably with the best in any large seaport; a bank had been opened, having correspondence with all the principal business centers of the world; newspapers in the Hawaiian and English languages had been established, and had a wide domestic circulation; foreign churches, benevolent societies; Masonic and other lodges were organized and in a flourishing condition; the American, English, and German people had representatives amongst the permanent residents of the city from almost every grade of society in their respective nations; in fact, the city was as fairly a representative cosmopolitan community on a small scale as San Francisco or New York.

The whaling business had declined, and attention of late had been directed to agricultural and grazing ventures which were fairly remunerative, and if the American tariff were not in the way (European markets being beyond our reach) would to all appearances be opulence itself. Serious efforts had therefore been made for several years to, in some way, get over this tariff by annexation, reciprocity, or a remission of duties on Hawaiian products entering American markets. The first method was not popular with the Hawaiian nation at large, the third was impossible from an American standpoint, consequently the inge-

nity of the best contrivers in the little Kingdom was strained to the utmost to convince American statesmen that 2 and 2 made 5, and that great material advantages would inure to the Republic through a commercial treaty of reciprocity with Hawaii. The native Hawaiian understood little or nothing of the force of the project, and failed to see wherein he would be benefited, but as his white friend and guest so greatly desired its consummation, he, as usual, good-naturedly assented and rendered such assistance as he could to bring about the desired end.

The foregoing in brief was the condition of things, business generally slack, profits uncertain, and the reciprocity treaty hanging fire in Washington, when the 12th of February, 1874, arrived. This was the day appointed by Ministerial proclamation for the Legislature to assemble and fill by ballot the place made vacant by the death of Lunalilo. The Legislature met. There were but two candidates, Queen Emma and David Kalakaua.

Queen Emma was the choice of the native Hawaiian population, almost to a man; but saint and sinner for once met on common ground and decided to, if possible, defeat the wish of the people by securing the election of Kalakaua. The reasons for the union of effort, on the part of people so radically antagonistic, to compass the election of Kalakaua are worthy of attention. As has been heretofore mentioned, a reciprocity treaty with the United States, or something equivalent thereto, had for some time been looked upon by the majority of the business community as being the only salvation. This view had been almost universally adopted by the American Missionaries, their descendants and associates. It may be here remarked as a significant fact that with two exceptions, the children of the missionaries neglected to enter the chosen field of their fathers, they seeming quite content to let the souls of the gentle islanders take their chances, while for themselves they generally preferred lines which gave promise of more tangible rewards for thrift and energy.

The wisdom of their choice being at the present time amply demonstrated by the enormous annual gains of some of their number, which far outrun the wildest dreams of romance, as for instance, Baldwin, with a net gain for the year 1889 of over \$300,000, followed closely by the Wilcoxs, Bailey, Alexander, Castle, Cooke, Rice, and a number of others hardly less fortunate. It may also be remarked at this time that the term "missionary," which to those acquainted with the general relationship of individuals, business enterprises, etc., is quite clear and definite, to the uninitiated is likely to be misleading and requires a word of explanation. The nature of their society and the methods of recruiting from the "outside world" have been before alluded to, and with this in mind it will be readily seen that the missionaries, at the time of which we are treating, included in their fold a large number who could lay no claim to this designation except in so far as they acted with the saints when the balance of the world was to be beaten, and made a pretense of covering their moral nakedness from time to time as suited their convenience with a cloak of religious hypocrisy.

The members of this guild, more especially the original missionaries, considered themselves and taught their children to feel that they occupied a moral and social plane far above not only the native Hawaiian, but all "outsiders" of their own race. In fact, the missionary placed between his own family and the generous-hearted islander whom he came across the sea to pilot the way to everlasting life, a chasm far more difficult to bridge than ever existed between the

"haughty" Southerner and his African slave. Fortune favored the guild with material wealth, and it might with truth be said that the financial resources of the country were practically in their hands. It did not take long for this class to be designated the "Missionary party," by which term it is now generally known. This is, however, periodically resented by members of their guild in the newspapers of the day—sometimes snappishly, and at others with a whine.

The foregoing little digression seems necessary to explain the situation and, to be brief, the Missionary party espoused the cause of Kalakaua with the view of reinstating themselves in the position they enjoyed before the downfall of Judd, not doubting that the new King would prove a willing tool to act their bidding. David's impecuniosity and other social disabilities seemed to them sufficient ground for believing that ordinary gratitude, if no other motive, would induce him to heed their instructions. On the other hand, Queen Emma was surrounded by and under the control of individuals and influences not only inimical to the "Missionary Party," but to a treaty of reciprocity with the United States, or, in fact, any other compact which might, even remotely, threaten the autonomy of the Kingdom.

She was a member of the Anglican Church in Honolulu, and her principal advisers and associates were British people, all of whom were opposed to any American alliance, excepting a certain few whose interests were such as to be favorably affected by a modification of the tariff on Hawaiian products entering American ports, in their case self interest triumphed over patriotism and they either remained silent or sided with the "Missionary Party" which was, by the way, at this time, the only class which deserved the name of a "party", all others were simply "outsiders".

By law, the election was in the hands of the Legislature, consisting of about fifty members, over two-thirds of whom were native Hawaiians. This simplified the manipulation of the business very much, and for the first time in the history of the nation the white man applied to the most important election ever held in the Kingdom the methods so common in the ward politics of New York and other American cities thereby grossly deceiving the people, controverting the popular will and ultimately gaining the desired end by the election of Kalakaua.

For the first time in his experience, more than fifty years after he had first welcomed his white brother to his shores and besought his instruction in the ways of civilization and religion, the Hawaiian found himself face to face with the bugbear of race prejudice. It was a new and strange element to him which he did not understand and for which he was not responsible. The men like Wyllie, Robertson, Harris, and their associates who had formulated for him methods of government, foreseeing the possibility of the intrusion of this prejudice in the affairs of state, had diligently guarded against such a catastrophe and as long as their counsels prevailed the danger was averted.

From this time on the internal relations of the heterogeneous commonwealth rapidly changed, and the aboriginal Hawaiian, who had been so long the subject of prayerful solicitude was forgotten, his interests and rights ignored and despised, and as from time to time he appeared in the Legislature of his native land, he was either cajoled, bullied, or bought into supporting the schemes of his white brother. The basket of loaves and fishes was small, the hungry maws numerous, manners scarce, and consequently the scramble for spoils and plunder was savage. Our Puritan friends and their allies, with the sentiment strong within them of rightful inheritance to everything in sight, were

not to be indifferently dealt with. After the usual wire pulling the game was called and the saints showed up with the practical control in almost every branch of the public service, Cabinet, Supreme Court, Board of Education, Bureau of Surveying, etc.

The inchoate American reciprocity treaty was a matter of so much importance, meaning as it did success or failure to almost every enterprise in the Kingdom outside of the capturing of fish and the manufacture of poi, that after the first grab and snarl over the plums, all whose interests were to be affected by the change of tariff, united in as cordial a manner as might, for instance, the fiercer animals of a menagerie when confronted by a common danger in a supreme effort to secure its ratification. The aged Chief-Justice Allen, of the Supreme Court, was relieved of his duties on the bench and dispatched to Washington armed with a high-sounding title to represent the interests of the little country (or rather its moneyed and planting interests), and urge on the treaty to its final ratification. A better choice could not have been made, as Judge Allen was a typical American politician of large experience in his native land before coming to Hawaii, and both training and self-interest united in causing him to put forward his best efforts to ensure the success of the mission entrusted to his care. A trump card in the game was to send the King to Washington and show to the Republicans the anomaly of (as Barnum would have put it) the only King on earth who owed his throne to, and reigned by the will of the people, and not by the grace of God.

Accordingly the King, accompanied by a staff of officers selected for the trip, visited America's capital, also several other principal cities, and for the time being, in physical proportion to say the least, was a "bigger man than Grant."

During the period of waiting for Uncle Sam to make up his mind to grant their request, our little insular community put in the time pulling faces at one another, intriguing for and securing positions for themselves and their favorites. In this contest the Missionary party were generally consistent and loyal to themselves, whilst outsiders had to fight their battles singly, having only the support of their personal friends. The Honolulu newspapers of the years 1875 and 1876 contain some spicy reading of a personal nature, giving evidence of more than usual bitterness, which, in the Legislature of 1876, culminated in an open feud. A majority of the assembly was native Hawaiians, with six or seven British, and the remainder Americans, German, and half-caste.

The native Hawaiian leaders were not all dead, and some of the brightest then living were in the house; amongst them were Aholo and Pilipo. The quarrel was confined to the white members, and took the form of a determined effort to unseat the cabinet. The wrangle was boisterous, filled with bitter personalities, and in every way unseemly. It continued for three days, the native members remaining mute spectators during the whole time. In the afternoon of the third day, all the contestants being blown, question was called. The native members glanced around to Pilipo as one who might say a word for them touching the situation. Pilipo arose with great deliberation, addressed the chair, asked the indulgence of the house for a few moments, and reminded the interpreter that as what he was about to say was intended especially for his "white brethren," he wanted his views made very clear to them.

Pilipo proceeded, and as he warmed to the subject, his few moments extended to an hour and a half, compassing one of the most scathing,

eloquent addresses ever heard in the house, and what proved to be almost the last effort of the kind by a Hawaiian Orator worthy of notice. The interpreter did his duty well, and the word pictures presented for the consideration of Pilipo's "white brethren" were very sharply outlined and anything but flattering to their vanity. The orator briefly reviewed the history of the intercourse of foreigners with his own race, something after the fashion of this sketch, amplifying where it best suited his purpose. He dwelt at length on the errand of the missionary to these shores and his agency in instructing the Hawaiian in the ways of religion and civilization. He painted in vivid colors the picture of the three days' wrangle just past, making sarcastic comparisons and comments on the whole.

The effect of the speech was indescribable. Those of his hearers who had not taken part in the quarrel could scarcely restrain themselves from violating the dignity of the house by giving the orator an ovation. Even at this time the Hawaiian did not realize that his "white brother" and guest had got tired of him, and had been so long the recipient of his hospitality that he looked upon his privileges as vested rights and preferred to enjoy them to the exclusion of the host.

At last the good news came. The treaty was a reality. Then came the rejoicing, firing of guns, display of fireworks, and the like. Those who were to be the most benefited by it and who made the most noise over its consummation never in the wildest flights of fancy dreamed of the success in store for them. Had they been told that they, descendants of shirt sleeves, with no more claim to a pedigree than a Government mule, would, each one of them, be within a decade in the yearly receipt of an annual income equal to many of the noble families of Europe, who trace their lineage through a host of distinguished ancestors for hundreds of years back, they would have been offended as being made game of.

This, however, is the fact, and until "the frost, the killing frost," of the McKinley bill "nipped their root" there was every prospect of a very material increase of their prosperity from year to year as long as the terms of the treaty were in force. Coal Oil Johnny's success has had several counterparts in the Paradise of the Pacific, not followed, however, by Johnny's improvidence, as it is hardly likely that should the descendants of the penurious New Englander suddenly find that the earth beneath his feet had turned to gold he would spurn it on account of its abundance. This phenomenal good fortune was turned into the laps of the few, however, the many having to be content with the crumbs, so that the condition of the little paradise is in many respects somewhat similar to that of Athens under the thirty tyrants.

In the struggle for position and power the churchman forgot his creed and the sinner gave rein to his passions, while both ignored the interests and rights of the Kanaka. These facts were seized upon by Gibson (of whom mention has already been made) and shown up in both Hawaiian and English newspapers with great clearness and skill. The thorough literary Bohemian that he was, he also possessed a much greater knowledge and experience of men and affairs, diplomacy, and statesmanship than people of his class usually have, and, in fact, had forgotten more moves and tricks in the game now on the board than all the rest of the players ever knew. Among the native Hawaiian population he, of course, very soon gained a large following, which was supplemented by a not inconsiderable portion of the foreign residents of various shades of opinion, who supported his views to a greater or less degree. It hardly needs mentioning that the missionary party from

the first looked with aversion and distrust on his appearance in the political arena.

These sentiments in a short time ripened into enmity and hatred, and for the genuine, consistent passion there is hardly a shadow of doubt the Puritan stands ahead, more especially when it is directed against an opponent of greater ability than he possesses himself, or, in other words, who draws too much water for him. Gibson was elected to the assembly in 1878, and, being returned each session till called upon to form a cabinet, he displayed many of those qualities which are so essential to the success of the political worker, and worried the souls of all the saints and quite a number of the sinners without rest or intermission. The prizes were getting larger and the points of vantage more important every day, and the contest waxed fiercer all the time. Lands, contracts, and franchises were increasing in value and must be secured at all hazards—by fair means if possible, by foul if necessary.

Fair means were out of the question, as the arena was so small that no move could be made without the knowledge of all the contestants, and the native officials and legislators soon learned a new lesson (new to them) in politics, to wit, that official position had a money value, conveniently measured by the purses of those requiring their assistance. In a short time the native Hawaiian, from the most obscure voter to the King himself, was so thoroughly debauched by the white man's gold that his standard of right and wrong was almost if not wholly destroyed, and his moral sense of personal rectitude was completely dulled by sophistry, gin, and coin. A truly deplorable condition, for which saint and sinner are about equally responsible.

As an example of the methods adopted by those who would violently resent the charge of anything bordering on dishonorable conduct or unfair means, it may be mentioned that one of the numerous ministries (cabinets) of this period, one that was as fairly representative as any that ever filled the position, and who were earnestly endeavoring to perform their duties, while consulting with and receiving advice from prominent members of the business community were being undermined by the very men with whom they were in communication, and who were fairness itself to the faces of the cabinet. Compensation came, however, in a singular way. The two-faced gentlemen did not feel themselves strong enough to carry out their plot single-handed, so they made overtures to Gibson, making all sorts of fair promises, which no one knew better than Gibson himself were never intended to be fulfilled.

They were not wise in approaching a player so far their superior in a game of this kind. After playing one crowd against the other until he learned what each held, Gibson, with the most bland and easy manner imaginable, dropped both sides, stepped in and took the bun without any trouble whatever, formed a cabinet of his own, much to the amusement of the native Hawaiian, who as heretofore was not a party to the contest. The disappointment and rage of the defeated contestants were truly pathetic. To be beaten was bad enough, but to be caught in one's own trap, sold, and laughed at by even the Kanakas was too much. "Eternal enmity to Rome and fealty to Carthage" was but an empty vow in comparison with the oath by which the schemers bound themselves each to the other to compass the final ruin of the man who had held them up to public ridicule.

Fort Street Church (now Central Union Church) was organized in 1852, the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce a few years later, and the Planters' Labor and Supply Company soon after the ratification of the

treaty, the three together containing the whole of the missionary party, together with a small sprinkling of those who did not wholly sympathize with their views and aspirations. On the accession of Gibson to position and power a general tarpauline muster of all the brains in the crowd was made, committees were appointed, resolutions passed, memorials prepared, appeals and petitions drawn; in fact the maggot bed had a spasm which threatened as serious consequences to the patient (*i. e.*, the maggot bed) as sometimes follows a congestive chill. They appealed to the American Minister resident (Daggett), carried in solemn procession their memorials and petitions to the King, and prayed to the Lord Almighty—all without any apparent result. Gibson compassed the whole in replies and dispatches which were respectful, polished, and diplomatic, and which might have served as forms for them in their future correspondence. He remained unshaken.

It very soon became apparent that he was the rallying point for the native Hawaiians, who, under his guidance and tutelage, were beginning to learn, and in a measure appreciate the relation of matters, and to assert their rights in the land of their birth. No sooner did the Missionary party understand this new feature of the game than without hesitation they unblushingly proclaimed that the Kanaka must go. They conveniently forgot the errand which ostensibly brought their forefathers to these shores, despised the rights of hospitality, and, blinded by cupidity, worked themselves up to the point where they were prepared to override and trample upon any and all rights and interests not in harmony with their own. In short, certain of their number did not hesitate to say that the money and thrift of the white men having made the country what it was, it was high time that it should be made in fact, as well as appearance, a white man's government.

This was the attitude assumed in the face of the fact that ever since the foundation of the Government under its present form, the chief judicial, executive, and diplomatic offices had been voluntarily conferred upon foreigners, the Hawaiian having a laudable desire to be represented by at least one position in the cabinet.

Up to this time no demand on his generosity had been refused. The sugar plantations of his white brother required cheap labor. He, without hesitation, voted from the public treasury large sums to defray the expense of scouring the world to satisfy the demand. China, Japan, the South Seas, Germany, and Norway, were in turn thoroughly tried as sources of supply. The demand far exceeded the supply, and at the urgent request of his white brother, he threw open the flood gates in 1881 and thousands of Chinese swarmed on his shores in a yellow tide that brought with it not only all the vices of the pagan Asiatics, but also an epidemic which laid 300 native Hawaiians corpses forever to rest in the sands of the quarantine station at Honolulu, and cost the public treasury \$110,000 in cash.

The production of sugar by Chinese coolies was not looked upon with favor by our California friends, but labor must be had, and the Hawaiian was again called upon to lend his assistance to the introduction of the less objectionable Japanese. Again he yielded, only to find that he had at last practically voted away the avenues of occupation for his own countrymen, and had, at the crafty solicitation of those whom he had supposed to be his friends, filled his country with a heterogeneous horde of pagans and worse, far outnumbering his own people, with whom they had little or nothing in common, and who,

like his white brother, were beginning to look upon the Hawaiian as an intruder on his own soil.

To the saintly Puritans and their successors all this had no weight and was unworthy of their notice. There was too much in the pot to run the risk of any accidents, and the only sure way to success was to blow out the lights, snatch the pot, and jump the game. But while our friends of the "Missionary party" possessed wealth enough to corrupt the Russian Empire, and were actuated by all the sentiments required to overturn the world, they yet lacked two very essential elements to success, which were intelligent leadership and pluck sufficient to carry the scheme into execution. While they longed for the possession of the coveted prize, they were in no hurry to risk their own precious carcasses in securing it, and consequently cast about for some accommodating cat to reach after the chestnuts for them. The right kind of a cat was not just to hand, and our friends had to content themselves, for a few years longer, with putting up their money lavishly on elections and subsidizing every vagrant Bohemian blackguard within reach to write libelous matter for the local and foreign press, denouncing the Government and every one connected therewith.

By continual hammering, a sentiment of antagonism to the Hawaiian Government and more especially to the native Hawaiians themselves was propagated, chiefly amongst comparatively new comers who knew nothing, and cared less, of the history of the country and who were quite ready to look upon the native much in the same way as the western pioneer does on the Comanche Indian. A suitable cat was at last found in the person of a Canadian adventurer, who possessed the necessary ability to organize and encourage, to execute the plans of usurpation, and who far surpassed his employers in the possession of the common honesty to frankly avow at the start that, while glory might have had some attractions for him in his tender youth, coin was at present his strongest incentive to action, and that his zeal would be measured by the amount in sight. All was satisfactorily arranged with little delay, the cat receiving a handsome subsidy from both side without the knowledge of the other, and the conspiracy was in running order in a short time.

Our missionary conspirators justified their course with the hollow pretense that they were seeking the adoption of governmental reforms which could be secured in no other way than by violence. They raised their hands in holy indignation and horror at such ill-advised schemes as the "kaimiloa" the genealogy board, and royal cemeteries, and words failed them in expressing their detestation of the Aki opium swindle and kindred irregularities. While little or nothing can be said in defense or extenuation of the follies referred to, it would seem not out of place to note the fact that, from a moral and financial standpoint, their injury to the commonwealth was trifling in comparison to the damage done by the eccentricities of the conspirators' favorites, which left their marks on the waterworks of Nuuanu Valley, the reservoir and land damages in Makiki, the quarantine graveyard at Honolulu, the South Sea immigration venture of the barque *Hawaii*, the "Likelike" and bellows opium business, and a score of other outrages of a similar nature which were hushed up, whitewashed, or hidden from the public as far as possible.

During the first half of the year '87 the conspirators were busy perfecting their plans. A league was formed, a large fund subscribed, and members sworn in, at first with some care, but as their numbers grew they gained confidence and relaxed their circumspection. Waifs from

all parts of the world, temporarily stranded on these shores, were attracted by all sorts of impossible promises of official employment as soon as the move became a success. The "Honolulu Rifles," a battalion of four companies, wholly composed of Europeans, armed and equipped at the expense of the Hawaiian treasury, was organized and drilled incessantly. Arms and ammunition in large quantities were imported and distributed. Mention should not be omitted of the fact that during all the excitement of these stirring times the quality of thrift was not for a moment lost sight of by the saints, as they generously imported military equipments, costing \$6.50 per man, which they supplied to the members of the league and such others as they thought could be trusted at \$18 and upwards.

Nor must it be lost sight of that the sentiment of self-preservation was always strong in the breasts of the saints, and on this occasion was developed in a rather quaint and amusing way. When their commander began making assignments to duty he overlooked this quality in a portion of his band and made a pardonable mistake of distributing to some of our friends tasks the fulfillment of which might be attended with a possibility of personal danger. He was quickly reminded that in great enterprises affecting the fate of nations it was not usual to expose the Marlboroughs and Napoleons of the movement to the possibility of being snuffed out; in other words, our friends recognized themselves as the brains of the crowd, and they did not propose to run any personal risk, but would at all times hold themselves in readiness to give chin music in unlimited quantities, seasoned from time to time with small allowances of coin.

The organization of the conspiracy was much more complete perhaps than movements of this kind usually are. It had its military commander; council of thirteen, otherwise known as the committee of "public safety," and which was the fountainhead for all orders; its military force, uniformed, fully equipped, and drilled, ready at a moment's notice to obey without question any orders from the committee of "public safety;" a large body of citizens, fully armed and supplied with ammunition, who had familiarized themselves with the use of their weapons by frequent target practice during several months past—in fact, it was as completely organized as the Hawaiian Government itself, and, as it turned out, much better handled. Of all the foregoing the Government was from time to time fully informed, and the indifference or pretended disbelief of Gibson in the existence of anything out of the usual course, or which would be likely to make trouble, is difficult to reconcile with his habitual astuteness.

However, this was about the condition of things during the latter days of June, 1887. Fully prepared as the organization was for immediate action, the leaders were at a loss just how to begin. The country was apparently at peace with all the world, and more especially with itself. All the functions of the Government were being performed as usual, the courts were disposing of the business brought before them without interruption, and to a stranger just arrived nothing unusual would appear to be in the wind. Consequently, it was not quite clear how to proceed. A committee of public safety was bent double with the weight of an indefinable responsibility, and yet it was not quite apparent just what they were called upon to save, as the public peace and safety did not somehow appear to be in any immediate danger, unless from the committee themselves and their satellites. But something must be done, and that very soon, as it would never do

to allow of even a little time for thought, which would inevitably lead to a reaction, when all would be lost.

In order to make the initiatory movement appear to the outside world as springing from a popular demand for the correction of abuses, it was decided to hold in the Rifles Armory, on the 30th of June, a public meeting to which all were invited without regard to nationality, and in order to guard against any miscarriages in their designs the Rifles in uniform, with arms and ammunition, were on hand, ostensibly to preserve order. Some of the speakers addressed the assembly while in uniform, holding their weapons in one hand, while they frantically sawed the air with the other and ranted about reform. The subject introduced, and on which they intended to justify their course, was a wholesale amending of the faulty constitution of 1864. This, by the way, was the hollowest of all their hollow pretenses, as a constitution had already been prepared by them for a republican form of government, and which, of course, contemplated the deposition of the King and complete remodeling of the governmental machinery.

The meeting was attended pretty generally by the European residents, and a few Hawaiians, attracted by curiosity as their fathers had been on a somewhat similar occasion thirty-four years before. It was quite evident from the very beginning that there was no intention on the part of the conspirators to permit of anything like a free discussion of the subjects of public interest, as a speaker was listened to and permitted to speak only so long as he echoed the sentiments of the league. Any suggestion of a constitutional convention or of a submission of a constitution to a vote of the people was immediately drowned in angry yells. (See "Sketch of Recent Events," p. 15.) The object which the meeting was advertised for, to-wit, discussion, was not allowed. A number of harangues, sounding strangely in these latter matter-of-fact years of the nineteenth century, were followed by the reading and adoption of an already prepared set of demands on the King, which were intended to be so exacting as to ensure their immediate rejection. The meeting adjourned, and the committee presented the demands to the King, who immediately yielded to them all without modification. The "committee of public safety" charged themselves with the care of the town, and the little pretorian guard of the Honolulu Rifles were assigned to various points.

The ready acquiescence of the King to their demands seriously disconcerted the conspirators, as they had hoped that his refusal would have given them an excuse for deposing him, and a show of resistance a justification for assassinating him. Then everything would have been plain sailing for their little oligarchy, with a sham republican constitution.

Now, the only thing to be done, so far as they could see, was to make without delay a constitution conforming to their demands and submit it for his (the King's) signature. This was no small job for the class of workmen at their command. There seemed to be no help for it, and the maggot bed took another spasm. The little hole in the corner, self-constituted constitution-framers tackled the business off hand and wrestled with their self-imposed task for a whole week. "*Parturient montes,*" etc., was distances, and on the 6th of July, 1887, they presented a constitution which was signed by the King with as little delay as he had shown a week previous—a constitution which, until signed and promulgated, had not been seen even, to say nothing of being studied and discussed, by more than two score of people, and these being exclusively conspirators.

This hardly deserves the qualifying statement that the conspirators' constitution was shown to some of the judges of the Supreme Court before it was signed and promulgated, as it was shown to them in about the spirit that many people seek advice from their friends when they have no intention of following any advice at all at variance with their own views.

A cabinet from the "committee of public safety" took the portfolios. Gibson and his son-in-law lieutenant were arrested and placed under a guard of the Rifles and league, which were now in undisputed possession of the Government and all belonging to it.

The anomalous condition of affairs now for the first time began to dawn on the more thoughtful participants in the conspiracy, a number of whom had gone into the scheme with an honest desire for reform and a general correction of abuses, and to whom the awkwardness of their position now became apparent.

The ease with which the overturn had been effected proved a source of embarrassment to the revolutionists, who found themselves in possession of everything in sight without striking a blow or firing a shot, and the heterogeneous crowd now began to eye each other suspiciously with the view of determining who could be dropped out in the distribution of the spoils.

The instincts of the Puritan marred the success of the scheme almost from its birth. The native Hawaiians had no part in the business, and within a week after the promulgation of the new constitution the saints were devising methods for ridding themselves of the inconvenient partnership of those of their own race who were outside the pale, but whose presence and help had made the undertaking possible.

During the whole period of incubation of the precious conspiracy they (the saints) held meetings to which only the elect were called. These select gatherings were continued after their accession to power, and at one of them, held on the 7th or 8th of July, 1887, Dole (the present chief of the Provisional Government) made the remark, while treating of the unfortunate necessity to which the Lord's anointed had been subjected of accepting the assistance of the unwashed, that in a short time, as soon as they had settled themselves fairly into the saddle, they would be able to get rid of the presence of the Canadian "as one would throw away a dirty dishrag," accompanying the remark with a fitting gesture and suggestive grimace.

The only justification of the revolutionists for seizing the reins of power and overturning the Government was the crying necessity for the correction of abuses and the immediate prevention of continued malfeasance in the administration of the several departments. Consequently they lost no time in employing an expensive staff of experts and proceeding to an exhaustive examination in every direction which would be likely to prove anything irregular against either or both the King and his prime minister, Gibson. In spite of their most strenuous efforts, extending over a period of more than two months, the scheme resulted in a miserable failure, as their ferrets could find nothing on which to base a charge.

But they were not to be foiled in their determination to get revenge on the man who had so long held them at bay. An adventurous strumpet was induced by them to bring a suit for \$10,000 damages for a breach of promise of marriage against Gibson, he being out of the country at the time. A jury was easily found to assist in the fraud, and the amount claimed was awarded in full. A greater outrage on an indi-

vidual, or a more abominable travesty of justice, never before received the sanction of a Hawaiian court.

The new cabinet, backed by the pretorian guard of "Honolulu rifles," decided on making a show to the world and at the same time demonstrating to the native Hawaiians how insignificant a factor they had become in the land of their birth. A general election of members of the Legislature was ordered for the 15th September, 1887, within the lines of the new constitution, and under regulations which the revolutionists were confident would preclude the possibility of any failure in their schemes. The division of the whole country into "districts," "wards," and "precincts," and the organization of political clubs, with the peculiar technical slang of the ward bosses, were new and novel features in the Paradise of the Pacific; but the business was pushed forward with a zeal worthy of a better cause, and a whole crop of McLeans, McLeods, McStockers, O'Raffertys, and the like, bloomed out like magic as managers and instructors in the science of how to beat an overwhelming majority of the honest citizens at the polls.

Nor were any of the minor details overlooked. The swaggering gait, tilted hat, humped shoulder, and leering stare of the ward bosses made the stranger from New York and San Francisco feel quite at home, and gave unmistakable assurances of our being fully abreast of the age. The missionary of the present generation became an apt pupil of the scoundrel, who was an adept in all the black arts by which the will of the people is defeated at the ballot box. In due course the election was held, and the results showed how perfectly the organization of the revolutionists had been carried out. Only two independent native Hawaiians out of forty eight elected members were returned to the assembly, and these two were practically under the control of the machine. The average standard of intelligence of the Legislature was much lower than that of any Hawaiian Legislature either before or since, and included such men as Notley, Wall, Makee, the two Dowsetts, father and son, the Wilcox brothers, George and Albert Deacon, and the like; men who were selected because they could be depended upon to vote straight without any danger of their giving trouble by having views of their own.

The mental and moral obliquities of the lawgivers were plainly outlined in their physical deformities, as seven-eighths of the whole number were either pigeontoed, knock-kneed, or bow-legged, and served as excellent illustrations of the well-known physiological principle or truth of the general harmony of mental and physical attributes. The history of the session and the character of the work done did not in any way disappoint those at all acquainted with the personnel of the honorable body. The speakers and leaders in the Assembly, without exception, were members of or under control of, the Missionary party, and the whole business of the session was carried through on the "cut-and-dried" principle. The main object in view was to emphasize their contempt for the King, his native subjects, and all others who were not in sympathy with the revolutionists, and at the same time to strengthen, by suitable legislation, their hold of the situation. When they felt they had attained their object they adjourned, "subject to the call of the President of the Legislature," avoiding prorogation, thereby still further showing their determination to arrogate to themselves all the functions of government.

The community, the nation at large, soon realized that instead of being ruled over by one king, who, however injudicious he might be at times, never failed to realize that he was the first gentleman of the

realm, they were being ruthlessly dominated by four kings who were personifications of arrogance and boorish ignorance. Their management of the several departments, distribution of patronage, and haughty indifference to the wishes of those who had helped them to power caused an inevitable revulsion amongst their own adherents, to say nothing of the increased alienation of the native Hawaiians, who now began to understand and feel the indignities heaped upon them.

It was plain to be seen that the coming election, not far distant, would show a decided change very likely disastrous to the saints. In the meantime a few ill-advised natives, with R. W. Wilcox at their head, and secretly supported and encouraged by some disaffected foreigners, made an abortive attempt to emulate the example of the Missionary party by presenting to the King a constitution which would restore the conditions previous to June 30, 1887. The leaders had reckoned without their host. They led a few hundreds of natives to the palace before daylight in the morning, expecting by 7 o'clock they would have several thousands to support them. In this they were disappointed, as the movement was not popular with the Hawaiians generally. And by 8 o'clock those in the palace yard realized their situation and would have gladly surrendered to anyone having authority to demand it.

When the news of the affair spread over town our missionary friends were dismayed, and had no idea of what to do, as there seemed to be little inclination on the part of the public to help them out. However, their old tactics stood them in good service, and by 10 o'clock in the forenoon, by the time-honored trick of promises and coin, they got together a motley body of sharpshooters to attack the comparatively defenseless people in the palace grounds. The attacking party occupied the buildings surrounding the palace yard, and from safe point of vantage began a fusilade fatal to the Kanaka, the missionaries themselves taking the greatest delight in "picking them off," as Dole and others of his ilk who participated in the sport expressed it.

If the Hawaiian needed any further proof of the true sentiments cherished for himself by the descendants of the old missionary teachers, the savage alacrity with which they seized the first opportunity to shoot him like a rat in a hole from safe cover would seem to have been sufficient to dispel any remaining doubt.

The general election of 1890 came off in due time, and, as was anticipated, a cold wave swept over the hopes and plans of the revolutionists and left them without a majority in the house. They plainly saw that all their expenditure of time and pains and (what to them was the most heartsickening of all) money was a total, dismal failure, as, with all their talk about free and representative government, they had no grounds for complaint if they could not control the necessary votes. Consequently they immediately began to scheme on a different line, having in view the extinction of the nation, as such, and accordingly laid their plans for annexation to the United States. Just exactly what advantages the saints expected to secure to themselves by such a move is not quite clear when it is remembered that the very essence of the Government of the great republic is that the voice of the majority shall rule.

It can only be presumed that they had their own selfish ends alone in view, as in this respect they had always been thoroughly consistent, and their past history precludes the possibility of supposing that any consideration for the welfare of the nation had cut any figure in their scheme. It has been suggested that the 2 cents per pound bounty made

their mouths water. To imagine this to have been the prompting motive would be to place them on about the same plane of intelligence with the African ostrich with his beak in the sand, or the Irishman who sawed off the limb on which he was standing, between himself and the trunk of the tree. Whatever the true causes may have been which led to this course, the fact remains that they bent their energies with untiring zeal to the accomplishment of the object, and Col. Spalding, Judge Hartwell, and Thurston, each in turn, made special visits to Washington on this errand, with what success the public, of course, never learned; but from later developments there would seem to be reason for believing that the revolutionists' emissaries found some comforting warmth in the bosom of that statesmanship which conceived, and endeavored to put in force, the peculiar views with regard to the Monroe doctrine a dozen or so years since and the Pan-American scheme of a later date.

As soon as they found that the Queen was not disposed to yield a blind obedience to their bidding the saints transferred to her all the bitter malevolence which they had heaped upon her brother (notwithstanding the fact that she had very lately been so much of a favorite with them that they had seriously contemplated setting her up in his place), and the measure of their vindictiveness knew no bounds. They had cheerfully accepted her always liberal contributions to their church, educational, and charitable objects, and no sacred or social function was complete without her presence, and for years past they had sought her membership of all their benevolent and church societies.

The greatest show of deference and obsequious homage was always made by them all when before her, and no opportunity was lost by any of them to secure invitations to the palace, and they took especial pains to have strangers understand that they were on the best of terms with the head of the nation. But when their emotional tide turned there was nothing too gross for their devilish ingenuity to lay to her charge. Moral depravity and superstition too coarse for description by any except their own filthy scavengers were imputed to her and paraded in their publications in the most offensive and loathsome manner. As an example of what the motherly members of the Central Union Church have been in the habit of retailing to strangers with regard to her, the following choice bit may serve as a type:

For several years passed the Queen has supported at her own expense upwards of 20 destitute native Hawaiians girls at Kawaihio and other mission schools, and when they graduated, in many cases, she settled them in life, assisting them in securing homes with suitable husbands. When the saints frowned on her they could see nothing but the most contemptible motives back of her philanthropy, and they did not hesitate to say that the girls were merely supported by the Queen for the sole purpose of being distributed amongst her favorites when their charms were sufficiently developed.

Illustrations like the foregoing might be multiplied indefinitely. The feature most difficult to account for in the attitude of the saints is, that while the Queen might naturally come in for a large share of their ill-will as having been a marplot to their schemes, why should they show hatred for the native Hawaiian race. Their local publications, the *Friend*, *Gazette*, *Daily Advertiser*, etc., seldom appeared without containing some heartless libel or ungenerous slur against the Hawaiians either as individuals or as a race or nation. Descendants of the old stock, such as S. E. Bishop, S. C. Armstrong, H. M. Whitney, W. R. Castle, and a number of others, who screened themselves from identi-

fication by writing anonymously-prepared elaborate libels on the Hawaiian people for publication in American periodicals. They worked with the genius of inspiration and the industry of honest men to in every way defame the people for whom one would think they could entertain only the most friendly and generous sentiments to the latest generation.

A notable example of their efforts in this line is the screed prepared by Bishop entitled (See page 3 of pamphlet herewith) "Why are the Hawaiians dying out?" The author endeavored to shield himself from criticism behind the specious pretext of "scientific investigation," and first made public his diatribe by reading it before one of the numerous admiration societies controlled by the saints in Honolulu, known as the "Social Science Association." The document is a model of ingenious combination of truth and falsehood, which are sufficiently well interwoven to give a certain air of severe scientific fairness to the heartless production. Affecting a display of analytical acumen, the author proceeds to divide up and classify the reasons for his belief that the final extinction of the Hawaiians (so devoutly hoped for by him and his friends) is near at hand. First amongst the causes selected is "unchastity"—under which heading he tells us that "the Hawaiian female was aggressive in sollicitation," and that this astounding and unseemly peculiarity "was a matter of good form."

The writer hereof can only say, in reply, that a continuous residence of over forty years in this Kingdom and an intimate association with the natives of every grade from the peasant to the head of the nation has discovered to him no such custom or weakness, and it would seem not unreasonable that the author of the libel should be called upon to raise his hand and make affidavit whether at any time during his long experience—from tender infancy (for unfortunately he was born here) to the hoary old age now vouchsafed to him—he ever met an Hawaiian damsel who had so far forgotten the instincts of womanhood as to voluntarily seek his loathsome embraces. It is altogether unlikely that the aged traducer would face the proposition. The charge coming from this source seems all the more gratuitous when it is remembered that a large number of half-castes of both sexes, ranging from infancy to middle age, throughout the Kingdom are living proofs of the moral weaknesses of some of the annointed and their white descendants.

If the saints prove anything they would seem to prove too much by their continued efforts to belittle the Queen and her race. If she and her people are as bad now as they represent them to be what is to be said of all the prayerful work of the good missionary fathers and mothers during the last seventy years? If their picture is a true one then the million and a half of money, made up from 5 and 10 cent American sabbath-school subscription, together with a few death-bed legacies of Puritan fanatics, which has been expended for the evangelization of the Hawaiians would seem to have been worse than wasted.

The impartial observer is not, however, led to this conclusion. He finds that the Hawaiian has made very commendable progress on the road to civilization during the two and a half generations last past; that for a half century he has had a representative government, which, so far as he himself (the Hawaiian) is concerned, would compare favorably with that of any nation on the face of the globe; that the little Kingdom occupies an honored position in the family of nations, having treaty relations with all the commercial nations of the earth and being a member of the Universal Postal Union, with a representative in the congress at Geneva; that the standard of intelligence amongst the

native Hawaiians is higher than that in any other nation in the world, illiteracy being practically unknown; and that, above all, he finds the native Hawaiian a peaceable, law-abiding citizen, not nearly so prone to violence and riot as his white brother. He finds further that, notwithstanding their unfortunate experience with some of the foreign residents in their midst, the people are endowed with a genial friendliness and hospitality, frankness and courtliness of manner, which, in many respects, makes them the peers of any race living, and strikes the stranger with wonder who has become familiar with the libelous charges so industriously circulated against the Hawaiians.

Returning to the political attitude of the saints, we find that the arrival of United States Minister Stevens gave a new impulse to their machinations. On his first presentation to the King, he presumed to give His Majesty a lecture in such an offensive manner as to tempt the King to abruptly terminate the interview and to request his recall. Actual rupture on the occasion was, however, narrowly avoided and from this time on the American legation was the rallying point for the missionary annexation party. During the session of the Hawaiian Legislature of 1892, Hartwell, Smith, Castle, Waterhouse, Thurston, Dole, Judd (the chief justice), and other leaders of the party were in the habit of meeting there from time to time to plan the overthrow of the monarchy without endangering their own precious carcasses. They had secured, at no little expense, the services of a cat in 1887 to get the chestnut for them, which through ignorance and carelessness they subsequently lost. It had been an expensive and sorrowful lesson to them.

Now if they could only induce Stevens to take the part of the cat in the new venture it would be a great improvement on their first effort. In the first place it would be much less expensive (which to the saints was of prime importance), and in the next place, they imagined that the backing of the United States troops would give greater assurance of success than the undisciplined and ungovernable rabble of volunteers, of whom they had had a disagreeable experience in the times subsequent to their first revolution. Stevens was only too glad of the opportunity to act as the cat, and with a powerful war vessel in command of a willing tool, the setting of the game was easily completed.

The attitude of the American minister and his satellite, the Commander of the U. S. S. *Boston*, also the clandestine meetings at the American legation above referred to, were matters of public notoriety and as early as August or September of last year it was at first mysteriously hinted and later more openly asserted that the American minister would recognize without delay any movement for the overthrow of the monarchy and would give it the physical support of the men from the *Boston*, and it was further generally understood and spoken of, that the revolutionary annexationists, with Stevens and Wiltse (the commander of the *Boston*) at their backs, or more properly in the lead, were only waiting for a favorable opportunity to strike. The opportunity, or excuse, came on the 14th of January, A. D. 1893, culminating in the events of the 16th and 17th days of the same month. The revolutionists proclaimed a Provisional Government from the steps of the Government building at 2:40 o'clock in the afternoon of the last named day, which was immediately recognized by Stevens with the assurance that the new Government would receive the support of the *Boston's* men who had been quartered the day before alongside of and in practical possession of the Government building.

The revolutionary annexationists, in justification of their action, have raised the old cry of 1387, of the necessity of stable government, proper

representation, honest administration, prevention of riot and bloodshed, maintenance of law and order, etc., when as a matter of fact there is not now, and never has been, the least danger of disorder or opposition to law except at the hands of revolutionists themselves. The rant in the speeches at their meeting in the Rifles' armory on the 16th of January, and in their "proclamation," and the mock heroic utterances of Wilder (see *Two Weeks of Hawaiian History*, pages 15 and 16) when he assumed the chairmanship of the meeting are amongst the poorest examples imaginable of a stale herring drawn across a trail. There has been no fraud discovered nor malfeasance unearthed, nor great wrong righted; on the contrary thefts and spoliations have been committed under the very noses of the Provisional Government with apparent impunity, the probability being that exposure would be disagreeable, as it would be likely to implicate more or less distinguished members of their own precious crew.

The bald fact stands out in plain view to-day, exactly as it did in 1887, that the sole prompting motive of the missionary revolutionists was in both cases a lust of power coupled with a desire to possess themselves of the property of another without giving compensation therefor, sentiments which they enjoy in common with the vulgar highwayman and his more gentlemanly prototype, the filibuster. As they could not have held together for an hour without the assistance of the United States officials and forces, the singular spectacle is presented of a United States naval commander in Honolulu protecting a band of filibusters with the forces under his command while they overturn and destroy a Government between which and his own country special treaty relations of amity and commerce were in full force and unimpaired, and at the same date, due east about 5,000 miles as the crow flies, another naval commander, under the same flag, blockades a filibustering force in Key West to prevent it from making a descent on a friendly power. The question naturally arises: Why this difference? What had little Hawaii done that she should merit such treatment?

About 5 o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, the 16th day of January, A. D. 1893, a large detachment of marines and sailors from the United States ship *Boston*, lying in the harbor of Honolulu, landed *without permission or request from the Hawaiian Government*, and took position in King street between the Government building and the palace. The United States troops were fully armed and carried double cartridge belts filled with ammunition, also haversacks and canteens, and were accompanied by a Gatling gun battery, also a field hospital corps. Between 7 and 8 o'clock the same evening the force was quartered in the building immediately in rear of the Music Hall, being within half pistol shot, and in practical possession of the Government building.

At the date above mentioned, and for many years immediately preceding the landing of this force, the Hawaiian Kingdom was at peace with all nations. With all the great powers, and with many of the smaller Governments, Hawaii sustained treaty relations which were in full force and effect. This was more especially true in the case of the United States, with whom the most friendly relations of amity and commerce had existed from the date of the first treaty, dated December 23, 1826, to the above-mentioned date, and for whom little Hawaii (rulers and people alike) had always cherished the most friendly feelings. Diplomatic and consular representatives of various countries were accredited to the Hawaiian court and raised the flags of their respective governments in Honolulu. The Hawaiian Government was represented at various capitals and seaports throughout the world by diplo-

matic and consular agents duly recognized and accepted by the several governments to whom they were accredited by the Hawaiian foreign office.

The Hawaiian Kingdom held an honorable position in the family of nations as an independent government. The courts of justice throughout the Kingdom were disposing of the business brought before them without menace, let, or hindrance. Business of all kinds was being carried on as usual without interruption. The banks, newspaper offices, and commercial houses were attending to business in their several lines without unusual incident. *Perfect quiet and good order* existed throughout the city, there being *not even a suggestion of disorder or danger* to the life or property of either *citizen* or *alien*. A band concert was given at the Hawaiian Hotel at 8 o'clock in the evening, which was largely attended by men, women, and children of all classes, as it was fine weather and near full moon.

At 2:40 o'clock p. m. on the following day, January 17, 1893—nearly twenty-four hours after the American troops landed—*thirteen white men, several of them lately arrived* in the country and *not entitled to vote*, appeared in front of the Government building, and the leader proceeded to read a proclamation deposing the Queen and establishing a provisional government. The only audience to this function was composed of a few loungers in the corridors of the building. Near the close of the reading some twenty-seven armed men ran in from the back and side entrances of the premises and gathered around the thirteen men above mentioned, apparently as supporters of the movement. This supporting force was composed of *vagrants* and *ex-convicts* who were at *that moment* under *police surveillance*, *deserters from merchant ships in port*, and the like, only two or three being known as residents of the town. Before the arrival of the thirteen men in front of the Government building the American troops quartered near by (as already described) were under arms; the crews of the Gatlings were handy by their respective places; everything seeming to indicate complete readiness for any emergency.

At the time when the proclamation was being read the Hawaiian Government had 87 regular troops at the barracks, well drilled, officered, and equipped, having a battery of breech-loading field guns and a large supply of extra arms and ammunition for all arms. There was also a very efficient police force, drilled as a military company, and a large supply of arms, equipments, and ammunition, including a Gatling gun, with boiler-plate shield, at the station house in Honolulu.

The commander at the barracks and the marshal were ready and anxious to proceed immediately to take the Government building and arrest the parties in possession. But the presence of the American troops, and certain rumors with regard to the attitude of the American minister, caused the Hawaiian cabinet to confer with that official before taking action. They learned from him in writing that he recognized the Provisional Government and would support it with the United States troops.

As any action on the part of the Hawaiian troops or police meant a *collision* with the *United States troops*, the cabinet decided to surrender to the *United States* and await a settlement of the case on a presentation of the facts to the *authorities in Washington*. The surrender was made about sundown, at which time there had assembled at the barracks over a hundred and fifty members of the old volunteer companies disbanded in 1887 by the Reform cabinet, and between one hundred and fifty and two hundred citizens, accustomed to the use of arms, many of

them old soldiers, assembled at the station house, volunteering their services to the marshal. There was an ample supply of arms and ammunition at both the barracks and station house to supply all comers. At the time of the surrender there were, all told, over *five hundred men* ready and anxious to assist the Hawaiian Government in enforcing law and order.

The foregoing statement of facts can be easily supported by affidavits, if necessary, and would seem to show plainly that the movement can in *no sense* be justly termed a *revolution*, but was simply the action of a *handful of filibusters* made possible only by the active coöperation of the *American minister* and the *American troops*, and that the Hawaiian Government was at the time fully prepared and capable of regulating its domestic affairs, maintaining order, and giving ample protection to life and property within its borders. Consequently, as the defiance of Hawaiian laws, the deposition of the sovereign, and the spoliation of the treasury were effected—in fact *were only possible*—through the active agency of the *American officials and troops*, it seems but just that a *full and complete restoration* of affairs to the statu quo of January 16, 1893, previous to the landing of the United States troops, should be made with as little delay as possible, as each day's delay is adding to the legal and financial complications which will have to be met and composed by the Hawaiian people and their rulers.

CHAS. T. GULICK.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *Island of Oahu*, ss:

Charles T. Gulick, being duly sworn, on his oath deposes and says, that during the ten years from A. D. 1869 to A. D. 1879 he was chief clerk of the interior department of the Hawaiian Government; that during the period from August 6, 1883, to June 30, 1886, he was minister of the interior of said Hawaiian Government; that during the above-named periods the rolls (or polling lists) of qualified voters for members of the Legislature were returned to said Interior Department; that from the opportunities thus offered for gaining information on the subject, affiant is confident that *less than 20 per cent* of American and European foreigners (*i. e.*, foreigners other than Asiatics) domiciled in the Kingdom prior to the revolution of 1887 became naturalized under the Hawaiian laws.

CHAS. T. GULICK.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 7th day of July, A. D. 1893.
[SEAL.]

J. H. THOMPSON,
Notary Public, Island of Oahu.

**WHY ARE THE HAWAIIANS DYING OUT OR ELEMENTS OF DISABILITY
FOR SURVIVAL AMONG THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE?**

BY REV. S. E. BISHOP.

[Read to Honolulu Social Science Association, November, 1888.]

Mr. Darwin supplied an expression which has been much in vogue, "The survival of the fittest." This is scarcely applicable in the present case, since in Hawaii there is no competitive "struggle for existence" between weaker and stronger races of men. The Hawaiian Islands have been far more than sufficiently productive for the ample supply of the needs of all the people living here since the beginning of this century. So far all the different races have lived in plenty, and in amity with

each other. A crowded condition might be conceived as possible in the future, when the thrifty and capable classes would push the inefficient and improvident classes into penury. In such case, one would think the Chinese to be the best fitted for the "struggle for existence," and the Polynesian the least fitted. The former inherits an education of hundreds of generations in living on the minimum of necessities, also an unequaled patience of industry and tactful thriftiness for procuring those necessities. The latter, thriftless and indolent in comparison, would be crowded out of the land.

No such conditions exist. There is no struggle to find subsistence. One race is as fit to survive as another, so far as obtaining a living is concerned, in a country where the wages of one day's unskilled labor will purchase all indispensable food and raiment for a whole week. Neither is the climate of Hawaii less favorable to the health of one race than to that of another. It is comparatively a perfect climate, absolutely devoid of extremes of temperature, free from humidity, swept by the ever purging ocean airs, and seemingly incapable of long harboring malarial or zymotic diseases. Possibly an Esquimaux might not thrive here. For all other races it is an Eden in salubrity.

Yet it is the strange fact—in view of the amiable and attractive qualities of Polynesians, the distressingly sad fact that, simultaneously with the arrival of white men in these islands, the Hawaiian people began rapidly to melt away, and that this waste has continued up to the present with substantial steadiness. At the date of the discovery, Captain Cook estimated the population at 400,000. Later historians have leaned to the more moderate estimate of 250,000. My father who was one of the first party of white men to travel around Hawaii in 1824, then observed such evidences of recent extensive depopulation in all parts of that island that he very decidedly supported the estimate of Cook. There are now less than 40,000 pure Hawaiians surviving. The later counts have been taken with reasonable accuracy.

One is led to suspect that the earlier ones omitted considerable numbers, when one observes the comparative sparseness of native population in every district, as compared with the relatively dense population fifty years ago, when only 125,000 were counted, or little more than three times the present number. With the exception of the towns of Honolulu, Hilo, and Wailuku, every large and populous town in the islands has dwindled to a hamlet since my boyhood, and the then frequent and considerable hamlets scattered everywhere, have almost all disappeared. The recollections of fifty years since are of throngs and swarms of natives everywhere. Yet even then all the talk was of how the islands had become depopulated; even then, in traveling, the deserted sites of villages and hamlets with abandoned plantations were constantly pointed out. Have we now one in six of the ancient numbers of natives, or have we only one in ten. It is immaterial; the fact remains of an enormous depopulation.

And yet, in the total absence of any struggle for existence, all the more or less civilized races migrating here appear to thrive and multiply abundantly, and the children surpass their children in health and stature. At first sight these foreigners do not average as equal to the Hawaiian. The Chinaman is vastly his inferior in strength, in stature, in symmetry, and in apparent soundness. But the Chinaman lives and propagates, while the Hawaiian dies easily, and leaves few or no offsprings. The Caucasian also comes with his family and multiplies apace.

The query then is, under what peculiar disabilities does the Hawaiian labor, as to vitality and power of propagation, from which the foreign races living here are exempt? This inquiry is farther complicated by the fact that these disabilities, whatever they are, seem to have first sprung into efficiency upon contact with the white race. The coming of that race appears to have introduced new deleterious influence, and created new conditions, under which the Polynesian, somewhere weak, succumbs. We are to seek to clearly define what these unfavorable conditions are, and wherein the weakness of the native race to withstand these adverse influences, consists.

I here limit our inquiry to the Hawaiians, because with this people only do we possess any intimate acquaintance. A similar state of things prevails more or less throughout Polynesia, and ultimate extinction appears to threaten the native population of most of the groups of Polynesia. We are to endeavor to define the precise causes of depopulation. We should strive to indicate exactly what adverse influences have been steadily at work for five generations to kill off the Hawaiian people. There has been a great deal of vague generalization—of indefinite talk about a weak race succumbing to the stronger. We want to quit vagueness and generalities, and find the answer to the question, "In what respects, particularly and precisely, are the Hawaiian people weaker than their white, or their Mongoloid guests?" This will prepare us for the further inquiry, by what means can this weak race be so invigorated that it will again multiply? Our first effort—perchance unskilled and misdirected, is to diagnose the deadly malady which is slaying the people.

As the leading and most efficient element of weakness in the Hawaiian race, tending to physical decay, we predicate:

(1) *Unchastity.**—This has always been general among females as well as males. The Hawaiian female was, like males of other races, aggressive in solicitation. It was matter of good form that all proposals should be expressed by the female. It is still so, except to the extent that foreign ideas have permeated society. The records of Cook's discovery of the group indicate that state of things as originally existing. The account written by Dr. Ellis, Cook's chief surgeon, states how at Kauai, where they first touched, Captain Cook was determined, on account of serious disease among his men, to permit no intercourse with the women, so as not to introduce disease among the Hawaiians. It was, however, impracticable to prevent the women from swarming over the ships. The native account received from participants by the early missionaries, states that it was arranged in public council that the women should take this course, as the easiest way of obtaining iron and other prized articles from the ships.

Proceeding from Niihau to Alaska, and returning nine months later, Cook's ships made the coast of Hamakua, Hawaii. He again sought to keep the women from his crew, but discovered that they were already infected with the malady. So promiscuous were the habits of the people, that from the first center of infection at Waimea, the malady had in nine months, spread like a fire to the other extremity of the group. This, again, is corroborated by the information obtained by the early missionaries as to the spread of the disease. Dr. Ellis describes, in words undesirable to here reproduce, the grossly aggressive and impetuous action of the females.

It was the universal practice of ordinary hospitality to visitors to supply them during their sojourn with the women of the family. Such a matter-of-course tender was a frequent cause of annoyance to the early missionaries in their tours in remoter districts, enjoying the cordial hospitality of the most well-to-do people, in their neat thatched cottages. I am not prepared to say how far this heathen custom has now lapsed into disuse. It is certainly one of the old customs sought to be maintained and revived together with the hulas and idolatrous practices. One of the painful experiences of missionaries in the out districts, was to hear of this practice being carried out in the chief households of his parish when some great man came along with his suite. I speak from repeated personal experience as a missionary pastor.

It may be said in general that chastity had absolutely no recognition. It was simply a thing unknown and unthought of as a virtue in the old domestic life of Hawaii. A woman who withheld herself was counted sour and ungracious. This did not exclude more or less of marital proprietorship, involving an invasion of the husband's right in enjoying his property without his consent. There was no impurity in it any more than among brute animals.

There was, however, a salutary limitation of some importance in a frequent stringent guarding of early virginity. Young maidens were quite commonly put under tabu for first use by the chief, after possession by whom all restriction ceased. No sense of a sacredness in chastity seems to have been involved in this, nor any sense of profanation in the contrary. It was only the thought of a special choiceness in an article that was fresh and unused. In the tremendous disturbances of life ensuing upon the advent of the white man, even this solitary restriction perished.

No severe moral reprobation is due to the primitive Hawaiian for what seems to have been an ignorant innocence of easy, promiscuous living, like the free life of animals, without sense of evil. None the less must we deem this social condition more than any other to have incapacitated the Hawaiians from holding their own after the advent of the white man. During the simplicity of aboriginal life, and in the total absence of sexual diseases, the evils resulting from promiscuous intercourse would be minimized. Procreative force remained largely in excess of mortality, so that the teeming population was kept down by infanticide. But to them a lady which the white man imported, the unguarded social condition was as tow to the flame. The scorching and withering disease ran like wildfire through the nation. Multitudes died at once, while the survivors remained with poisoned bodies and enfeebled constitutions.

A general impairment of constitutional vigor in the people by venereal disease caused them to fall early victims to other maladies, both native and foreign. All diseases ran riot in their shattered constitutions. They became especially incapacitated to resist pulmonary maladies. The greatly increased prevalence of colds and consumption is doubtless due to this syphilitic diathesis rather than to change of habits as to clothing, although the latter may have had some unfavorable effect. Probably the pestilence called *Okuu*, whatever its nature, which carried off such a bulk of the population in 1804, owed most of its virulence to the impaired physique of the people.

* See "Foot-note to Hawaiian history," page 35.

Another destructive effect of the syphilitic taint is believed to have been an inflaming of sexual passion. It may have acted as a ferment thrown into the former more quiet pool of promiscuous social living. There can be no doubt that the advent of foreigners in large numbers was attended by an immense increase of debased and bestial living. Ten thousand reckless seamen of the whaling fleet annually frequented these islands and used it as their great brothel. This enormously aggravated and inflamed the normal unchastity of the people. In the presence of the white hordes life became hideously brutalized. To multitudes of young women, gathered into the seaports for profit, from half the households in the country, life became a continuous orgie of beastly excess. All the former slender limitations and restrictions upon an indiscriminate commerce fell to pieces. The stormy and reckless passion of the white man, exulting in his unwonted license, imparted itself to the warm but sluggish Hawaiian nature. Life became a wasteful riot of impurity, propagated from the seaports to the end of the land. There was thus no defense against the new and trying conditions of life through any existing sentiment of the sacredness of chastity. The inevitable consequence was depopulation. The population of brothels and slums has no internal power of multiplying.

In the report on the subject of purity, adopted by the 144 bishops convened in the late Pan-Anglican Conference at Lambeth Palace, are the following words: "We solemnly record our conviction that wherever marriage is dishonored, and sins of the flesh are lightly regarded, the home life will be destroyed, and the nation itself will sooner or later decay and perish." The source of this language will lend it great weight. The Hawaiian nation is a sad witness to their truth.

One of the most destructive consequences of the new physical taint was the enfeeblement of infancy, rendering it difficult for the diseased babes to survive the ignorant and careless dealing of their nurses. The largest increase in the mortality of the Hawaiians was undoubtedly among their infants. The external influences adverse to infant survival among Hawaiians are very great. Chief among these are the practice of feeding with unsuitable nutriment in early infancy, the prevalence of unchecked cutaneous maladies, general lack of watchful care, and evil doses administered by ignorant or superstitious friends. Healthy and vigorous infants, as of the old times, would in good numbers survive all these hostile conditions. Those born into the taint of syphilis, with its inward and outward corrosions, had little prospect of surviving other maltreatments, unless some missionary or other beneficent foreigner came to their aid with his simple regimen and alleviations.

Under this general head of unchastity, as the chief cause of the depletion of the race, a considerable share must be attributed to the extensive loss of procreative power in the males. This loss was probably due in part to syphilitic taint, but is mainly owing to early sexual excess during puberty. In the aboriginal condition there would seem to have been less tendency to very early indulgence among the males. The nervous irritations of the syphilitic taint and the exciting excesses pervading native society may have been causes extending debauching influences even to the children. It is certain that in many districts deplorable excesses have been found to exist among the school children. It seems to be true that a majority of young Hawaiian men never have children. Those placed early under the discipline of foreigners, in boarding schools or otherwise, show exceptions to the common rule. The incapacity seems to be mainly on the part of the males. Young women united to Chinamen or white men are usually quite as fruitful as women of other races. *Per contra*, it is to be noted that such men are apt to select the best-conditioned females, also that they are accustomed to restrain and to protect their wives, as Hawaiians do not, and so keep them in healthier condition.

The common record of Hawaiian families is few or no children born, or perhaps several born, most or all of whom die in infancy. It is exceedingly rare to find a large family surviving to adult age. Nearly all such that I have known were families under the immediate and very parental control of some missionary, with whom the parents had lived from early youth, learning habits of industry, self-control, and civilized domestic living. They were themselves kept in vigor and health, their children were well cared for, and well doctored in sickness. Natives so situated very frequently not only raised large families, but by means of their superior industry, skill, and thrift acquired considerable substance. Being thereby placed in a high social rank among their countrymen, it has too commonly resulted that most of their children became dissolute, like the children of the wealthy elsewhere, and the family failed to be continued.

Among other disastrous effects of the universal syphilitic taint was the frequency of miscarriages. It has been the testimony of missionaries and physicians that a very considerable proportion of native births have been prevented by that cause. In my inquiries in native households this has been assigned as frequently as any other as the cause of the absence of children. To make such inquiries is indeed melancholy. One becomes glad to hear that even one or two children are surviving in a household.

Abortion is often attributed to active horseback exercise during pregnancy. As native females used to be continually galloping about, no doubt this has contributed to the evil since 1850, when the common people began generally to possess horses. With the development of good roads, wheels are now coming into very common use by all classes.

(2) *Drunkenness*.—This should be assigned to no inconsiderable place among disabling conditions. Before the *haole* arrived the favorite narcotic was *awa* (*piper methysticum*), more commonly known throughout Oceanica as *kava*. A beer of some strength was made by fermenting sweet potato. The sirupy *Ki-root* (*Draecana Ti*) was also macerated and fermented, becoming still more alcoholic than the potato. This was less acceptable, tending to produce irascibility, while the sour-potato swill only inflamed sexuality. No great orgies of drunkenness resulted from the use of any of the foregoing. The vice existed only in mild forms. *Awa* in excess tended to waste and paralyze the system.

With the foreigner came the products of the still. Only then did drunkenness begin to reign. Drunken orgies were an essential part of the beach-comber's paradise on Hawaiian shores. He found the Hawaiian an apt disciple, save that, like all savages, he did not know how to stop. The story of the early missionaries is one of constant impediment in their labors from the inebrity of the King and chiefs and of frequent annoyance and disturbance from the riotous orgies of the common people. While Kamehameha lived he put considerable check upon both his people and himself as to temperance. His youthful successor, Liholiho, plunged, with his people, into a carnival of excess.

The contribution of drunkenness to depopulation was mainly indirect, although powerful. It tended to overturn and destroy whatever remains of wholesome social order and domestic life survived the general wreck consequent upon foreign intercourse. It stimulated the passions; it solved the remaining bonds of self-restraint; it flung prudence to the winds; thus it enhanced the effectiveness of the causes previously described. Intemperance is always a chief ally of impurity. The gin-mill and the brothel are close partners.

(3) *Oppression of the chiefs*.—There was a considerable mortality during the first quarter of this century, when the sandal-wood trade was active, caused by the heavy exactions of the King and chiefs upon the common people to procure this precious commodity wherewith to liquidate their immense debts to the traders, incurred for yachts and costly luxuries. Great numbers of men were driven into the mountains upon this errand, passing many nights in cold and rain with slight protection and little food. The result was great waste of life and the almost entire extirpation of the precious tree. Other severe exactions of labor were common. Great levies of labor and supplies were frequently made at a chief's caprice from the tenants of remote estates, to be brought to the island capital. This was an evil much increased by the temptations of foreign trade. No doubt it materially contributed to the decimation of the people. Oppression by chiefs has ceased to be an operative cause for nearly half a century, or since constitutional government began to exist.

(4) *Infectious and epidemic diseases*.—These have largely added to the destruction of the population. There seems to be good reason for accepting the theory that new diseases attack with more severity and greater fatality races who are unaccustomed to them or to their like. No doubt any race becomes in time somewhat hardened to the diseases which infest it, the weaker and more susceptible individuals being weeded out, and the hardier ones transmitting their resisting power to descendants.

Measles first appeared here in 1849. Great numbers died in all parts of the group. The excess of mortality was attributed to the patients' bathing in order to alleviate the external heat and irritation of the malady.

Smallpox first arrived in 1853. Before vaccination could be efficiently administered to the natives the infection had spread over the island of Oahu, and one-half, or 15,000, of the people on that island, perished in a few weeks. After their manner they rushed to visit their friends when attacked by the disease. Isolation and precaution against infection is foreign to their natures. By the energy of the then "missionary" Government quarantine measures were vigorously enforced on the other islands, and the people thoroughly vaccinated, so that only a few hundred deaths occurred. Foreigners were all promptly vaccinated, and nearly all escaped.

Malarial and other epidemics have been repeatedly introduced, and from time to time have produced extensive mortality among the natives. The admirable climate, with its sea air and the ozone of the mountain land breezes, seemed in each case rapidly to mitigate the virulence with which earlier cases of the new malady would be characterized, later cases assuming milder forms, until the disease seemed to slowly die out. This was very marked in the instance of what was known as the "boo-hoo" fever, which attacked all newly arrived foreigners. It was quite severe at its first appearance in 1851, but by 1857 had become a very trifling malady.

Leprosy has been something of a scourge. Probably 4,000 lepers have died in these islands during the past thirty years. The number at present suffering from the disease can not be more than 1,500, or 4 per cent of the native population. For more than a year, or since the end of 1887, there has been a radical improvement in the work of segregating the lepers. There seems reason to believe that soon nearly every leper will have been removed to the excellent asylum at Molokai. The lepers are nearly all natives. The disease very rarely appears among the white or the Mongolian races living here, owing to their carefully avoiding intercourse with lepers. Hawaiians, on the contrary, mingle freely with lepers in the most intimate daily intercourse. They commonly regard the segregation of their leprosy relatives as a cruel and uncalled-for severity. This is only one illustration of the habitual indifference of this people to sanitation, whether in physics or in morals.

Indeed, the idea of disease being a product of natural agencies and a thing to be averted by physical preventives, seems to be one quite foreign to the Hawaiian's mind and contrary to his mode of thought. In common with other uncivilized races the world over they were accustomed to attribute all diseases to the immediate agency of some personal demon, who enters the patient and malignantly distresses and destroys him. This brings us to another and one of the most destructive of the agencies contributing to the diminution of the Hawaiian people.

(5) *Kahunas and sorcery*.—The *kahuna* is the *medicine man*. He is properly a sorcerer or wizard, whose chief reliance for the relief of disease is the employment of supernatural agencies although he will also perhaps use drugs and hygienic treatment. From ancient times these men and their arts have been powerful agencies of death, although not seldom effecting a species of "faith cure." When a Hawaiian is ill, his superstitious relatives and friends immediately seek to persuade him that his sickness is owing to the malign presence of some demon, who must either be propitiated or expelled by force. Some *kahuna* is called in to accomplish this object. He is believed to enjoy special power with some patron demon, who may be the one needing to be propitiated, or whose agency may be called in to expel and overcome the perhaps less powerful agent of the disease. If one *kahuna* proves insufficient to the task others must be found who possess the special influence needed. The processes employed are always expensive to the patient, and very commonly quite severe.

There are sacrifices of pigs and fowls; there are complex incantations. There are doubtless various efforts allied to mesmeric or hypnotic phenomena. Violent sweatings and purgings are frequently used to promote the expulsion of the demon, with great physical severities of different kinds, such as often are of themselves fatal to the patient. The tension of anxiety and dread is terrible and very weakening. A great mortality results directly from this violent and terrifying treatment. Furthermore, there is a large mortality caused by pure mental apprehension where no disease originally existed. The sufferer is told that a sorcerer is at work against him; he at once sickens, and is prostrated, and soon dies. Or he is solemnly warned by a learned *kahuna* that he has symptoms of dangerous disease impending. Or he is conscious of having committed some act, such as the violation of a vow, which has offended the family deity, or *aumakua*, and through mental apprehension, the same effect of sickening ensues. All these things play into the hands of the medicine man, bring him dupes and victims, increase his revenue, and multiply the mortality of the people. It is difficult to determine to what extent these superstitious agencies are still at work. There is a painful reason to believe that their activity has been greatly revived of late years. There is much ground for thinking that a large proportion of the more intelligent and educated Hawaiians, when they fall ill, are prone to succumb to the inherited superstition. It is commonly remarked that the Hawaiian, when sick, shows a strange lack of recuperative power. He dies easily. He becomes depressed and surrenders where other men would recover. Probably in most such cases the cause is his superstitious belief in a demon whom he feels working at his vitals and whom it is hopeless to resist.

(6) *Idolatry*.—This is intimately connected with the above-named agency. Its chief importance, however, in this discussion, is in its character as the most efficient of all the agencies that disorder the mental and debase the moral action of the people, and which frustrate and neutralize remedial influences. It resembles drunkenness in this respect, but I think very far exceeds it in its evil ethical efficiency.

All thinkers, of whatever creed or type of skepticism, consider a people's religion to have an immense formative power upon them. The institutions, the customs, and the conduct of a people are certain to be shaped and patterned, in a great degree, after whatever embodiments of moral ideals they believe in, such as deified heroes, and deities of whatever sort whom they fear and worship. If the gods of any nation, like those of early Egypt, are understood to exercise substantial justice, to reward virtue, purity, and temperance, and to punish vice, treachery, and cruelty, such a nation will continue to cherish the higher and to despise the baser qualities. Righteousness has the sanction of religion, and the nation grows and prospers. The Polytheisms of Egypt, of Greece, of Rome, of Chaldea, in their earlier and less cor-

rupted forms, exalted much of the higher elements of character; hence a good degree of civilization became possible under these religions. This was also true of the earlier Brahminism of the Vedas. There is strong evidence that these religions were all corruptious from an original Monotheism, retaining something of that earlier religious recognition of the righteousness and benevolence of the Heaven-Father, the Dyans-Pitar, Zeus-Pater, or Jupiter of the Aryan races. It is most noticeable how, from debased races, these nations imported successively the worship of evil gods—the Baals, Molochs, Astartes, Kalis, gods of lust, cruelty, falsehood, debauchery. These fastened as parasites upon the earlier and cleaner Polytheisms, and so corroded and poisoned the social and political life of those great nations.

Whether, as Fornander maintains, any traces of an ancient monotheism can be discerned in the Polynesian Pantheon, may be considered doubtful. It is certain, however, that the prevailing characteristics attributed to even the highest gods, such as Fornander's Trinity of Ku, Kane, and Kanaloa, were wretchedly evil and unclean. There are not merely strong tendencies to animalism and cruelty, with frequent lapses into crimes of lust and revenge, such as disfigure Greek mythology. These gods of the Hawaiians become absolute embodiments of bestiality and malignity, like Moloch and other gods of the Canaanites.

The impure and malignant essence of Hawaiian deities is visibly embodied in their images. In contrast to the personal beauty of the Greek gods, the aim and the effort of the carver is to depict an extreme of malignity and sensuality. The lineaments are made as revolting and horrific as the artist can combine them from vicious types of animal savagery, such as the shark or the boar. The first impression is a just one, that a people who worshiped such deities as these images represent could not be otherwise than profoundly perverted in their ethical sentiments.

The various legends of the chief gods abound in attributes of the most excessive bestiality. They are generally incapable of being printed without extensive expurgation. A loathsome filthiness is not mere incident, but forms the groundwork of character, not merely of the great hog-god Kamapuaa, but even of the more human-like Ku and Kane of the chief Trinity.

The moral ideas of the worshipers of such gods could not fail to suffer extreme perversion. Justice and purity were in contempt. Cruelty and lust were exalted into religion. The late Matthew Arnold, eliminating personality from the idea of the God of Christendom, defined Deity as "The stream of tendency in the universe that makes for righteousness." If we could eliminate these horrible personalities from the Hawaiian Pantheon, we might well count the ideal residuum to stand for the stream of tendency that makes for all wickedness. It was an embodied diabolism.

As a shaping force upon character, and a moving force upon conduct, this diabolic religion takes its energy from sorcery. Sorcery brings these evil gods down as living active powers interposing in all circumstances of life. By the arts of the *kahunas* the people were held, and, to a considerable extent, are still held, in habitual fear of these powerful gods and their subordinate demons. Their lives are continually threatened by them. Every internal sense of illness is the deadly touch, sensibly felt, of a god. So the people were held in abject slavery to their gods, and to the priests who could influence them. Slaves to such unclean beings, they tend to be like them; their moral sentiments are overturned; evil becomes good, and good evil. Lewdness, prostitution, indecency, drunkenness, being god-like, are exalted into virtues. Recent practical illustrations of this are not lacking.

One of the foul florescences of the great poison tree of idolatry is the *hula*. This is most intimately connected with the whole system, and forms an essential part of its services, just as sacred music does of Christian worship. The *hula* dances are habitually idolatrous in practice, having their special patron gods, whom the dancers invoke and worship. The chief posturings and movements of the *hulas* are pantomimes of unnameable lewdness, illustrated and varied with elaborate art, and accompanied with chants of unspeakable foulness of diction and description. This is the sacred music of idolatry, its opera and its drama. The multitudes of men, women, and children who throng to these royal *hula* operas there drink in the heathen ethics of social life in unmitigated directness and grossness, made sensational with vivid pantomime of beastliness, and embellished with foul wit and jest in song, extolling and dramatizing impurity. Against such schooling, it must be a powerful civilizing force that can make head and redeem any Hawaiian homes from becoming brothels.

(7) *Wifeless Chinese*.—This is an evil of recent growth, which acts most perniciously upon the social life of Hawaiians. There are some 20,000 Chinamen of the lowest class, without their women, distributed throughout the islands in close contact with the natives, and in many districts outnumbering the Hawaiian males. The effect is necessarily very destructive to the purity of native families, although not more so than the presence of a similar number of unmarried whites would be. There is no doubt but that many native households in all parts of the country are maintained in comparative affluence by the intimacy of Chinese with their females.

Some of the heads of these families are members in good standing in the Protestant churches, whose easy-going native pastors lack the energy and authority to deal with the offenders, while the moral sentiment prevailing both within and outside of the church is too feeble to put them to shame.

The catalogue of destructive elements making for the death of the Hawaiian people, as enumerated above, is an appalling one. It certainly suffices to account for any amount of infertility and mortality. On the other hand there are many sanative and restorative agencies at work which inspire hope for the repression of these evils and afford prospect for the reinforcement and augmentation of healing agencies. I briefly name some of the most efficient:

(1) *Government medical aid.*—Paid physicians are within reach of most of the people, whose services to them are free of charge. Their help should save many more lives than they do, or than they will, so long as the people are taught idolatry and to trust in the *kahunas*. It is not in itself a very easy thing for a skilled physician to gain the confidence of the native people in the degree that he needs for any considerable success. It is nearly impossible for him to do so, when contending as he generally is with active superstition in the minds of his patients and their friends, and with the army of *kahunas* working with all their arts against him. His prescriptions will very commonly be neglected and his injunction disobeyed.

I have not the slightest doubt that a hearty reception by the Hawaiian people of the medical aid now provided, discarding their *kahunas*, would at once cause births to preponderate over deaths.

(2) *Hygienic instruction.*—There has been a great deal of instruction given upon the laws of health and simple remedial treatment in the schools and churches and by means of books. Dr. Judd's translation of Cutter's Anatomy and Physiology was printed nearly fifty years ago and used as a text-book in the leading high school. Such instruction has done great service. It has proved insufficient, however, to make head against the inveterate belief in the supernatural cause of disease. It is likely to continue inadequate, so long as the *kahunas* are encouraged to ply their arts.

(3) *School education.*—Book knowledge, and even the much vaunted education in English, have sadly failed to arm Hawaiians against succumbing to superstition and its kindred impurity, either in the ranks of the lowly or the lofty.

Domestic and industrial training in boarding schools has accomplished much more, and is doing excellent work for both sexes by their practical training in the ethics, the conduct, and the industry of Christian civilization. Several hundred youth of each sex are now enjoying the advantages of such schools conducted by Protestants, Anglicans, and Catholics. Adversely, the youth who go out of these schools are at once plunged into a sea of indescribable temptation. Yet much of our best hopes for the future of the race is in the increasing numbers of these well-trained Hawaiians. They tend to form an elevated and civilized social class of their own. This is opposed and disintegrated by a Hawaiian social leadership, whose tendencies are all adverse.

(4) *Christian instruction* will continue to be regarded by earnest believers in Christianity as the chief effective agency in healing the nation's maladies. They hold that faith in Christ has power to emancipate from fear of demon-gods; they believe that the implanting of the high ideal of righteousness, of which Jesus of Nazareth is the source, will in the end erect in all minds a standard of integrity and purity which will be more effectual than anything else in securing moral and healthy living among the people. Probably the most of the many true and earnest friends of right living who do not accept the supernatural element of Christian doctrine would agree that for the Hawaiian, in his present mental stage of development, such a faith would be a more efficient antidote than any scientific or philosophical teaching could be.

If it be asked why sixty-eight years of Christian teaching has not availed to lift the Hawaiian people out of the mire of impure living if it be thus efficacious, its teachers would point to the great increase of adverse influences for the last thirty years and to the direct fostering of sorcery and *hulas* by authority during that time, and latterly to the promotion of hardly concealed worship of the gods. They would also point to the immense growth of foreign elements whose unfavorable influence has been illustrated in the case of the Chinese. They would also call special attention to the fact that during the period of powerful missionary ascendancy, say from 1833 to 1853, while nearly the whole people became nominal adherents of Christianity, only a minority become actual members of the churches, while the great majority, although outwardly assenting, remained wedded to their habitual vice and secretly to their superstitions, and that the more Christian minority gave place by death to another generation far less strongly impressed and less fervid in religious interest.

In accordance with the foregoing statement of facts, as I clearly understand them, and whose substantial correctness I think can not be gainsaid, there seems to be no radical remedy for the two great causes of infertility and mortality, viz, *unchastity*

and *sorcery*, except a system of vigorously extirpating those two allied agencies in which they generate and are nourished, the *hulas* and the *kahunas*. Both are purely heathen institutions of the most pronounced and detestible type, and are totally incompatible with any true and wholesome civilization. They should both be hunted down and exterminated like the venomous reptiles that they are, poisoning and slaying the people. Until this is done with determined thoroughness I see little prospect of arresting the decrease of the Hawaiian people.

The Hawaiian race is one that is well worth saving. With all their sad frailties, they are a noble race of men physically and morally. They are manly, courageous, enterprising, cordial, generous, unselfish. They are highly receptive of good. They love to look forward and upward, even though very facile to temptations to slide backward and downward. In an unusual degree they possess a capacity for fine and ardent enthusiasm for noble ends. Should the Hawaiian people leave no posterity, a very sweet, generous, interesting race will have been lost to the world. They can be saved. They have deserved too well of mankind—they have been too kindly, too friendly, too trustful and magnanimous not to merit the most devoted efforts to avert their threatening fate and to set them forward in a hopeful course. It seems as if this might most easily be accomplished if there were only a wise and resolute purpose to do it.

TWO WEEKS OF HAWAIIAN HISTORY.

[A brief sketch of the revolution of 1893. Illustrated. Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands. Published by the Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1893.]

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION OF 1893.

PREFATORY.

The course of Hawaii's political development has in general been peaceful. Under the reign of Kamehameha III the fundamental changes in social organization, in the private rights of individuals, in the tenure of land, and in the constitution of government were effected without disturbance or bloodshed. The reign of the third Kamehameha witnessed the beginning and the completion of the great series of changes which transformed Hawaii from a feudal and savage despotism into a free and civilized state. Without the cordial coöperation of an enlightened monarch these reforms could not have been, as they were, speedily and peacefully effected.

With the failure of the Kamehameha line, a change came over the spirit of the monarchy, and the new dynasty refused to walk in the footsteps of the old. The sound sense which had tempered the despotic spirit of Kamehameha V was wanting to Kalakaua, and his reign brought with it a long series of extravagances and abuses which finally exhausted the patience of the people. The uprising of 1887 resulted in the promulgation of a new and more liberal constitution, but the patience and moderation of the people gave to royalty one last chance, and left the monarchy standing.

Five years of bitter experience under the new régime have proved that the revolution of 1887 had one fatal fault. It did not go far enough. The constitution which it secured was indeed liberal, its guarantees of political and private right appeared sufficient, it seemed to introduce a system of government, for and by the people, responsible to the people. Had the throne been filled by a ruler like Kamehameha III, the expectations founded upon the new instrument would not have been disappointed and Hawaii might perhaps have continued for a generation to enjoy the substantial blessings of prosperity and freedom under a monarchical form of government. The constitution was, however, so drawn that a willful and stiff-necked sovereign might easily obstruct its workings. Immemorial usage had neither defined its intent nor fixed its meaning beyond the reach of quibbling subterfuge and cavil. White men were found to misinterpret its provisions, and pervert its plain meanings in the interest of absolutism. The closing years of Kalakaua were occupied with a stubborn resistance by the King to his cabinet, and while the opening days of Liliuokalani gave birth to fairer hopes, it was soon obvious that the Queen had all the despotic instincts of her brother, with far more than his tenacity of will. She was determined to govern by herself without consulting the will of the people, and had no idea of accepting the rôle of the constitutional head of a free state.

Such is a brief sketch of the events which serve as a prologue to the revolutionary drama which was soon to be enacted. This can not be fully understood, however, without an account of the events, or rather, of the secret intrigues, which led to the downfall of the Wilcox cabinet.

EVENTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE REVOLUTION.

The Wilcox cabinet was appointed November 8, but it was not until about Christmas time that rumors commenced to circulate in town, that the relations existing between the Queen and her cabinet were not as smooth as they might be. She had attempted to dictate to them, an interference which they resented, and the first rumors were that she wanted to get rid of her cabinet on the pretense that they were under the influence of the American and Annexation party, fearing that if they remained in power after the prorogation of the Legislature she would be sure to lose her throne. These fancies were found to have been instilled into her mind by the opium and spoils ring which had been making such a fight for existence during the term of the legislative session. The leaders of this ring were clever enough to perceive that their influence with the Queen lay in using the marshal as a cloak for their designs, and, making friends with him, they held the key to the situation. But they still lacked strength, and cast about for means to carry out their designs. Some self seekers joined their ranks, and the Queen now commenced to take an active part in affairs, and her minions, notably Captain Nowlein, of her guard, were in constant communication with the native members of the House.

The Queen's legal advisers were in constant consultation with her, and engaged in the preparation of a new constitution. At the same time the lottery bill was revived and used as a lever, and promises of money payments for the passage of the first, second, and third reading of appointments as agents in the several districts and of blocks of stock soon brought a change over the native members. The Queen was now engaged in making personal appeals to these members, cases being reported of her fortifying her entreaties with tears. She sent for prominent white members whom she thought she could influence and asked outright for their support against her ministers. Expostulations were in vain, and she showed her determination to brook no delay; still not much fear as to the stability of the cabinet was felt, as without C. O. Berger's vote she could not secure the necessary 25. It was clearly explained to Mr. Berger what her actions meant, and he was told who would constitute a new cabinet if she succeeded in getting the Wilcox one out, and he promised not to lend his assistance to such schemes. He was advised to consult his father-in-law (Mr. Widemann), and it is a notable fact that after doing so Mr. Berger went to the Palace, and to the consternation of the ministerial supporters, appeared in the House after swearing he would never go near it again during the session. The 25 votes necessary to pass a resolution of want of confidence were thus obtained, and on Thursday, January 12, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the Wilcox ministry was voted out of office.

The downfall of the cabinet was received with universal disgust throughout the community, but when the following day the places of the ministers were supplied by the Parker-Peterson-Colburn-Cornwell cabinet, the disgust was seasoned with indignation of the strongest kind. The universal feeling found, however, only peaceable expression, and none thought of anything but law-abiding acquiescence in the change, fraught with injury to the public interest though it was known to be.

THE FIRST DAY.

Saturday, the 14th of January, 1893, dawned clear and beautiful, and no one dreamed that it was to be one of the eventful days of Hawaiian history. The prorogation of the Legislature was to take place at noon, and the members opposed to the new cabinet, though they absented themselves from the ceremony, had no idea of attempting anything against the ministry. It did not seem possible that the Queen, after having gained everything for which she had been striving, would imperil her gains by violating the constitution. And yet she did.

THE RUMORS.

Saturday afternoon, between 1 and 2 o'clock, the community was startled by the information that a *coup d'état* was in progress, and that the Queen was endeavoring to force her cabinet to sign a new constitution, which she then proposed to promulgate immediately to the people. The information was at first disbelieved by some, but it was speedily confirmed.

The political changes of the past few days, the renewed vote of want of confidence, the secret attempt made by the Queen to secure the overthrow of her ministers, her secret interviews with Noble Dreier and others, the signing of the opium and lottery bills, coupled with the rabid talk of certain native members in the house, had produced a feeling of great unrest in the community. The remarks of Kamanoha in the house were felt by some to give a hint as to what was to be looked for in the future, and many shared these forebodings. On Saturday morning rumor

was busy, and it was freely stated that a new constitution was to be promulgated in the afternoon. At a meeting of business men, held in the room of the chamber of commerce, reference was made to this possibility, but still it was not generally believed until in the afternoon the unexpected happened, and doubt was transformed into certainty.

THE HISTORY.

Three days before the *coup d'état* was attempted, a gentleman who enjoys the confidence of the Queen told one of the members of the newly appointed cabinet (who was then in private station) that the blow was to be struck, and that the persons of the ministers would be secured. In the anticipation that the new cabinet would not make any resistance to the revolutionary blow, the precaution of arresting them was not taken. Saturday morning one of the ministers received positive information that a blow was to be struck that afternoon. He immediately proceeded to consult two prominent citizens on the course to be taken. After a conference, the gentlemen referred to advised the cabinet to refuse to sign a new constitution and to decline to resign if their resignations should be demanded. The prorogation of the legislature was the last chapter in the story of the morning. It went off tamely and quietly enough, but those who were acquainted with the real situation felt that the Government and the nation were sleeping on the crest of a volcano.

THE AFTERNOON.

In the afternoon, immediately after the Legislature had been prorogued, the Hui Kalaiaina (a native Hawaiian political society), marched over to the palace in order to present a new constitution to the Queen, with the petition that the same be promulgated to the people as the fundamental law of the land. The matter of the new constitution and petition had been prearranged, and there was little spontaneity about it. It really originated with the Queen and a few of her adherents. Activity had been noted for several days among some of the native retainers of Her Majesty. Several have since stated that they were ordered to appear before her and ask for a new constitution. One case particularly worthy of note is that of an old native resident of Nuuanu Valley, who was seen going home on the evening of the prorogation in an old working suit of clothes. On being asked where his tall hat, longblack coat, and black pants were, he replied, "In the basket," pointing to one which he was carrying on his arm. Proceeding, the native said that he, with others, had been ordered to go and ask for a new constitution, and went prepared to ask, never dreaming of having the request granted, but before the delegation could present the petition the Queen intimated that their prayer would be granted, without giving them time even to read the petition. The old man said he knew that was treason, and he thought he had better get home. So he got his wife to bring him his old clothes again, which he immediately donned, shuffling his finery into the basket. He further stated that he and the rest had no desire for a new constitution.

LIFTING THE HAMMER FOR THE COUP.

In the meantime a large crowd of Hawaiians had gathered around the palace gates and in the grounds near the great flight of steps, and natives were also gathered in large groups in the Government-building yard and elsewhere in the neighborhood. The Queen retired to the blue room and summoned the ministers, who repaired at once to the palace. The Queen was at a table, still dressed in the magnificent costume of the morning, and sparkling in a coronet of diamonds. She at once presented them with the draft of the new constitution, demanded their signatures, and declared her intention to promulgate the same at once. Attorney-general Peterson and Minister of Interior Colburn decidedly refused to do so, and Ministers Cornwell and Parker, though more hesitatingly, joined their colleagues in this refusal. All the cabinet now perceived the expediency of advising Her Majesty not to violate the law, but she was not to be dissuaded from her mad course. Bringing her clenched hand down upon the table Queen Liliuokalani said: "Gentlemen, I do not wish to hear any more advice. I intend to promulgate this constitution, and to do it now." Proceeding, she told the cabinet that unless they abandoned their resistance at once she would go out upon the steps of the palace and tell the excited crowd there assembled that she wished to give them a new constitution, but that her ministers were inside the palace, hindering her from doing it. The ministers remembered the riot at the court house, and the fate of the unlucky representatives who fell into the hands of the mob. They knew what the threat might mean, and before it could be put into execution they retired from the palace.

THE APPEAL TO THE CITIZENS.

From the Government building, the ministers immediately sent word down town asking the citizens what support the cabinet could expect in its resistance to the

revolutionary movement begun by the Queen. Leading citizens of every political complexion hurried together at Hon. W. O. Smith's office, and, while their numbers were every instant augmented by fresh accessions, held a hurried consultation as to the course to be pursued. There was but one mind among all those gathered together. Tradesmen, lawyers, mechanics, merchants, were of one opinion. A unanimity of sentiment reigned such as has not been witnessed here for years, and it was agreed, without a dissenting voice, that it was the duty of every good citizen, without distinction of party, to support the law and the liberties of the people and to resist the revolutionary encroachments of the Queen. A message to this effect was at once dispatched to the cabinet.

A NEW STRUGGLE WITH THE QUEEN.

The ministers now revisited the palace, not without the apprehension that their persons would be taken into custody even if they suffered no bodily harm. Great pressure had been brought upon Her Majesty to induce her to go no farther and to retrace the revolutionary steps she had already taken. While her troops stood drawn up before the palace, waiting for the final word of command, the Queen hesitated and hesitated. The conference in the blue room was a long one. For two hours the result trembled in the balance. She could not be induced to give up her unlawful project, but finally consented with bitter reluctance to a temporary postponement of the premeditated coup.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

The Queen was a very angry woman, when at 4 p. m. Saturday she returned to the throne room, where were assembled the Hui Kalaiaina with most of the native members of the Legislature, the cabinet, the governor of Oahu, the young princes, Chief-Justice Judd and Mr. Justice Bickerton, the staff, ladies of the court, kahili bearers, etc. She ascended the dais and spoke substantially as follows:

"PRINCES, NOBLES, AND REPRESENTATIVES: I have listened to the thousands of voices of my people that have come to me, and I am prepared to grant their request. The present constitution is full of defects, as the chief justice here will testify, as questions regarding it have so often come before him for settlement. It is so faulty that I think a new one should be granted. I have prepared one, in which the rights of all have been regarded—a constitution suited to the wishes of the people. I was ready and expected to proclaim the new constitution to-day, as a suitable occasion for it, and thus satisfy the wishes of my dear people. But, with deep regret, I say that I have met with obstacles that prevent it. Return to your homes peaceably and quietly and continue to look towards me, and I will look towards you. Keep me ever in your love. I am obliged to postpone the granting of the constitution for a few days. I must confer with my cabinet, and when, after you return home, you may see it, receive it graciously. You have my love, and with sorrow I now dismiss you."

Mr. White replied, thanking the Queen and assuring her of the love of the people, and that they would wait patiently until their desires should be fulfilled, to which the Queen responded with thanks, and left the throne room.

Mr. Kaunamano then began in a loud voice an inflammatory harangue which was suppressed. He demanded the lives of the members of the cabinet who had opposed the wishes of Her Majesty, and declared that he thirsted for bloodshed.

A few moments later the Queen went out upon the upper balcony of the palace and addressed the crowd. She told them that on account of the perfidy of her ministers she was unable to give them the constitution which she had promised them, but that she would take the earliest opportunity of procuring it for them. (The crowd then gave three cheers.)

Representative White then proceeded to the steps of the palace and began an address. He told the crowd that the cabinet had betrayed them, and that instead of going home peaceably they should go into the palace and kill and bury them. Attempts were made to stop him, which he resisted, saying that he would never close his mouth until the new constitution was granted. Finally he yielded to the expostulations of Col. Boyd and others, threw up his hands and declared that he was pau, for the present. After this the audience assembled dispersed.

The constitution which the Queen wished to force upon the people deprived them of all voice in the choice of the house of nobles, the appointment of which was vested in the sovereign. The system of cabinet responsibility was abolished, the choice and removal of ministers being vested solely in the Queen. Native Hawaiians were to be exempt from the payment of personal taxes, and all white men were to be deprived of the franchise except those who were married to native wives.

News was brought to the citizens down town that the attempt to carry the revo-

tion through had for the moment failed. The meeting, however, appreciating the fact that the trouble had but just begun, did not break up, but continued the consideration of the emergency. A committee of public safety was formed, to which the further consideration of the situation was delegated, after which the assembly, which had been animated by one heart and soul from the beginning, dispersed.

The committee of public safety did not delay in their performance of the task intrusted to them by the citizens, but proceeded to hold a conference on the spot. At first everything was in the air, there being no definite plan of operations. The committee adjourned at 6 p. m. to meet again on the following (Sunday) morning. On this occasion the situation was discussed in all its bearings, and it was decided to call a mass meeting, to make a report, and then to ask this general gathering of all the citizens to confirm the appointment of the committee of safety, and to authorize it to take whatever steps might seem necessary to further the public welfare and secure the rights of the people from aggression once and for all. It was the unanimous sentiment of the members of the committee that a proclamation should be issued abrogating the monarchy, and a provisional government established, if the tone of feeling developed at the mass meeting should clearly indicate that such a course would be in accord with public sentiment. In case the expectations of the committee as to the state of public feeling were realized, it would be necessary to be prepared to take immediate steps. The committee, therefore, continued its meetings and began the work of organization and preparation. Monday morning it was decided to request the American minister to land troops for the protection of property, and a request to that effect was forwarded to the American minister.

THE QUEEN'S PARTY.

In the meanwhile the Queen's party were not idle. They were frightened at the tone of feeling manifested in the city, and began to cast about for means of averting the catastrophe which seemed to threaten the throne. The Queen patched up a peace with her cabinet and forgave them, for the time being, for their "perfidy." In the morning of Sunday she held a meeting at the palace, and charged the native pastors present to pray for her, as evil-minded foreigners were endeavoring to deprive her of her throne. In the evening a secret meeting was held at the office of the attorney-general, in the government building, at which, besides the cabinet, Paul Neumann, Marshal Wilson, Hon. R. W. Wilcox, E. C. Macfarlane and Antone Rosa were present, besides some others. At this meeting Marshal Wilson proposed the arrest of the committee of thirteen, but Paul Neumann and others opposed the proposition on the ground that it would cause friction. Posters for the mass meeting of citizens being already out, it was decided to call a counter mass meeting of Hawaiians at Palace Square, and the tone to be adopted at this meeting was decided upon. A "by authority" notice was drafted, to be signed by the Queen and cabinet, announcing that her intention to abrogate the constitution by force had been abandoned, and that in future any changes she might desire would be affected by constitutional means only. In accordance with the terms of this announcement, the speaking at Palace Square was to be temperate and peaceable.

Monday morning the Advertiser appeared with a long account of the *coup d'etat* attempted by the Queen on Saturday, and with an editorial counseling the people to stand firmly by their rights. Late in the morning the "by authority" notice above referred to was distributed. It was as follows:

BY AUTHORITY.

Her Majesty's ministers desire to express their appreciation for the quiet and order which has prevailed in this community since the events of Saturday, and are authorized to say that the position taken by Her Majesty in regard to the promulgation of a new constitution was under the stress of her native subjects.

Authority is given for the assurance that any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land will be sought only by methods provided in the constitution itself.

Her Majesty's ministers request all citizens to accept the assurance of Her Majesty in the same spirit in which it is given.

LILIUOKALANI.

SAMUEL PARKER
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
W. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.
JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

THE CITIZENS MASS MEETING.

At 2 p. m. Monday, January 16, the Honolulu Rifles Armory was the scene of the largest and most enthusiastic mass meeting ever held in Honolulu. It was called by the committee of public safety for the purpose of protesting against the revolutionary aggressions of the Queen. At half-past 1 citizens began to assemble, and before 2 o'clock the large building was crowded to its utmost capacity, 1,260 being present by actual count, while many others came later. Every class in the community was fully represented, mechanics, merchants, professional men, and artisans of every kind being present in full force. The meeting was intensely enthusiastic, being animated by a common purpose and feeling, and most of the speakers were applauded to the echo. Hon. W. C. Wilder, of the committee of safety, was the chairman.

Mr. WILDER said: * Fellow-citizens, I have been requested to act as chairman of this meeting. Were it a common occurrence, I should consider it an honor, but to-day we are not here to do honor to anybody. I accept the chairmanship of this meeting as a duty. [Applause.] We meet here to-day as men—not as any party, faction or creed, but as men who are bound to see good government. It is well known to you all what took place at the Palace last Saturday. I need not tell you the object of this meeting, and no such meeting has been held since 1887. There is the same reason now as then. An impromptu meeting of citizens was called Saturday to take measures for the public safety. The report of the committee will be read to you. We do not meet as revolutionists, but as peaceful citizens who have the right to meet and state their grievances. [Loud applause.] We will maintain our rights and have the courage to maintain them. [Universal cheers.]

Noble Thurston, being introduced by the chairman, read the following

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

To the citizens of Honolulu:

On the morning of last Saturday, the 14th instant, the city was startled by the information that Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani had announced her intention to arbitrarily promulgate a new constitution, and that three of the newly-appointed cabinet ministers had or were about to resign in consequence thereof.

Immediately after the prorogation of the Legislature, at noon, the Queen accompanied, by her orders, by the cabinet retired to the palace; the entire military force of the Government was drawn up in line in front of the building and remained there until dark, and a crowd of several hundred native sympathizers with the new constitution project gathered in the throne room and about the palace. The Queen then retired with the cabinet, informed them that she intended to promulgate it, and proposed to do so then and there and demanded that they countersign her signature.

She turned a deaf ear to their statements and protests that the proposed action would inevitably cause the streets of Honolulu to run red with blood, and threatened that unless they complied with her demand she would herself immediately go out upon the steps of the palace and announce to the assembled crowd that the reason she did not give them the new constitution was because the ministers would not let her. Three of the ministers, fearing mob violence, immediately withdrew and returned to the Government building. They were immediately summoned back to the palace, but refused to go on the ground that there was no guarantee of their personal safety.

The only forces under the control of the Government are the household guards and the police. The former are nominally under the control of the minister of foreign affairs and actually under the control of their immediate commander, Maj. Nowlein, a personal adherent of the Queen.

The police are under the control of Marshal Wilson, the open and avowed royal favorite. Although the marshal is nominally under the control of the attorney-general, Her Majesty recently announced in a public speech that she would not allow him to be removed. Although the marshal now states that he is opposed to the Queen's proposition, he also states that if the final issue arises between the Queen and the cabinet and people he will support the Queen.

The cabinet was absolutely powerless and appealed to citizens for support.

Later they reluctantly returned to the palace, by request of the Queen, and for nearly two hours she again endeavored to force them to acquiesce in her desire, and upon their final refusal announced in a public speech in the throne room and again from the upper gallery of the palace that she desired to issue the constitution but was prevented from doing so by her ministers and would issue it in a few days.

* See "Foot Note to Hawaiian History," p. 38.

The citizens responded to the appeal of the cabinet to resist the revolutionary attempt of the Queen by gathering at the office of William O. Smith.

Later in the afternoon it was felt that bloodshed and riot were imminent; that the community could expect no protection from the legal authorities; that on the contrary they would undoubtedly be made the instruments of royal aggression. An impromptu meeting of citizens was held, which was attended by the attorney-general and which was addressed among others by the minister of the interior, J. F. Colburn, who stated to the meeting substantially the foregoing facts.

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution that the public welfare required the appointment of a committee of public safety of thirteen to consider the situation and devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and the protection of life and property.

Such committee was forthwith appointed, and has followed its instructions.

The first step which the committee consider necessary is to secure openly, publicly, and peaceably, through the medium of a mass meeting of citizens, a condemnation of the proceedings of the party of revolution and disorder, and a confirmation from such larger meeting of the authority now vested in the committee.

For such purpose the committee hereby recommends the adoption of the following

RESOLUTION:

1. Whereas Her Majesty, Liliuokalani, acting in conjunction with certain other persons, has illegally and unconstitutionally, and against the advice and consent of the lawful executive officers of the Government, attempted to abrogate the existing constitution and proclaim a new one in subversion of the rights of the people;

2. And whereas such attempt has been accompanied by threats of violence and bloodshed and a display of armed force; and such attempt and acts and threats are revolutionary and treasonable in character;

3. And whereas Her Majesty's cabinet have informed her that such contemplated action was unlawful, and would lead to bloodshed and riot, and have implored and demanded of her to desist from and renounce such proposed action;

4. And whereas such advice has been in vain, and Her Majesty has in a public speech announced that she was desirous and ready to promulgate such constitution, the same being now ready for such purpose, and that the only reason why it was not now promulgated was because she had met with unexpected obstacles, and that a fitting opportunity in the future must be awaited for the consummation of such object, which would be within a few days;

5. And whereas at a public meeting of citizens, held in Honolulu on the 14th day of January instant, a committee of thirteen, to be known as the "committee of public safety," was appointed to consider the situation, and to devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and safety, and the preservation of life and property;

6. And whereas such committee has recommended the calling of this mass meeting of citizens to protest against and condemn such action, and has this day presented a report to such meeting, denouncing the action of the Queen and her supporters as being unlawful, unwarranted, in derogation of the rights of the people, endangering the peace of the community, and tending to excite riot, and cause the loss of life and destruction of property;

Now, therefore, we, the citizens of Honolulu, of all nationalities, and regardless of political party affiliations, do hereby condemn and denounce the action of the Queen and her supporters;

And we do hereby ratify the appointment and indorse the action taken and report made by the said committee of safety; and we do hereby further empower such committee to further consider the situation and further devise such ways and means as may be necessary to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order, and the protection of life, liberty, and property in Hawaii.

Mr. THURSTON said: Mr. Chairman, Hawaii is a wonderful country. We are divided into parties and nationalities and factions, but there are moments when we are united and move shoulder to shoulder, moved by one common desire for the public good. Three times during the past twelve years this has happened—in 1880, 1887 and to-day. They say it is ended, it is done, there is nothing to consider. Is it so? [Calls of No! No!] I say, gentlemen, that now and here is the time to act. [Loud cheers.] The Queen says she won't do it again. [Cries of humbug!] Fellow citizens, have you any memories? Hasn't she once before promised—sworn solemnly before Almighty God to maintain this constitution? What is her word worth? [Calls of Nothing! Nothing!] It is an old saying that a royal promise is made to be broken. Fellow citizens, remember it. We have not sought this situation. Last Saturday the sun rose on a peaceful and smiling city; to-day it is otherwise. Whose fault is it—Queen Liliuokalani's? It is not her fault that the streets have not run red with blood. She has printed a proclamation expressing her repentance for what she has

done, and at the same time—perhaps sent out by the same carriers—her organ prints an extra with her speech with bitterer language than that quoted in the Advertiser. She wants us to sleep on a slumbering volcano, which will some morning spew out blood and destroy us all. The constitution gives us the right to assemble peacefully and express our grievances. We are here doing that to-day without arms. The man who has not the spirit to rise after the menace to our liberties has no right to keep them. Has the tropic sun cooled and thinned our blood, or have we flowing in our veins the warm, rich blood which makes men love liberty and die for it? I move the adoption of the resolution. [Tumultuous applause.]

Mr. H. F. GLADE: The Queen has done an unlawful thing in ignoring the constitution which she had sworn to uphold. We most decidedly protest against such revolutionary proceedings, and we should do all we possibly can to prevent her from repeating actions which result in disorder and riot. We now have a promise from the Queen that proceedings as we experienced on Saturday shall not occur again. But we should have such assurances and guaranties for this promise as will really satisfy us and convince us of the faith and earnestness of the promise given, of which we now have no assurance. What such guaranties and assurances ought to be I can not at this moment say or recommend. This should be referred to the committee of safety for their careful consideration. I second the motion.

Mr. A. YOUNG, in addressing the meeting, spoke as follows: Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens: In June, 1887, I stood on this same platform and addressed an audience almost as large as the one now before me. At that time we had met to consider a resolution that looked toward a new constitution, which proposed constitution was considered the most effectual method of removing some flagrant abuses in governmental affairs practiced by the King and his cabinets prior to the time that the constitution was promulgated. To-day we have met to consider the action of Her Majesty in attempting to set aside the constitution we all worked so hard to have promulgated, in the best interests of the Sovereign and the people at large, as well as for the redemption of the credit of the kingdom abroad. It has long been reported that at some favorable opportunity the Queen would spring a new constitution upon the people and place matters even more in the hands of the Sovereign than they were before the revolution of 1887. Some did not believe the rumors, but the actions of the Queen in the last few days have convinced the most skeptical that the rumors were well founded, and that she had been pregnant with this unborn constitution for a long time, but it could not be born till under the propitious star. The Queen's Kahunas, together with her would-be advisers, had no doubt told her that the auspicious time for the advent had arrived. In trying to promulgate this long-promised constitution, the Queen has therefore premeditatedly committed a breach of faith with one portion of her subjects, in order to satisfy the clamors of a faction of natives urged by the influence of a mischievous element of foreigners who mean no good to the Queen or the people, but simply for the purpose of providing avenues for carrying out more perfectly the smuggling of opium and diverting the contents of the treasury into their own pockets. A "by authority" circular has now been handed around, setting forth that the Queen and her cabinet had decided not to press the promulgation of a new constitution, but can we depend on this promise of Her Majesty? Is this promise any more binding upon her than the oath she took before the Almighty God to support and maintain the present constitution? Has not the Queen resorted to very questionable methods in an underhanded way to remove what, to the people, was one of the most acceptable cabinets ever commissioned by any sovereign in this Kingdom, in order that four other ministers might be appointed that would carry out her behest, treasonable or otherwise, as might be most conveniently within their scope. I say, have we any reasonable assurance that the Queen and her ministers have abandoned finally the new constitution promulgation scheme? [Roars of No! from the audience.] My fellow-citizens, while the Queen and her cabinet continue to trifle with and play fast and loose with the affairs of state there can be no feeling of security for foreign families residing within these domains. There can be no business prosperity here at home, and our credit abroad must be of the flimsiest and most uncertain nature. And you business men who are toiling honestly for your bread and butter will have to put up with thin bread and much thinner butter if this farcical work is continued. In order that matters may be set to rights again and that honest, stable, and honorable government may be maintained in Hawaii, I support the resolution, and trust that it will be passed unanimously by this meeting.

Mr. C. BOLTE. Since the resolution which was read here has been written things have changed. On Saturday the Queen promised the native people that she would give them a new constitution under all circumstances; she did not say exactly when, but as soon as possible. This morning a proclamation was issued, in which she says that her attempt to promulgate a new constitution last Saturday was made under stress of her native subjects, but that she will not do it again. An attempt to change the fundamental law of the land is a very serious matter, a matter that

requires a good deal of consideration, and I am well convinced that this matter has been weighed and considered for more than a day by the Queen, and that there was no acting on the spur of the moment under the stress of her native subjects about it. It was her well premeditated conclusion that she would change the constitution, so as to suit herself, on the day of prorogation of the Legislature. Many people knew this several days ago, but there have been so many rumors about all sorts of things that not very much attention was paid to it; it was expected that she might change her mind before that day would come. But she did not change her mind as soon as that; she told the native people that she was ready to give them a new constitution right then and there, but that she could not do it because her ministers would not let her. Now she has changed her mind; she makes a sort of excuse for what she did, and says she will never do it again. It seems to me that the question that your committee has to ask now, and which is for you gentlemen here in the meeting to decide, is this: Are you satisfied with the assurance given in to-day's proclamation signed by the Queen and the four ministers, and will you consider this matter ended, or do you desire greater and stronger guarantees for the safety and preservation of your life and liberty and property? I am one of the citizens' committee of public safety; my views on the situation are expressed in the resolutions which have just been read, and I trust that you will show that you are of the same mind as the committee by adopting these resolutions.

HON. H. P. BALDWIN. I feel with the rest of you that actions of the Queen have put the country in a very critical situation. Before this revolutionary act of Her Majesty we were getting along. A ministry had been appointed which would probably have been able to pull us through. The McKinley bill had put the whole country into a critical situation. We were working up new industries. Mr. Dillingham is trying to build a railroad around this island. The Queen seems to have blinded herself to all these things. She has followed a whim of her own—a whim of an irresponsible body of Hawaiians—and tried to establish a new constitution. We must stop this; but we must not go beyond constitutional means. I favor the resolution, but think the committee should act within the constitution. There is no question that the Queen has done a revolutionary act—there is no doubt about that. The Queen's proclamation has not inspired confidence; but shall we not teach her to act within the constitution? [Loud calls of "No."] Well, gentlemen, I see that you do not agree with me; I am ready to act when the time comes.

J. EMMELUTH wished to say a few words on the situation. He had heard the Queen's speech at the palace, and noted the expression of her face. It was fiendish. When the petitioners filed out he reflected on the fact that thirty men could paralyze the business of the community for twenty-four hours. It was not they that did it, but the schemers behind them, and perhaps a woman, too. It was not the Hawaiians that wanted the new constitution; not those who worked. This was the third time that he had shut his doors, let his men go, and come up to this building. It would be the last time. If we let this time go by we would deserve all we would get. An opportunity came once in every lifetime. It had come to us, and if we finished as we should, a repetition of last Saturday would never occur in this country again. [Applause.] We must stand shoulder to shoulder. There was but one course to pursue, and we would all see it. The manifesto of this morning was bosh. "I won't do it any more; but give me a chance and I'll do it again." That is the real meaning of it. If the Queen had succeeded last Saturday myself and you would have been robbed of the privileges without which no white man can live in this community. "Fear not, be not afraid," was written in my Bible by my mother twenty-five years ago. Gentlemen, I have done. As far as the Hawaiians are concerned I have an aloha for them, and we wish to have laws enabling us to live peaceably together.

R. J. GREENE. Fellow citizens, among the many things I never could do was to make an impromptu speech. I have tried it over and over again and never succeeded but once, and that was after five weeks' preparation. Our patience has been exhausted. We all agree about the case. The question is the remedy. John Greene, of Rhode Island, entered the war of the Revolution and served throughout. His son, my father, served through the war of 1812, until that little matter was settled. In 1862 John Greene, my father, stood before a meeting like this, and said he had four sons in the war, of whom I was the youngest, and would serve himself if he was not too old. This experience has biased my judgment as to some matters of civil government. It is too late to throw obstacles across the path of its progress here. I have adopted this flag and am loyal to it, but I am not willing to go one step back in the matter of civil liberty, and I will give the last drop of Rhode Island blood in my veins to go forward and not back. [Cheers.]

Chairman WILDER read the latter part of the resolution.

It was passed by a unanimous standing vote, without a dissenting voice and amid tremendous cheers, after which the meeting broke up.

AT PALACE SQUARE.

While the mass meeting was in session at the armory a counter demonstration was attempted by the Queen's party at Palace square. The speakers had been carefully coached and advised to express themselves with the utmost caution. The tone was an unnatural one and the enthusiasm correspondingly small. A resolution was adopted accepting the royal assurance that she would no longer seek a new constitution by revolutionary means. The same meeting, however, expressed by cheers its approbation of the attempt by the Queen to carry out her *coup d'état*, and one of the speakers gave vent to the expression of a wild thirst for bloodshed.

MORE COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

Immediately after the mass meeting a session of the committee of public safety was held. All the members felt that their action had been more than indorsed by the citizens, and that the moment a Provisional Government was established the foreign community would rally to its support.

It should have been mentioned that Marshal Wilson had warned all persons from attending the mass meeting. The indications of approaching trouble were serious, and at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, Minister Stevens deemed it proper to comply with the request of the committee of safety, and at the hour named the ship's battalion, under Lieut. Commander William T. Swinburne, landed, and troops were stationed for the protection of the consulate and legation, while a detachment encamped at Arion Hall. The presence of the troops did much to prevent disorder and to tranquilize the fears of the timid.

In the evening the committee of safety again convened, and elected the executive council and officers. In the morning, the members of the executive council consented to serve, and John H. Soper was induced to accept the responsible position of military chief of the new Government. Judge Sanford B. Dole, the new executive head, sent his resignation to the cabinet, and this act was, so to speak, the first shot of the counter revolution. At 1 p. m., the formation of the advisory council was complete, and shortly after the proclamation was signed by the committee of safety. The first act of the Provisional Government was then to sign the commission of J. H. Soper as commander of the forces. Just as the committee had finished considering the question when the coup should take place, and had decided on immediate action, a shot was fired on Fort street, a crowd ran up to the spot, the story flew through the street, "Good has shot a policeman," and the committee hastened to the Government building.

THE SHOT ON FORT STREET.

The shot fired on Fort street precipitated the revolution. In order to understand this event, it is necessary to return a little and pick up a new thread in the narrative. In the morning J. Good had been appointed ordnance officer, and in the discharge of his duty it became necessary for him to gather up the guns and ammunition available at the different stores, and transfer them to the armory. Half-past 2 in the afternoon was the hour set for the removal of the ammunition from E. O. Hall & Sons. Mr. Good selected Mr. Benner, of Castle & Cooke's, to drive the wagon, detailing Edwin Paris and Fritz Rowald as guards. The ammunition had been packed in the morning, the packing having been more or less supervised by some policemen who were hanging around with instructions to watch closely what was going on. At 2:20 Mr. Good proceeded to execute the transfer, and ordered Mr. Benner to drive rapidly out of the rear entrance. As the wagon came out of the gate, a policeman grabbed at the reins and ordered a halt. As the order was disregarded the officer blew his whistle, which was immediately answered by four or five other policemen who came running up and joined in the effort to stop the wagon.

The Fort street car had just crossed King and alongside of it was a dray. This completely barred the progress of the wagon. One of the policemen seized the bit, but was warned off by Mr. Good, revolver in hand. Another endeavored to climb up but received a smart cut with the whip from Mr. Benner. In the meanwhile two policemen in the rear had been kept off by Paris and Rowald. On the rear platform of the street car were J. A. McCandless and Mr. Martin, the tailor. The latter covered one of the officers with his revolver, but did not fire. In the meantime came from McCandless on the street car, from E. O. White at Hall's and others, calls of "Pull, pull." Warned by these, Mr. Good now faced square around. One of the officers was coming up at a run, and when a few feet distant, put his hand behind him as though to draw a revolver. The indications being that some one would be shot, Mr. Good promptly fired and the man fell, with a bullet in the shoulder. This ended the effort to capture the ammunition. The horses started forward and the

wagon proceeded up Fort street, followed by two policemen in a hack who were kept at a respectful distance by Paris, who leveled his rifle at them. The wagon proceeded up Fort to School street, and then down Punchbowl to the armory, where they were glad to see Zeigler's men already in line.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT DECLARED.

In the meantime the committee of public safety with the members of the provisional Government had proceeded to the Government building, Judge Dole and Mr. Cooper leading the way up Merchant street. All the committee were unarmed. When the building was reached, inquiry was made for the ministers but they were not to be found. Mr. Cooper then made demand upon Mr. Hassinger, the chief clerk of the interior office, for possession of the building, and the demand was immediately complied with, there being no force with which any resistance could have been made. The committee now proceeded to the public entrance, and Mr. H. E. Cooper read to the gathering crowd the following proclamation:

PROCLAMATION.

In its earlier history, Hawaii possessed a constitutional government honestly and economically administered in the public interest.

The Crown called to its assistance as advisers able, honest, and conservative men, whose integrity was unquestioned even by their political opponents.

The stability of the Government was assured; armed resistance and revolution unthought of; popular rights were respected and the privileges of the subject from time to time increased and the prerogatives of the Sovereign diminished by the voluntary acts of the successive kings.

With very few exceptions this state of affairs continued until the expiration of the first few years of the reign of His late Majesty Kalakaua. At this time a change was discernible in the spirit animating the chief executive and in the influences surrounding the throne. A steadily increasing disposition was manifested on the part of the King to extend the royal prerogatives; to favor adventurers and persons of no character or standing in the community; to encroach upon the rights and privileges of the people by steadily increasing corruption of electors, and by means of the power and influence of officeholders and other corrupt means to illegitimately influence the elections, resulting in the final absolute control of not only the executive and legislative, but to a certain extent the judicial departments of the Government in the interest of absolutism.

This finally resulted in the revulsion of feeling and popular uprising of 1887, which wrested from the King a large portion of his ill-gotten powers.

The leaders of this movement were not seeking personal aggrandisement, political power, or the suppression of the native Government. If this had been their object it could easily have been accomplished, for they had the absolute control of the situation.

Their object was to secure responsible government through a representative cabinet, supported by and responsible to the people's elected representatives. A clause to this effect was inserted in the constitution and subsequently enacted by law by the Legislature, specifically covering the ground that, in all matters concerning the state the sovereign was to act by and with the advice of the cabinet and only by and with such advice.

The King willingly agreed to such proposition, expressed regret for the past, and volunteered promises for the future.

Almost from the date of such agreement and promises, up to the time of his death, the history of the Government has been a continual struggle between the King on the one hand and the cabinet and the Legislature on the other, the former constantly endeavoring by every available form of influence and evasion to ignore his promises and agreements and regain his lost powers.

This conflict upon several occasions came to a crisis, followed each time by submission on the part of His Majesty by renewed expressions of regret and promises to abide by the constitutional and legal restrictions in the future. In each instance such promise was kept until a further opportunity presented itself, when the conflict was renewed in defiance and regardless of all previous pledges.

Upon the accession of Her Majesty Liliuokalani for a brief period the hope prevailed that a new policy would be adopted. This hope was soon blasted by her immediately entering into conflict with the existing cabinet, who held office with the approval of a large majority of the Legislature, resulting in the triumph of the Queen and the removal of the cabinet. The appointment of a new cabinet subservient to her wishes and their continuance in office until a recent date gave no

opportunity for further indication of the policy which would be pursued by Her Majesty until the opening of the Legislature in May of 1892.

The recent history of that session has shown a stubborn determination on the part of Her Majesty to follow the tactics of her late brother, and in all possible ways to secure an extension of the royal prerogatives and an abridgment of popular rights.

During the latter part of the session the Legislature was replete with corruption; bribery and other illegitimate influences were openly utilized to secure the desired end, resulting in the final complete overthrow of all opposition and the inauguration of a cabinet arbitrarily selected by Her Majesty in complete defiance of constitutional principles and popular representation.

Notwithstanding such result the defeated party peacefully submitted to the situation.

Not content with her victory, Her Majesty proceeded on the last day of the session to arbitrarily arrogate to herself the right to promulgate a new constitution, which proposed among other things to disfranchise over one-fourth of the voters and the owners of nine-tenths of the private property of the Kingdom, to abolish the elected upper house of the Legislature, and to substitute in place thereof an appointive one to be appointed by the sovereign.

The detailed history of this attempt and the succeeding events in connection therewith is given in the report of the committee of public safety to the citizens of Honolulu, and the resolution adopted at the mass meeting held on the 16th instant, the correctness of which report and the propriety of which resolution are hereby specifically affirmed.

The constitutional evolution indicated has slowly and steadily, though reluctantly, and regretfully, convinced an overwhelming majority of the conservative and responsible members of the community that independent, constitutional, representative, and responsible government, able to protect itself from revolutionary uprisings and royal aggression is no longer possible in Hawaii under the existing system of Government.

Five uprisings or conspiracies against the Government have occurred within five years and seven months. It is firmly believed that the culminating revolutionary attempt of last Saturday will, unless radical measures are taken, wreck our already damaged credit abroad and precipitate to final ruin our already overstrained financial condition; and the guarantees of protection to life, liberty, and property will steadily decrease and the political situation rapidly grow worse.

In this belief, and also in the firm belief that the action hereby taken is, and will be for the best personal, political, and property interests of every citizen of the land,

We, citizens and residents of the Hawaiian Islands, organized and acting for the public safety and the common good, hereby proclaim as follows:

1. The Hawaiian monarchical system of Government is hereby abrogated.
2. A Provisional Government for the control and management of public affairs and the protection of the public peace is hereby established, to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.
3. Such Provisional Government shall consist of an executive council of four members, who are hereby declared to be S. B. Dole, J. A. King, P. C. Jones, W. O. Smith, who shall administer the executive departments of the Government, the first named acting as president and chairman of such council and administering the department of foreign affairs, and the others severally administering the department of interior, finance, and attorney-general, respectively, in the order in which they are above enumerated, according to existing Hawaiian law as far as may be consistent with this proclamation; and also of an advisory council which shall consist of fourteen members who are hereby declared to be S. M. Damon, A. Brown, L. A. Thurston, J. F. Morgan, J. Emmeluth, H. Waterhouse, J. A. McCandless, E. D. Tenney, F. W. McChesney, F. Wilhelm, W. R. Castle, W. G. Ashley, W. C. Wilder, C. Bolte. Such advisory council shall also have general legislative authority.

Such executive and advisory councils shall, acting jointly, have power to remove any member of either council and to fill such or any other vacancy.

4. All officers under the existing Government are hereby requested to continue to exercise their functions and perform the duties of their respective offices, with the exception of the following-named persons:

Queen Liliuokalani.

Charles B. Wilson, marshal,

Samuel Parker, minister of foreign affairs,

W. H. Cornwell, minister of finance,

John F. Colburn, minister of the interior,

Arthur P. Peterson, attorney-general,

who are hereby removed from office.

5. All Hawaiian laws and constitutional principles not inconsistent herewith shall continue in force until further order of the executive and advisory councils.

(Signed) HENRY E. COOPER, *Chairman.*
 ANDREW BROWN,
 THEODORE F. LANSING,
 JOHN EMMELUTH,
 C. BOLTE,
 ED. SUHR,
 HENRY WATERHOUSE,

W. C. WILDER,
 F. W. MCCHESENEY,
 WM. O. SMITH,
 LORRIN A. THURSTON,
 WM. R. CASTLE,
 J. A. MCCANDLESS,
Committee of Safety.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *January 17, 1893.*

During the reading of the proclamation armed adherents of the Government began to gather, and it is stated that Oscar White was the first man in the grounds with a gun. By the time that the reading was finished Capt. Ziegler reached the spot with his men.

THE VOLUNTEER FORCES.

The armory on Beretania street was the spot selected for the assembling of the volunteers, and here arms and ammunition were furnished to those who required them. The first body of men who were ready for active work was a company composed of German citizens who were under command of Capt. Charles Ziegler.

They were at the spot about 2:30 o'clock, just one-half hour earlier than the appointed time, but they were soon joined by two companies which were rapidly formed until a good-sized detachment was made up. The last-mentioned companies were under the command of George C. Potter and J. H. Fisher. Each man was armed with a rifle and had a cartridge belt around his waist. When they were mustered together, an order came from Commander J. H. Soper to march at once to the Government building to prevent any possible uprising. The companies at once repaired in squads to Aliiolani Hall. Orders were given to clear the yard and sentries were at the gates to prevent outsiders from entering.

As soon as it was generally known about town that a new Government was established, citizens of all classes rallied to its support, and before nightfall, four companies under arms were organized to uphold the new order and carry it through. During the afternoon a temporary military organization was formed, with J. H. Soper at the head. He named as his aids, George F. McLeod, D. B. Smith, John Good, Fred. Wundenberg, and J. H. Fisher. Captains Hugh Gunn, George C. Potter, Charles Ziegler and J. M. Camara jr., were placed in command of the different companies.

Pickets were at once stationed all over the city to carry out the provisions of martial law which had been proclaimed by the new Government.

After the reading of the proclamation, the new Government at once took possession of the treasury and all the departments. The following orders were issued:

HONOLULU, H. I., *Jan. 17, 1893.*

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

[Orders No. 1.]

All persons favorable to the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands are hereby requested to forthwith report to the Government at the Government building to furnish the Government such arms and ammunition as they may have in their possession or control, as soon as possible, in order that efficient and complete protection to life and property and the public peace may immediately and efficiently be put into operation.

(Signed)

SANFORD B. DOLE,
 J. A. KING,
 P. C. JONES,
 W. O. SMITH,

Executive Council of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

JOHN EMMELUTH,
 ANDREW BROWN,
 C. BOLTE,
 JAMES F. MORGAN,
 HENRY WATERHOUSE,
 S. M. DAMON,
 W. G. ASHLEY,

E. D. TENNEY,
 F. W. MCCHESENEY,
 W. C. WILDER,
 J. A. MCCANDLESS,
 W. R. CASTLE,
 LORRIN A. THURSTON,
 F. J. WILHELM,

Advisory Council of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

HONOLULU, H. I., Jan. 17, 1893.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

[Order No. 2.]

It is hereby ordered and decreed that until further ordered, the right of the writ of habeas corpus is hereby suspended, and martial law is hereby declared to exist throughout the Island of Oahu.

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
J. A. KING,
Minister of the Interior.
P. C. JONES,
Minister of Finance.
WILLIAM O. SMITH,
Attorney-General.

Executive Council of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

THE ROYALIST SURRENDER.

The cabinet were summoned to surrender the palace, police station, and barracks. They endeavored to gain time, but the Provisional Government insisted upon an immediate unconditional surrender. The police station was accordingly given up at once, the Queen retiring from the palace and the barracks being taken into possession the next day. The cabinet noted the following protest:

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 the 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 this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893.

(Signed)

(Signed)

(Signed)

(Signed)

(Signed)

LILIUOKALANI, R.
SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
WM. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.
JNO. F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

To 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, 1893.

(Signed)

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Chairman of Executive Council of Provisional Government.

BUSY DAYS.

Wednesday, the 18th, was another busy day about the Government building. Recruits kept constantly pouring in from all quarters until about 500 names were enrolled, which spontaneous action on the part of the citizens proved that the new Government had the sympathy and support of the general community.

In the meantime the taking of the barracks and the police station furnished the Government with a large amount of ammunition and arms, which were immediately distributed among the forces of the Government.

The interior of the Government building was transformed into a barracks through the efforts of W. W. Hall, who had been appointed commissary. Beds and bedding

were supplied for the men, and arrangements were made with the different hotels to provide food for the volunteers. The legislative hall and other rooms in the building were assigned as quarters for the members of the different companies and everything possible was done for their comfort.

For days everything went along with military precision, and on the 23d the executive and advisory councils of the Government decided to organize a national guard of four companies, one company to be a permanent force under pay and to consist of 100 men, while three companies were to be volunteers. On the same day commissions were issued to J. H. Soper as the commander of the forces with the rank of colonel, John Good as captain, and Arthur Coyne as first lieutenant.

On the 24th, the active work of enlisting men for the permanent force commenced in Arion Hall, where Chief-Justice Judd, Associate Justice Bickerton, and Circuit Judges Whiting and Frear were present to administer the oath of allegiance.

On the same day additional appointments were made as follows: J. H. Fisher as lieutenant-colonel; George F. McLeod as major; W. W. Hall as quartermaster; W. P. Tilden as ordnance officer; Ira A. Burgess as second lieutenant of the regular forces.

On the same evening, at the Government building, an important event took place when the three volunteer military companies were organized. Each company will probably consist of 100 men. They will be uniformed and armed with rifles, and as soon as possible meeting places will be provided for the companies.

Following is the list of officers:

Company A.—Captain, C. W. Ziegler; first lieutenant, A. Gartenberg; second lieutenant, Karl Klemme.

Company B.—Captain, Hugh Gunn; first lieutenant, Arthur Brown; second lieutenant, L. T. Kenake.

Company C.—Captain, J. M. Camara, jr.; first lieutenant, J. M. Vivas; second lieutenant, A. G. Silva, jr.

THE BOSTON MEN.

The battalion from the *Boston* was composed as follows:

Marine Guard.—First Lieut. H. L. Draper, commanding, 30 men armed with Springfield rifles.

Artillery Company.—Lieut. Lucien Young, commanding, 34 men, with two gatlings.

First Company Infantry.—Lieut. Charles Laird, commanding, 34 men armed with Lee rifles.

Second Company Infantry.—Lieut. D. W. Coffman, commanding, 34 men armed with Lee rifles.

Adjutant of the battalion, Lieut. W. R. Rush.

When the battalion fell in line it marched up Fort street to the office of Mr. H. W. Severance, consul-general for the United States, when a halt was made. One company was detached and sent to guard the American legation on Nuuanu street. A guard was also left at the consul's office, after which the battalion moved out Merchant street to King, and came to a halt in front of Mr. J. A. Hopper's residence. About sundown another move was made to Mr. J. B. Atherton's residence in the same street, and after a stay of several hours a return march to Arion Hall was made, where the battalion made its headquarters for several days. In the meantime the old Bishop premises on King street had been prepared for the officers and men, and on Thursday, January 19, they were installed, and they have been there ever since.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZED.

As soon as the Provisional Government was in possession, it sent notifications of the situation to all the representatives of the foreign powers. Recognitions began to pour in as soon as it became clear that the Government was a genuine *de facto* one, until all the powers had accepted the situation. The list includes Sweden, Germany, the United States, Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Russia, Peru, Italy, the Netherlands, France, England, Japan, China, Portugal, Chile, Denmark, Spain, and Mexico.

It was also decided to dispatch the *Claudine* to San Francisco with a commission empowered to negotiate a treaty of union with the United States. She left this port Thursday morning at about half past 9 o'clock for San Francisco with the special commission to Washington on board. The Wilder dock was crowded with people to witness the departure of the vessel, and when she left the dock three hearty cheers were given for Messrs. Thurston, Wilder, W. R. Castle, Marsden, and Carter, the gentlemen who compose the special commission. Many prominent citizens were present on the dock to bid the gentlemen good luck and a successful mission. The vessel had been carefully guarded for a couple of days previously to prevent any stowaways from getting on board, and on her departure a thorough search was made.

The voyage was prosperous. Saturday morning, January 28, the commissioners landed in San Francisco, proceeding on the following day to Washington.

The eleven days immediately following the departure of the *Claudine* were not distinguished by any event of special importance. The Provisional Government was busily occupied in adjusting the administration to the new conditions. A few bills were passed, but no legislation has been attempted except such as was called for by the exigencies of the situation. A strong guard was kept upon the Government building, as well as at the palace, barracks, and police station. The neighborhood of the Government building was also picketed, and a regular street patrol, horse and foot, was maintained during the night. One or two fires, suspected to be of incendiary origin, were started, but they were promptly extinguished, and no damage resulted. Under martial law the streets of the city were quiet as they seldom have been before. The saloons were at first closed, but everything remained so quiet that even this simple measure was found unnecessary. The excitement of the first two or three days passed away, and business resumed its customary course. Recruits flowed in steadily, though no special effort was made to obtain them.

THE PROTECTORATE.

This state of things lasted eleven days, when the Government resolved upon a new move, which had been the subject of deliberation for several days. The incessant agitation on the part of certain whites of the class who have always been the curse of this country, coupled with the efforts of one English and one or two native newspapers to discredit the Government, to block its efforts toward the establishment of order, and in general to bring it into disrepute and contempt, had been the chief agency in spreading through the town a feeling of uneasiness and disquietude. It was thought wise, therefore, to secure the direct assistance of the United States Government in the preservation of property and the maintenance of order, and a request was forwarded by the Government to the American minister to establish a protectorate pending the settlement of the negotiations at Washington.

In accordance with the terms of this request, at 8:30 a. m. February 1, Capt. Wiltse proceeded to the Government building, and a few moments later the battalion of the U. S. S. *Boston*, under Lieut. Commander Swinburne, marched up the street, entered the grounds, and drew up in front of the building.

Detachments from the three volunteer Companies A, B, and C were drawn up in line, under the command of their respective captains, Ziegler, Gunn, and Camara. Just before 9 o'clock Lieut. Rush read in a loud voice the following proclamation, and punctually at 9 o'clock, amid the breathless silence of all present, the flag, saluted by the troops and by the cannon of the *Boston*, was raised above the tower of Aliioli Hall.

The following is the text of the proclamation:

To the Hawaiian people:

At the request of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, I hereby, in the name of the United States of America, assume protection of the Hawaiian Islands for the protection of life and property and occupation of public buildings and Hawaiian soil, so far as may be necessary for the purpose specified, but not interfering with the administration of public affairs by the Provisional Government.

This action is taken pending, and subject to, negotiations at Washington.

JOHN L. STEVENS,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

UNITED STATES LEGATION, *February 1, 1893.*

Approved and executed by

G. C. WILTSE, *Captain, U. S. N.,*

Commanding the United States Ship Boston.

The wisdom of the Government's course in requesting the protectorate was justified by the result. A feeling of general relief spread itself throughout the community. The maintenance of the citizen soldiers, many of whom could ill spare the time and strength which they required for their daily bread, had been somewhat burdensome. While these soldiers were willing to support the Government as long as necessary, most of them were glad to be able to return to the ordinary occupation. The power of the Provisional Government to maintain itself against all comers was never doubted for a moment, but it was naturally felt that the safest course was to be in constant readiness for an attack, even though the probability of any being made might be very small. As a matter of fact, it is not likely that an armed attempt to overthrow the Government would have been made.

On Sunday, the 5th of February, martial law was abrogated and the right of the

writ of habeas corpus restored. No use had been made of its suspension, and no political arrests of any kind were found necessary.

The steamer arrived from San Francisco February 10, bringing the news that the propositions of this Government were very favorably received by the press and people of the United States. The arrival of this intelligence produced a feeling of general satisfaction throughout the community, which was raised to the highest pitch when the *China* came in Monday, February 20, six days from San Francisco, and brought the further news of the arrival of the commissioners in Washington, their favorable reception, and formal recognition by the administration, and the rapid progress of negotiations for an annexation treaty at Washington.

On Washington's birthday the *Australia* arrived, confirming previous dispatches, and adding to them the fact that the treaty had been signed by the President, and that it would be submitted to the Senate for ratification immediately. The resultant state of feeling is one not merely of the keenest personal satisfaction, but of general security. Business confidence is being restored, sugar stocks are recovering, the money market is easier, and there is a well-founded anticipation among all classes that Hawaii, as a part of the American Union, is about to enter upon a career of prosperity without a parallel in her history.

THE MEN WHO DID IT.

The foregoing sketch, brief as it is, would not be complete without a word or two as to the character of the men who have brought the cause to a successful issue. Of Lorrin A. Thurston it is not necessary to speak. His indomitable resolution and energy are recognized by all as prime factors in the movement. The proclamation, which may well be called the new charter of Hawaiian liberty, he dictated from a sick bed, but its ringing words have nothing in them but the health and strength of full manhood. The fact that Sanford B. Dole is the executive head of the Government has furnished from the beginning one of the strongest guarantees of its success. No man in all the Hawaiian commonwealth is the object of more universal respect. He stands for equity, for moderation, for prudence, and for firmness as well, in all the actions of the executive.

The military department possesses a thoroughly reliable head in John H. Soper. The pluck and determination of J. Good, captain of the regulars, who fired the first and last shot of the revolution, have been invaluable to the cause. Capt. Ziegler, with his Germans, has been a host, and the zeal of Captains Gunn and Camara, of the volunteers, who have devoted day and night to the service, as well as the officer's of the commander's staff, is above praise. With the police station in the charge of Fred Wundenberg, during the first doubtful and trying days, everyone felt that stronghold to be safe.

No attempt is made here even to enumerate more than a fraction of those who have served the cause with devotion. Many of those chiefly worthy of mention must pass unnamed. The host of volunteers, though their roll is not called here, should not be forgotten, for their service, though humbler, was not less necessary than the service of the leaders.

A SKETCH OF RECENT EVENTS.

[Being a short account of the events which culminated on June 30, 1887, together with a full report of the great reform meeting, and the two constitutions in parallel columns. Honolulu; Published by A. M. Hewett. Hawaiian Gazette Print, 1887.]

A RETROSPECT.

The origin of the events which had their culmination in the revolution of July 1, 1887, must be sought for in the Moreno episode of 1880. The *teterrima causa*, of course, was the vicious and worthless constitution of 1864; but, as the Hon. C. R. Bishop said in the now historical meeting of June 30, 1887, he had lived under it during the reign of five Kings and had not found out that it was a bad one until the last few years when it had been so thoroughly misused. We may, for the moment, dismiss that, and concentrate our attention on the last eight years, when it became patent to one designing mind how the "worthless rag" of a constitution might be used by an unscrupulous man for private aggrandizement.

C. C. Moreno came here in 1880 with a scheme for a transpacific cable and a plan for a set of Chinese steamers, which were to touch here on their way between San Francisco and the Flowery Kingdom. He soon found his way to the ear of the King, and put before him some dazzling schemes. Moreno was a keen politician, and made use of Mr. W. M. Gibson, who was then leading the opposition in the Legislature, to

further his views in the house, and also learned Gibson's plans, some of them, according to his story, very desperate ones, for acquiring power. The cabinet at that time consisted of Messrs. S. G. Wilder, interior; J. M. Kapena, foreign affairs, Simon Kaai, finance, and Edward Preston, attorney-general. An attempt was made to overthrow this cabinet in the Legislature by a vote of want of confidence, but it was defeated and the session came to a close. Within a few hours after the prorogation the cabinet was summarily dismissed by the King, and commissions were signed (August 14) for John E. Bush, interior, C. C. Moreno, foreign affairs, Kaai, finance, and Claude Jones, attorney-general. The change called forth a perfect storm. A mass meeting was held, the diplomatic corps intervened, and the most objectionable feature in the ministry, C. C. Moreno, was forced to resign August 19, and left for San Francisco in the *Ho Chung*, a steamer belonging to the Chinese Navigation Company. By September 27, 1880, an entirely new ministry was formed with Messrs. W. L. Green, H. A. P. Carter, J. S. Walker, and Mr. W. N. Armstrong joined them later as attorney-general.

This was but an episode, but it showed what could be done. If a stranger could drop, as it were, from the clouds and do what Moreno had done, why should not another, who was a resident here, do likewise? The seed sown by Moreno took rapid hold in the mind of Gibson, and from the moment of Moreno's fall he resolved to work on the lines of the wily Don.

It took some time to organize his scheme, but Gibson kept his aim steadily in view. On May 19, 1882, during the first weeks of the legislative session, the Green-Carter ministry resigned, and Gibson was called to the head of affairs. His colleagues were Messrs. Simon Kaai, interior; J. E. Bush, finance, and Edward Preston, attorney-general. From 1882 to June 30, 1887, a system of gradual extension of royal prerogatives, a using of the public funds for private ends, has steadily gone on. The changes in the cabinet have been so frequent that it acquired the name of kaleidoscopic; but whatever change took place, one central figure always remained, and that was W. M. Gibson. During his career he occupied every place in the cabinet, and on one occasion he filled three positions at the same time, viz, foreign affairs, interior, and the attorney-generalship.

The policy at first adopted was to play upon the King's vanity, and for that purpose a gorgeous coronation pageant was arranged, which took place February 14, 1883. The bills incurred on that occasion were enormous, how large has never yet been learned, but at the session of 1886 the outstanding accounts under this head still amounted to some \$20,000. The coronation, however, was but the thin end of the wedge. In every way that could add to the tinsel and glitter of the Kingdom, money was spent.

It became very clear that to do this it was necessary to "hold" the Legislature. To this end political heads were chopped off in all directions and the places of the former incumbents filled by men devoted to the new régime without reference to their fitness for the positions. Thus Mr. Godfrey Brown was summarily dismissed from the finance office and Col. Allen from the collector-generalship of customs, while the board of education, consisting of Messrs. C. R. Bishop, E. O. Hall, Godfrey Rhodes, and J. Kawainui were turned out in an insulting manner. The name and influence of the King were freely used in the elections, and the Government candidates for election were chosen from among the office-holders. In the Legislature of 1884 an effort was made to meet the evil but the opposition was not united enough; it needed that the governing powers should more plainly show their evil qualities before all men would unite in a solid phalanx against them.

The appropriation bill of 1884 far exceeded any previous one. Money was voted for many useless things; the expenses of the privy purse were swelled; so was the military vote, the vote for foreign missions, and, throughout the whole session and long after it, the Spreckels' influence was supreme. The following two years told the same tale of extravagance only the Government were becoming more bold. Jobs of the most flagrant description were constantly being brought before the public through the press, and the cabinet calmly smiled and asked the complainants what they were going to do about it?

The leprosy question, also, had been growing into a crying evil. Lepers were let free, either on the authority of Mr. Gibson or the King, and these permits were used for political purposes. To quell the feeling in this direction, for it was growing serious, Dr. Arning, a specialist, was sent for from Germany. He came, instituted a set of valuable experiments, and then, proving only a scientific man and not a political tool, was dismissed, under circumstances which are fresh in the minds of all our readers. Debt, too, began to accumulate rapidly, and to bolster their failing finances, loans were obtained from Mr. Spreckels.

For the Legislature of 1886 a gallant fight was made to have a body of men elected who would vote money with some sense of its value, and who should, in some degree, represent the capital and brains of the country. The effort was abortive. Every scandalous means was used to secure a victory for the men in power. Bribery was

employed, liquor was allowed to run in a tide, promises of office were given, intimidation was resorted to, and in one district a number of soldiers were taken up to outvote the opposition candidate, while in another the voting lists were openly tampered with.

With a Legislature composed of such materials, and obtained by such means, it is not surprising that the right of free speech was cut off, and that a reckless disregard for the rights of capital and brains reigned supreme.

The session lasted from April 30 to October 16—a period of 170 days. The results were an appropriation bill of somewhat over four and a half millions of dollars, the income of the country being about two millions. A loan bill was passed authorizing the Government to borrow \$2,000,000, the affair to be managed by a syndicate in London. A free-liquor bill had been passed in the Legislature of 1884, and that of 1886 gave an opium bill, which was so framed that bribery could be freely used to obtain the license. The results of this bill will be seen later on. Then there was an army bill, authorizing the expenditure of a very large sum of money, and creating generals, colonels, intelligence officers, and no end of frippery. The buying and fitting out of a man-of-war was authorized, and the vote for foreign missions was still further increased. One thing was made clear, during the session, and that was the ministerial view of the constitution. In open debate the question was argued: "Where lies, or should lie, the preponderating, the actual ruling power?" One of the independent members maintained "In the legislature;" the ministry held "In the crown;" and the latter theory was acted upon.

Great dissatisfaction was felt at the close of the Legislature; but matters were not so bad yet as to cause all men to unite. What the Government intended to do soon began to be developed. An embassy, under charge of John E. Bush, was sent at great expense to Samoa. A large sum of money was expended over festivities in honor of the King's birthday. The *Explorer* (re-named the *Kaimiloa*)—a vessel totally unsuited for the purpose—was purchased by the Government for \$20,000, and some \$50,000 or \$60,000 were expended in turning her into a man-of-war. The crew was largely made up of boys from the Reformatory School, and their conduct, together with that of some of the officers, created a perfect scandal. On the evening before the day appointed for the sailing of the vessel a mutiny broke out, and several of the officers were summarily dismissed. Meantime, money was very scarce, the loan was bungled, and though the money had been subscribed in England, it was not forthcoming in Hawaii. The roads all over the group were in a terrible condition; the harbor had not been dredged for months, no funds being forthcoming for the purpose; the landings were neglected and Government indebtedness was not liquidated.

So bad had things become that men set seriously to work to right them, and early in the present year a number of gentlemen in Honolulu and on the other islands began to consider the best means for putting an end to the then state of affairs, and placing the Government of the country on a basis which should for the future do away with the system of corruption and fraud which had ruled so long. For this purpose arms were imported, and every preparation made beforehand. The organization took the name of the Hawaiian League, and had enrolled among its members some of the weightiest men in the city.

The agitation was progressing favorably, when a weapon was put into the hands of the patriotic party which served to unite the whole population as one man against the régime under which such iniquities could be perpetrated.

We have spoken above of the opium law which was passed in the Legislature of 1886, and which had received the King's signature in spite of the most vigorous protests from all classes of the community. The bill provided that a license for the sale of opium, at the rate of \$30,000 per annum, should be given to whomsoever the minister of the interior might choose.

The facts in the matter, furnished on undeniable authority, were published in the Hawaiian Gazette of May 17, and from that paper we quote. The paper said:

"Early in November, 1886, one Junius Kaae, heretofore conspicuous for nothing except being a 'palace hanger-on' (since promoted to the office of register of deeds), went to a Chinese rice-planter named Aki and asked him if he did not want the opium license. Aki said he did. Kaae then informed him that he could help him to get it, and that the first step necessary was to pay the King the sum of \$60,000, but that he must hurry up about it, because there were others trying to get the King to give it to them. After some discussion, Aki agreed to act upon Kaae's suggestion. About the 6th of December, in the afternoon, \$20,000 were taken to the palace in a basket. The King, seeing others around, told the bearers to come in the evening. They came in the evening and met the King, who directed them to see Kaae. Kaae, being present, conferred with the King, and then went to the King's private office, and he there received the \$20,000, and put it in the King's private drawer. A few days after, the King stated to the owner that he had received the \$20,000. Shortly after a check on the bank for \$10,000 was handed to the King personally. The same day Kaae returned it, saying that they preferred coin to

checks. The same evening the coin to that amount was delivered to Kaae. A day or two later \$30,000 in gold coin and certificates of deposit, in two baskets, were taken to the palace and delivered, together with a present of a little baked pig, to the King personally. This completed the \$60,000. Finding how easily \$60,000 was made, probably there were some qualms of conscience about letting the license go so cheap. Aki was therefore informed by Kaae that John S. Walker was backing another Chinaman, and that unless \$15,000 more was forthcoming, Walker's Chinaman would get the license. Aki reluctantly raised the amount, and it was paid to the King personally."

Shortly after this, Aki heard that the license had been given to another Chinese syndicate, at the head of which was Chun Lung.

The fact that he had lost his money and his license, made Aki tell, and the whole circumstances were drawn up in a series of affidavits. On May 31 the Gazette published Aki's affidavit, giving the matter more fully in detail, and likewise exposed an illegal land transaction in which the minister of foreign affairs, W. M. Gibson, while acting minister of interior, had been engaged.

It had also transpired that the minister of interior, J. Aholo, had drawn a sum of money out of the treasury, certifying that it was for the work done on the continuation of Queen's street, when it was known, for a fact, that no such work had been done.

These publications created an immense sensation, and the entire press united in denouncing the venality and corruption of the Hawaiian Government. Preparations were made for holding a public meeting on Monday, June 27, but it was deemed advisable to postpone the meeting till Thursday, June 30. Early on Tuesday, June 28, it was rumored that the ministry had resigned. This was found to be a fact. During that day and the next the ex-attorney-general made efforts to get together a coalition ministry, but without success, and on Thursday, June 30, the mass meeting was held. The account of it, which appeared in the Gazette, is reproduced here, corrected by the accounts published in the Commercial Advertiser and Herald. It reads as follows:

THE GREAT MASS MEETING.

The most enthusiastic, largest, and yet most orderly meeting ever held in Honolulu took place on Thursday afternoon, June 30. The meeting had been advertised June 29 by posters in English, Hawaiian, and Portuguese, and long before the appointed hour, 2 p. m., the approaches to the armory of the Honolulu Rifles, corner of Punchbowl and Beretania streets, were thronged with crowds of people of all classes, hurrying to the rendezvous. All the stores in town were closed by 1 p. m., and all work on buildings or in machine shops was brought to a close. Passing the palace a considerable stir was noticed, and as the Gazette reporter passed, a native with half a dozen rifles on his shoulder was proceeding thither from the barracks.

Outside the armory the Honolulu Rifles were drawn up under arms with fixed bayonets, and each man carrying fifty rounds of ammunition. Our citizen soldiers looked a fine body of men, "ready," as one of the speakers afterwards said in the meeting, "to defend their rights or enforce them."

In the armory seats had been arranged, and by 2 o'clock the building was filled in every part, while a large crowd blocked up every opening. The platform was placed on the *mauka* or land side of the building. On the table was the Hawaiian flag, while at the back the flags of the United States and Great Britain were intertwined, fit emblems of the mother and daughter country standing shoulder to shoulder.

Those who were present.—The assemblage was thoroughly representative—mechanics, merchants, day-laborers, planters, professional men, all were there. Of nationalities there were Americans, Britons, Colonials, Germans, Hawaiians, Portuguese, Chinese, and Japanese. In numbers, a good many estimated the crowd as being about 2,500. With but a few exceptions, all were animated by the same feelings, the same determination, to put an end, once and for all, upon the present iniquitous system of misrule and extravagance.

The following list of names was compiled by Mr. Dan Logan, of the Herald, Dr. Emerson, and Mr. Alatau T. Atkinson, of the Gazette, and though necessarily imperfect, will serve to show the material of which the meeting was composed:

Representative names.—Jonathan Austin, Hon. W. F. Allen, Alatau T. Atkinson, J. B. Atherton, L. C. Ables, H. J. Agnew, L. Aseu, F. E. Atwater, W. Alexander, Hon. C. R. Bishop, Maj. Benson, U. S. Army; Hon. Cecil Brown, Godfrey Brown, Frank Brown, W. P. A. Brewer, Rev. Dr. Beckwith, W. R. Buchanan, P. Butler, J. E. Brown, J. Bushee, Rev. S. E. Bishop, Geo. C. Beckley, A. J. Cartwright, sr., H. W. Schmidt, R. J. Creighton, Hon. John A. Cummins, James Campbell, Hon. W. R. Castle, G. P. Castle, Kwong Hang Cheng, Yuen Chong, J. O. Carter, E. S. Cunha,

Lan Chong, Robert Catton, C. K. Cooke, E. C. Damon, M. Dickson, W. E. H. Deverill, J. A. Dower, J. Dowsett, Dr. N. B. Emerson, G. D. Freeth, W. S. Forsyth, Chas. Foster (Maui), W. E. Foster, C. J. Fishel, Hon. W. L. Green, H. F. Glade, Sir A. Gooch (England), Robt. Gay, R. Jay Greene, W. Robinson, R. Grieve, Capt. W. B. Godfrey, Chr. Gertz, Frank Gertz, Walter Hill, A. Hoffnung (England), Julius Hoting, Major Hills, C. Hammer, F. M. Hatch, W. W. Hall, W. L. Holokahiki, C. W. Hart, Thos. Hughes, W. E. Herrick, Maj. A. B. Hayley, Hon. P. Isenberg, A. Jaeger, P. C. Jones, E. W. Jordan, W. A. Kinney, Geo. Kim, A. Kraft, Capt. J. King, Prince Albert Kunuiakea, M. Louissou, R. W. Laine, D. Logan, H. R. Macfarlane, E. C. Marfarlane, Fred W. Macfarlane, M. McNerny, Rev. W. C. Merritt, Alex McKibbin, Capt. Mist, R. N., E. Muller, Rev. Alex Mackintosh, Dr. J. S. McGrew, A. Marques, J. A. McCandless, M. D. Monsarrat, Dr. Robt. McKibbin, Captain Macaulay, John Nott, P. Neumann, Rev. W. B. Oleson, Hon. Sam Parker, R. W. Purvis, John H. Paty, W. C. Peacock, W. H. Rice, Mark P. Robinson, Dr. C. T. Rodgers, H. Riemschneider, H. Renjes, Capt. Ross, L. F. Stolz, Capt. Harry S. Swinton, J. H. Soper, S. Savidge, F. M. Swanzy, G. M. Stillman, Dr. Tucker, H. S. Tregloan, J. G. Tucker, T. G. Thrum, Fred Turril, H. S. Townsend, R. von Tempky, J. M. Vivas, J. T. Waterhouse, E. M. Walsh, William C. Wilder, J. Hay Wodehouse, H. M. Whitney, Henry Waterhouse, C. L. White, J. A. Wilder, T. Rain Walker, G. L. Wilcox, Rev. George Wallace, C. B. Wilson, R. N. Webster, Chief Engineer Whittaker, U. S. Army; A. S. Wilcox, A. Young.

At the reporters' table were Messrs. Daniel Logan, editor of the Daily Herald; Walter Hill, editor of the Bulletin; Alatau T. Atkinson, editor of the Gazette; Messrs. Taylor and Gilbert, of the P. C. Advertiser; Mr. S. Kaikaula, of the Pae Aina; Mr. Ho Fon, of the Chinese News, and Mr. F. J. Testa, of the Elele.

The meeting.—Shortly after the stroke of 2 Hon. S. B. Dole came on to the platform and calling the meeting to order, nominated Mr. P. C. Jones as chairman. The nomination was accepted unanimously, and amid loud applause the genial gentleman, who has presided over so many a social gathering, took charge of the most important meeting that has ever been known in Hawaiian history.

Mr. Jones, on ascending the platform, said: I feel honored at being nominated chairman of this, the largest and most important meeting that has ever assembled in this city. We have assembled in a constitutional manner, and propose to conduct it in a constitutional manner. We are here for the purpose of asking for good government, a thing we have not had, but which we earnestly desire. We, representatives of all nations, are assembled here and we can afford to conduct ourselves in a firm and dignified manner, because we are firm and determined in what we ask. [Applause.]

A set of resolutions have been prepared which will be read to you by Mr. L. A. Thurston, and also a communication from the King which has just been received by the Hon. C. R. Bishop. Then there will be short speeches. As there are many speakers and the place is warm and we are warmed up, they will be limited to five minutes. We must make the work short, sharp, and decisive. [Loud cheers.]

Hon. Lorrin Thurston apologized for appearing in uniform, but he had been so ordered by his commanding officer, and he obeyed his orders. He then read the following:

RESOLUTIONS.

We, the citizens, residents, and taxpayers of Honolulu; acting, as we firmly believe, in sympathy with and in behalf of all right-minded citizens, residents, and taxpayers of this Kingdom, and being assembled in mass meeting in the city of Honolulu, on the 30th day of June, 1887, do resolve as follows:

1. That the administration of the Hawaiian Government has ceased, through corruption and incompetence, to perform the functions and afford the protection to personal and property rights for which all governments exist.
2. That while some of the evils of which we complain can not be at once adequately redressed and their recurrence prevented, and many others are incurable except by radical changes in the present constitution, yet there are some evils which we feel must be remedied at once, before a permanent reform movement can be inaugurated with any reasonable prospect of success.
3. Holding these views, we request of the King:
 - First. That he shall at once unconditionally dismiss his present cabinet from office, and we ask that he shall call one of these persons, viz, William L. Green, Henry Waterhouse, Godfrey Brown, or Mark P. Robinson to assist him in selecting a new cabinet, which shall be committed to the policy of securing a new constitution.
 - Second. That Walter M. Gibson shall be at once dismissed from each and every office held by him under the Government.
 - Third. In order, so far as possible, to remove the stain now resting on the Throne, we request of the King that he shall cause immediate restitution to be made of the sum, to wit, seventy-one thousand dollars (\$71,000), recently obtained by him in violation of law and of his oath of office, under promise that the persons from whom

the same was obtained shall receive the license to sell opium, as provided by statute of the year 1886.

Fourth. Whereas one Junius Kaae was implicated in the obtaining of said seventy-one thousand dollars (\$71,000), and has since been, and still is, retained in office as registrar of conveyances, we request, as a safeguard to the property interests of the country, that said Kaae be at once dismissed from said office, and that the records of our land titles be placed in hands of one in whose integrity the people can safely confide.

Fifth. That we request a specific pledge from the King—

(1) That he will not in the future interfere either directly or indirectly with the election of representatives.

(2) That he will not interfere with or attempt to unduly influence legislation or legislators.

(3) That he will not interfere with the constitutional administration of his cabinet.

(4) That he will not use his official position or patronages for private ends.

Resolved, That Paul Isenberg, W. W. Hall, J. A. Kennedy, W. H. Rice, Capt. Jas. A. King, E. B. Thomas, H. C. Reed, John Vivas, W. F. A. Brewer, W. B. Oleson, Cecil Brown, Capt. John Ross, J. B. Atherton, are hereby appointed to present the foregoing resolutions and requests to the King; and said committee is hereby instructed to request of the King that a personal answer to the same be returned within twenty-four hours of the time when the same are presented; and to further inform the King that his neglect so to answer the same within said time will be construed as a refusal of the said requests.

Resolved, That said committee, in case of the King's refusal to grant said requests, or in case of his neglect to reply to the same, is authorized to call another mass meeting at this place on Saturday, July 2, at 2 p. m., to further consider the situation.

When the second request, relative to the summary dismissal of Walter M. Gibson, was read, a perfect storm of cheers swept through the building.

Hon. C. R. Bishop then read the communication he had received from the King, premising that it had reached him at 1 p. m.

● THE KING'S LETTER.

Hon. C. R. BISHOP,

Member of the House of Nobles, Privy Councillor of State, etc.:

MY DEAR SIR: Reposing especially confidence in your loyalty and sound judgment as a councillor, and knowing your regard for our people, we are moved to call upon the Hon. W. L. Green to form a cabinet and a ministry which he may select and will be acceptable to the respectable and responsible majority of our people, will be welcome to us; and any guaranties which may be reasonably required of us under the constitution and laws of our Kingdom will be at once conceded to such administration.

Your friend,

KALAKAUA.

The chairman reread the letter for the benefit of those who were far off, Mr. Bishop's voice not being strong enough to reach the whole assemblage.

Mr. W. A. Kinney read a translation of the resolutions in Hawaiian, the reader being frequently interrupted by applause.

Hon. W. L. Green, on being called, was received with great applause. He said a speech from him was impossible. He could not tell, no one could tell, what the course of events would be. He knew no more than any one present about the letter from the King. The meeting had assembled to express themselves as to the past and in regard to the future, and he urged upon the speakers to keep their language firm and decisive. He remembered a meeting held some three years ago, he thought, at the Lyceum. It was a large meeting, though not so large as this, and its object was to protest against the maladministration of the Gibson cabinet. He was not there, not being well, but sent a letter, in which he expressed himself in strong language. He need not go into the details—that could be done better by others; but they were met again to-day, because from that day to this that same administration had been getting worse and worse until at last it had become intolerable. He considered that their united attitude to-day was one which would teach His Majesty that he must turn over a new leaf, and see that this country is governed as a constitutional monarchy. He thought the King's letter precluded his saying anything further on this point. If he should be called upon to head a ministry, it should be one pledged to the common good, and which would carry out the resolutions passed there that day.

Mr. W. A. Kinney, before addressing the meeting in Hawaiian, spoke in English. He said that he had been born here and please God he was going to die here, and

would try to live here under this flag, but he wanted that flag to be clean. It would not be clean unless they went much further than the removal of the Gibson administration. He had been reminded of the words of Lord Chatham, "It is time that the Crown were addressed in the language of truth." It is the height of folly to put four men into a hostile camp, and support the tension to try and keep them there. (Mr. E. M. Walsh—"We will support them!") The speaker had a great deal of confidence in Mr. Walsh, but he preferred a good constitution, a new constitution, every time, and anything less than a new constitution would not suit him.

The miserable rag of a constitution we had did not afford adequate representation nor impose proper restrictions upon the power of the Throne. He believed it was written on the hearts of those before him, "a new constitution, and that speedily." It was the height of folly to suppose that commercial men and others in the community could stand and hold these men in their places. We had tried this kind of things for the last six years. With a good constitution we would have peace—peace flowing like a river. The franchise will be reconstructed and the king will have power as great as the Queen of Great Britain, and that ought to be enough for him. If to his own rights he wants to add the rights of 75,000 subjects he is not going to have them. The revolution of thought would be followed by a revolution of arms, as it always had been, if our reasonable requests were not granted. He pledged his life, every cent that he possessed, and his sacred honor under that flag that sheltered him from his birth. (Cheer.) If the men would not put this thing through the women would. He referred to the mental agony the women had endured these passed years for want of proper protection against disease, many having had to isolate their children in foreign lands. No man can stop or stay this movement now. The sails are set, the ship is in motion; we can not go back. Push her forward into the open sea. (Cheers.)

Mr. Kinney then spoke several minutes in Hawaiian.

Hon. S. B. Dole, being called upon, said: Fellow citizens: There are two thoughts to which I will call your attention in our constitution. First, "The King conducts his Government for the common good." The second is like unto it, "All men are allowed to assemble to consult upon the common good." We have a right to be here, and we have assembled according to law; but we would not be here to-day if the King had conducted the Government for the common good. He has not done so. This meeting has come together to consider the public interests, and is composed of men who are determined to have good government. As I understand the situation, this meeting is called to give the King one chance to fall into line for political reform—just one chance. I do not say he will take the chance. I am not here to talk about the ministers, but about the King (loud cheers), for he is not conducting the Government for the benefit of the people. I need not detail the fact of bad government by the King to you; it relates to all departments of the administration; interference with everything appertaining to government has been his rule, and he has sold his sacred oath of office to the highest bidder. We are here for no unlawful purpose; we are here to demand that the King cleanse the Government, and that he return this money—which every man, woman, and child in the country believes he took unlawfully—not for the sake of the parties to whom it belongs, but to show that the Government is to be conducted henceforth upon clean principles. We remember the last six years, during which the rights of the people have been trampled under foot, the representative principle of government has been practically destroyed, the principle of ministerial responsibility interrupted, and public moneys recklessly squandered. These things cannot go on. This movement means political reform, and it has gone so far that, from the talk I hear as I go along the street, opposition or hostility to it is in the public mind something akin to treason.

Mr. J. A. McCandless, whom the chairman introduced as a gentleman who went down into the bowels of the earth, spoke next. He said he supported these resolutions, and in doing so he believed that he represented some 1,500 people. He was ready to support them with the last drop of his blood. All were united—merchants, mechanics, laborers, and all. He believed that there was a unanimity which had never before been attained. Fifteen hundred persons had been disfranchised for no other reason than they were white men, and they were not going to have this much longer. They had a right to have their franchise granted unconditionally. [A voice, We'll take them.] He was afraid there were some among them who were weak-kneed. One man had got his gun and taken it home, and left a note upon the table with the words "Good-bye; shall be out of town till next Sunday." That there were some who wanted bracing up. There were men among them the grandchildren of those who had fought at Waterloo, and made it what it was, of the noble six hundred at Balaklava. They had among them some of the heroes of Appomattox, and also of the Franco-German war. These were the kind of men this community is made up of. Abraham Lincoln had remarked on the eve of the late war, "it may be necessary to set the foot down hard." And a great newspaper correspondent who was present said that he knew then for the first time that the great North was

ready, and, concluded the speaker, from what I see here to-day I know that we are ready to put our foot down. (Applause.)

Hon. C. R. Bishop said: This is unquestionably an important meeting, the most important ever held in Honolulu. I see before me mechanics, merchants, professional men. They are not here for amusement, but because they feel that the course of affairs calls for prompt and determined action. We should discuss matters in a peaceable manner without any threats; we do not need any threats. The fact that so many men have come here shows that we do not need any threats. I came here in 1846, became naturalized in 1849, and have lived under five kings. We thought we had really a liberal constitution, because those kings did not encroach upon the rights of their subjects. But we have found out within the last few years that our constitution is defective, partly on account of bad advice to the King, but largely on his own account. The King has encroached on our rights. We have had very few mass meetings, but when we have one like this I believe it means either a new constitution or one with material reforms, which I am sure we shall have. I come here as a Hawaiian, not for any class or clique. If it was any class or clique, I would not come here at all. (Applause.)

Mr. Henry Waterhouse spoke in native in substance as follows:

Fellow-citizens of Hawaii nei—Hon. C. R. Bishop says the constitution is full of faults. If so, let us have a new constitution. Therefore, let us stand by the resolutions. We shall see from those who stand by these resolutions who are the friends of the Hawaiian people. My counsel is to stand firm and go before the King without fear, and make our demands fearlessly.

Mr. R. Jay Green said: Gentlemen, fellow-citizens, friends, neighbors, and brothers: I was not aware that I should be asked to speak here or I should have put on my other coat. But the boys left me to come here, and I had to follow them, and all I want to say is that I expect to keep on following the boys. (Applause.)

Hon. L. A. Thurston said: Gentlemen, you and I have been waiting a long time for this day, but it has come. It is a long lane that has no turning, but we have come to the turning of our lane. There are persons here to speak to all of you, but I am here to speak as a Hawaiian. My ancestors came here in the reign of Kamehameha I. I was born and brought up here, and I mean to die here. Hawaii is good enough for me. I speak for Hawaiians, because you foreigners can speak for yourselves and can look out for yourselves, but many of these Hawaiians are ignorant and have been deserted by their leaders. I am the representative of the constituency of Molokai, and spent some weeks there last summer, and I wish to say that the Hawaiians on Molokai are with us to a man. It may be that this letter from His Majesty was meant to head off these resolutions. I remember reading somewhere of a man who was going to shoot a coon, and the coon said, "Don't shoot; I'll come down." The King is the coon and this meeting the gun. [Great applause.] History repeats itself. We all remember the King's message to the Legislature in 1884, recommending economy, and asking that it should begin with His Majesty's privy purse. That message was accepted in good faith, and there was a grand torchlight procession to the palace to thank him—I carried a torch in that procession myself—but it was followed by appropriations enormously in excess of the revenue. And again, in 1886, came another message for retrenchment, but this time it didn't wash. There was a meeting during the Moreno time to protest against bad government, and into the midst of it someone came and said, "It's all right; the King has appointed a new ministry," and there were three cheers for the King, and that was the last of it. Are there any cheers to-day? (Loud cries of No! No!) The King was taken at his word. I noticed that there were no cheers proposed for the King to-day. It is not sufficient to have the King accept these resolutions; we must have a new constitution, and must have it now. A constitution is a contract, and if the King and the people both agree to change it, there is no violation of constitutional rights and no revolution. If we have let things come to this pitch, and take the King at his word, it is to rely on wind. Let a change in the constitution be the first and last and only request, if necessary, but let that be the one to be insisted on till the last moment.

* Hon. Paul Isenberg said that on many points he agreed to these resolutions, but as far as the new constitution was concerned he was somewhat doubtful. Let it be done legally. The subject had been broached the previous day of his entering a new ministry. If so, he would not be a party to pushing a new constitution through in a hurry. It would not be legal unless carried by the Legislature. (Dr. C. T. Rodgers: What assembly gave us our present constitution?) We could have an extra session to pass the constitution, and another extra session to ratify it. (Hisses and applause.) He hoped all would be peaceful and not hasty. (A voice: We have been waiting six years.) If so, we could very well wait another. (Great uproar and cries of "No, no." Dr. Emerson: "We won't wait another year." A voice: "We mean to have it now." Cries of "Sit down.") The speaker took his seat.

H. L. Swinton said, in Hawaiian: I am not going to speak in the English language, because the haoles all think as I do. It has been said that this meeting is called to incite to kill the Hawaiians. I have always been called a rebel. This is because I am not afraid to speak my mind, and my mind is firm and clear that the Government is false and corrupt. My advice is to stand by the resolution for a new constitution, and let us not be satisfied with promises by the King. Let us not be satisfied when the King tells us he has turned out the cabinet, what more do you want. Let us follow the lead of Thurston, and demand a new constitution.

Mr. Alexander Young, who represented the Honolulu Iron Works, said he was proud to stand upon the platform and look so many honest men in the face. They were men who not only looked what they meant, but meant what they looked. He was no speaker, but a thinker. He came here twenty-three years ago, and at one time, when traveling, he was proud of living here. Lately he had done some traveling, and had to hide his face when he found this flag stinking abroad. He represented a large class of men not only in this country, but all over the world. The class he represented were the horny-handed sons of toil, who earned their honest dollar and could lie down and sleep without it burning them. He was ready to shoulder a musket to defend Kalakaua, and not a knave. Some had counseled them to wait; but he said wait not, strike the iron while it is hot. Kalakaua had had a great many years to let us see whether he was a man or not. The tension about our hearts had long been strained, and to-day the strings had broken, and we must express ourselves. He was not a lawyer, and could not tell whether we could have a constitution in five minutes; but necessity was the mother of invention, and we must get it as soon as possible. There was not a coward in that assembly—not one, though it was not always wise to rush into mischief. If the King would not do what was wanted, he must be made to do it. Let us exercise patience and put the matter in the hands of people able to deal with it. Let us have a new constitution, and if it is not legal, the same power would make another.

Dr. Tucker said that when he came to this country there were mutterings of discontent, and it was all Walter Murray Gibson. We arraign the King. He does not know that this assembly—largely composed of men who think that kings are not of much account anyway—he does not know that if it was not for the wise counsel of men in this movement his head would have been off before this. They could not wait any longer for reform. The King had better be a saint while he is well, as well as when he is sick.

Mr. L. C. Ables, who represented the clerks, said that he had come here to seek his fortune, but had not seen it. He was an American; the stars and stripes was his flag, but the Hawaiian flag would suit him as well, and he was going to stay by it. The class whom he represented wanted a new constitution, and they were going to have it. He was not a lawyer, but he had been told by lawyers that the constitution was promulgated by a king. It could be done again. Some would ask, "Are you going to get it?" In illustration of his determination to have it, he related an anecdote about a certain youth who had evinced an indomitable determination in hunting for a woodchuck wherewith to regale the appetite of a hungry Methodist preacher. The boy chased the woodchuck into his hole. A man came along and asked the boy if he could get him, "Mister," said the boy, "I've got to get him;" and for the constitution, we've got to have it!

Hon. Cecil Brown said, in Hawaiian: "Perhaps you ask, why is this meeting of citizens? Perhaps the thought may enter that it is to propose to do evil to Hawaiians. Not so. I am an Hawaiian, and was born under this flag, and under it my bones shall be buried. Has there been good government in the past few years? No. Has the legislative right been respected? No. We want, then, a new constitution. We want the King to think of the public good, not of personal ends. We have just seen the jubilee of Queen Victoria, and if Kalakaua would follow her example, he might reign as long. But if Queen Victoria were to act as badly as Kalakaua, she would not live an hour. Let us, then, go for a new constitution.

Mr. E. M. Walsh, manager of the Paia plantation, Maui, said that he represented the planters, who, he felt sure, would indorse the sentiments so ably expressed. In 1882 a deputation representing the plantations on the other islands waited on the King to petition His Majesty to give them honest government. The result was they were snubbed. The King afterwards went to North Kona, and with the assistance of his soldiers defeated Pilipo in the election. They did not want to use threats, but to-day they were prepared, and would not be again insulted. He believed it would be wise to change the constitution. He did not know the best way of doing it, but in view of the consummate skill which had brought this movement forward, he was ready to leave it to the thirteen gentlemen to see that it was done right. It seemed to him, however, that this was a time to have the voice of the people. From Maui all were with them. In 1882, as he had said, the King let them go with false promises. They took his word then. Now, let us prepare a constitution and say this is what we want and what we must have. (Applause.)

Mr. J. M. Vivas then read the resolutions in Portuguese, and made a speech which evidently went to the hearts of his countrymen.

Mr. J. G. Tucker said they had heard talk about this flag and that flag, but they had gone into this thing as people of all nationalities merged into Hawaiians. They had come and meant to stay till they got what they wanted.

Mr. W. H. Rice, of Kauai, spoke in the native language, as follows:

Hawaiian citizens, from Hawaii to Nihau; from northwest to southeast; we want to clean up the Government. Has the Government been clean? No! The roads are wasting and groaning from one end to another of the land. Where is the money for the roads? Sent on an exploration with the Kaimiloa. If we go asking for bread, shall we be satisfied with stones? Some one asked me to-day if I had my gun? Well, yes; I am a cattle-drover, and I need one. It has been well said that the ship of this movement has been launched, the anchor is weighed, the sails set, now let us take the helm and steer.

Lieut. C. W. Ashford was the last speaker. He appeared upon the platform in uniform, and armed with a rifle and belt of cartridges. He stated that he was under military orders, and had been commanded by his superior officer not to indulge in a political speech. He had not had the privilege of listening to all the speeches, but from reports which had been carried to the corps outside, he understood that a gentleman representing vast moneyed interests here had counselled the meeting to wait another year for a new constitution.

Here the rifle company marched round the outer edge of the building and took up their position inside to hear the speech of their comrade, and as they did so, three rousing cheers and a tiger were given for the "boys."

Lieut. Ashford, resuming, acknowledged the compliment on behalf of the corps. He had joined it three years ago in anticipation of trouble such as they saw that day. Returning to Mr. Isenberg's remark, he said that gentleman, in view of his position, would naturally have an aversion to anything having a tendency to disturbance. He (the speaker) did not want to fight, but by heaven if we did—, If we set about getting reform under the present constitution we might wait till our grandchildren were gray. He felt sure Mr. Isenberg did not express the sentiments of that meeting, certainly not those of the Honolulu Rifles. At the same time he had the greatest respect for the great nation that gentleman represented. He thought that Germans were pretty well decided not to submit to dictation abroad, however much they might at home.

The German heart is strong and true,
The German arm is strong,
The German foot goes seldom back
Where armed foemen throng.

If armed foemen should throng here, he did not think the German foot would go back. He wished to say a few words on the merits of a new constitution. It has been objected that we could not have it at once, because such a thing would be unconstitutional and illegal. He would show the fallacy of that argument. In 1864, when Kamehameha V convoked his legislature, it was thought that a new constitution was wanted. After some weeks they failed to agree upon one satisfactory to His Majesty. The Legislature was arbitrarily dismissed, and the King, without even saying "By your leave," forced upon them a new constitution. That was the constitution we were living under to-day, and some people had the gall to say we were living under a constitutional government. He held that nothing was constitutional which was forced upon the people without their consent. The present constitution did not adequately protect personal rights, and it gave the King power which no monarch in a civilized country in the present day possessed. Who had ever heard of an absolute veto by the monarch anywhere in recent years? King Kalakaua had a great many very pleasant qualities, and many which were not so pleasant. Personally, he had behaved in a very friendly manner to the speaker when he came here, and perhaps would still if he were to truckle to him as some did. Cries of "Time" being heard, he concluded by urging upon all not to let the matter drop until some sensible and concerted action was taken. (Applause.)

Hon. W. R. Castle moved the adoption of the resolutions, seconded by Dr. Emerson and many others. On being put to the meeting they were carried unanimously, there being a roar of ayes, and dead silence when Mr. Jones put the question: "Contrary minded!"

The chairman stated, as the meeting was dispersing, that he had been requested to say that Mr. Gibson had sent for a squad of the Honolulu Rifles to go down to his house and protect him against the Hawaiians.

The committee immediately waited on the King, who stated that he was willing to give an answer offhand; but the committee informed him that they would leave the documents in his hands, and expect a reply in writing.

The meeting was thoroughly orderly throughout, but it was strong and determined.

After the meeting the committee of thirteen proceeded to the palace and presented the resolutions to the King, requesting a reply.

The next day the King called a meeting composed of the American minister, W. H. Merrill; the British commissioner, James Hay Wodehouse; the French commissioner, Henri Feer, and the Portuguese commissioner, A. de Souza Canavarro, to whom he offered to transfer the powers vested in him as King. These gentlemen refused to accept the trust, but advised the King to lose no time in forming a new cabinet and signing a new constitution, which would meet the demands of the people. Accordingly, in the afternoon, the following reply was forwarded to the citizen's committee:

THE KING'S REPLY.

To Honorable Paul Isenberg and the gentlemen composing the committee of a meeting of subjects and citizens.

GENTLEMEN: In acknowledging the receipt of the resolutions adopted at a mass meeting held yesterday and presented to us by you, we are pleased to convey through you to our loyal subjects as well as to the citizens of Honolulu our expression of good will and our gratification that our people have taken the usual constitutional step in presenting their grievances.

To the first proposition contained in the resolutions passed by the meeting, whose action you represent, we reply that it has been substantially complied with by the formal resignation of the ministry, which took place on the 28th day of June, and was accepted on that date, and that we had already requested the Hon. W. L. Green to form a new cabinet on the day succeeding the resignation of the cabinet.

To the second proposition we reply that Mr. Walter M. Gibson has severed all his connections with the Hawaiian Government by resignation.

To the third proposition we reply that we do not admit the truth of the matter stated therein, but will submit the whole subject to our new cabinet, and will gladly act according to their advice, and will cause restitution to be made by the parties found responsible.

To the fourth proposition we reply that at our command Mr. Junius Kaa resigned the office of registrar of conveyance on the 28th day of June, and his successor has been appointed.

To the fifth proposition we reply that the specific pledges required of us are each severally acceded to.

We are pleased to assure the members of the committee and our loyal subjects that we are, and shall at all times be, anxious and ready to coöperate with our councillors and advisers, as well as with our intelligent and patriotic citizens in all matters touching the honor, welfare, and prosperity of our Kingdom.

Given at our palace this first day of July, A. D. 1887, and the fourteenth year of our reign.

KALAKAUA, REX.

The new cabinet, consisting of Messrs. W. L. Green, finance; Godfrey Brown, foreign affairs; Lorrin A. Thurston, interior, and C. W. Ashford, attorney-general, were sworn in the same day, and the revolution was practically over. It only remained to sign the new constitution. This document was prepared with great care, a large number of the members of the Hawaiian league being present and taking part in the debates. The document was ready on Wednesday, July 6, received the King's signature at 6.15 p. m. of that day, and was duly proclaimed on the next, copies being sent forward to the other islands.

Without the organization known as the Hawaiian league, this revolution could never have taken place. The moment that the members were called upon they were ready and well armed. Without the assistance of Major V. V. Ashford, who had command of the Honolulu rifles, order could not have been kept. To the gentlemen who form that corps the citizens of Honolulu owe a deep debt of gratitude. For two days Honolulu was under martial law, and yet the most perfect order was kept, the banks and business places were open, and there was perfect security to both life and property. It was the most peaceful and most complete of revolutions, but it was so because the power was there to sustain it.

A word or two about Mr. Gibson. He was arrested by the military on the morning of July 1, and was handed over to the civil authorities on a charge of embezzlement on the evening of the Saturday. He was permitted to remain in his house under guard, but on July 5 was removed to the prison. When brought before the police court the attorney-general entered a nolle pros., and Mr. Gibson quietly got on board the brigantine *John D. Spreckels*, which was leaving that same day, and sailed for California. Thus bringing one of the most unpleasant episodes in Hawaiian history to a conclusion.

THE TWO CONSTITUTIONS.

Constitution of 1864.

Granted by His Majesty Kamehameha V., by the grace of God, King of the Hawaiian Islands, on the twentieth day of August, A. D. 1864.

ARTICLE 1. God hath endowed all men with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the right of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

ARTICLE 2. All men are free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; but this sacred privilege hereby secured shall not be so construed as to justify acts of licentiousness, or practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the Kingdom.

ARTICLE 3. All men may freely speak, write, and publish their sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be enacted to restrain the liberty of speech or of the press, except such laws as may be necessary for the protection of His Majesty the King and the royal family.

ARTICLE 4. All men shall have the right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble, without arms, to consult upon the common good, and to petition the King or Legislative assembly for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE 5. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* belongs to all men, and shall not be suspended, unless by the King, when, in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety shall require its suspension.

ARTICLE 6. No person shall be subject to punishment for any offense, except on due and legal conviction thereof in a court having jurisdiction of the case.

ARTICLE 7. No person shall be held to answer for any crime or offense (except in cases of impeachment, or for offenses within the jurisdiction of a police or district justice, or in summary proceedings for contempt), unless upon indictment, fully and plainly describing such crime or offense, and he shall have the right to meet the witnesses who are pro-

Constitution of 1887.

WHEREAS, the constitution of this Kingdom, heretofore in force, contains many provisions subversive of civil rights and incompatible with enlightened constitutional government.

AND WHEREAS, it has become imperative, in order to restore order and tranquility and the confidence necessary to a further maintenance of the present Government, that a new constitution should be at once promulgated:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Kalakaua, King of the Hawaiian Islands, in my capacity as sovereign of this Kingdom, and as the representative of the people hereunto by them duly authorized and empowered, do annul and abrogate the constitution promulgated by Kamehameha the Fifth, on the 20th day of August, A. D. 1864, and do proclaim and promulgate this constitution.

ARTICLE 1. God hath endowed all men with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the right of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

ARTICLE 2. All men are free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; but this sacred privilege hereby secured shall not be so construed as to justify acts of licentiousness, or practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the Kingdom.

ARTICLE 3. All men may freely speak, write, and publish their sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be enacted to restrain the liberty of speech or of the press.

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ARTICLE 5. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* belongs to all men, and shall not be suspended, unless by the King, when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety shall require its suspension.

ARTICLE 6. No person shall be subject to punishment for any offense, except on due and legal conviction thereof, in a court having jurisdiction of the case.

ARTICLE 7. No person shall be held to answer for any crime or offense (except in cases of impeachment, or for offenses within the jurisdiction of a police or district justice, or in summary proceedings for contempt), unless upon indictment, fully and plainly describing such crime or offence, and he shall have the right to meet the witnesses who are produced

duced against him face to face; to produce witnesses and proofs in his own favor; and by himself, or his counsel, at his election, to examine the witnesses produced by himself, and cross-examine those produced against him, and to be fully heard in his defence. In all cases in which the right of trial by jury has been heretofore used, it shall be held inviolable forever, except in actions of debt or assumpsit in which the amount claimed is less than fifty dollars.

ARTICLE 8. No person shall be required to answer again for any offence of which he has been duly convicted, or of which he has been duly acquitted upon a good and sufficient indictment.

ARTICLE 9. No person shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

ARTICLE 10. No person shall sit as a judge or juror, in any case in which his relative is interested, either as plaintiff or defendant, or in the issue of which the said judge or juror may have, either directly or through a relative, any pecuniary interest.

ARTICLE 11. Involuntary servitude, except for crime, is forever prohibited in this Kingdom; whenever a slave shall enter Hawaiian territory he shall be free.

ARTICLE 12. Every person has the right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his house, his papers, and effects; and no warrants shall issue, but on probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE 13. The King conducts his Government for the common good, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men among his subjects.

ARTICLE 14. Each member of society has a right to be protected by it, in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property, according to law; and, therefore, he shall be obliged to contribute his proportional share to the expense of this protection, and to give his personal services, or an equivalent when necessary; but no part of the property of any individual shall be taken from him or applied to public uses without his own consent or the enactment of the legislative assembly, except the same shall be necessary for the military operations of the Kingdom in time of war or insurrection; and whenever the public exigencies may require that the property of any individual should be appropriated to public uses he shall receive a reasonable compensation therefor.

ARTICLE 15. No subsidy, duty, or tax of any description shall be established or levied without the consent of the legis-

against him face to face; to produce witnesses and proof in his own favor; and by himself or his counsel, at his election, to examine the witnesses produced by himself, and cross-examine those produced against him, and to be fully heard in his own defence. In all cases in which the right of trial by jury has been heretofore used, it shall be held inviolable forever, except in actions of debt or assumpsit in which the amount claimed is less than fifty dollars.

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ARTICLE 9. No person shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

ARTICLE 10. No person shall sit as a judge or juror, in any case in which his relative, by affinity, or by consanguinity within the third degree, is interested, either as plaintiff or defendant, or in the issue of which the said judge or juror may have, either directly or through such relative, any pecuniary interest.

ARTICLE 11. Involuntary servitude, except for crime, is forever prohibited in this Kingdom. Whenever a slave shall enter Hawaiian territory he shall be free.

ARTICLE 12. Every person has the right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his house, his papers, and effects; and no warrants shall issue, except on probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE 13. The Government is conducted for the common good, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men.

ARTICLE 14. Each member of society has a right to be protected in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property, according to law; and, therefore, he shall be obliged to contribute his proportional share to the expense of this protection, and to give his personal services, or an equivalent, when necessary. Private property may be taken for public use, but only upon due process of law and just compensation.

ARTICLE 15. No subsidy, duty, or tax of any description shall be established or levied without the consent of the Leg-

lative assembly; nor shall any money be drawn from the public treasury without such consent, except when between the sessions of the legislative assembly the emergencies of war, invasion, rebellion, pestilence, or other public disaster shall arise, and then not without the concurrence of all the cabinet and of a majority of the whole privy council; and the minister of finance shall render a detailed account of such expenditure to the legislative assembly.

ARTICLE 16. No retrospective laws shall ever be enacted.

ARTICLE 17. The military shall always be subject to the laws of the land, and no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by the Legislature.

ARTICLE 18. Every elector shall be privileged from arrest on election days during his attendance at election, and in going to and returning therefrom, except in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 19. No elector shall be so obliged to perform military duty, on the day of election, as to prevent his voting, except in time of war or public danger.

ARTICLE 20. The supreme power of the Kingdom in its exercise is divided into the executive, legislative, and judicial; these shall always be preserved distinct, and no judge of a court of record shall ever be a member of the legislative assembly.

ARTICLE 21. The Government of this Kingdom is that of a constitutional monarchy, under His Majesty Kamehameha V, his heirs and successors.

ARTICLE 22. The Crown is hereby permanently confirmed to His Majesty Kamehameha V, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, and to their lawful descendants in a direct line; failing whom, the Crown shall descend to Her Royal Highness the Princess Victoria Kamamalu Kaahumanu, and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and their descendants in a direct line. The succession shall be to the senior male child, and to the heirs of his body; failing a male child, the succession shall be to the senior female child, and to the heirs of her body. In case there is no heir as above provided, then the successor shall be the person whom the Sovereign shall appoint with the consent of the nobles, and publicly proclaim ~~as~~ such during the King's life,

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ARTICLE 19. No elector shall be so obliged to perform military duty, on the day of election, as to prevent his voting, except in time of war or public danger.

ARTICLE 20. The supreme power of the Kingdom in its exercise is divided into the executive, legislative, and judicial; these shall always be preserved distinct, and no executive or judicial officers, or any contractor or employee of the Government, or any person in the receipt of salary or emolument from the Government, shall be eligible to election to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, or to hold the position of an elective member of the same. And no member of the Legislature shall, during the time for which he is elected, be appointed to any civil office under the Government, except that of a member of the Cabinet.

ARTICLE 21. The Government of this Kingdom is that of a constitutional monarchy, under His Majesty Kalakaua, his heirs and successors.

ARTICLE 22. The Crown is hereby permanently confirmed to His Majesty Kalakaua, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, and to their lawful descendants in a direct line; failing whom the Crown shall descend to Her Royal Highness the Princess Liliuokalani, and heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and their lawful descendants in a direct line. The succession shall be to the senior male child, and to the heirs of his body; failing a male child, the succession shall be to the senior female child, and to the heirs of her body. In case there is no heir as above provided, the successor shall be the person whom the Sovereign shall appoint with the consent of the nobles, and publicly proclaim during the Sovereign's life; but should there be no

but should there be no such appointment; and proclamation, and the throne should become vacant, then the Cabinet Council, immediately after the occurring of such vacancy, shall cause a meeting of the legislative assembly, who shall elect by ballot some native Alii of the Kingdom as successor to the throne; and the successor so elected shall become a new *Stirps* for a royal family; and the succession from the Sovereign thus elected, shall be regulated by the same law as the present royal family of Hawaii.

ARTICLE 23. It shall not be lawful for any member of the royal family of Hawaii who may by law succeed to the throne, to contract marriage without the consent of the reigning sovereign. Every marriage so contracted shall be void, and the person so contracting a marriage may, by the proclamation of the reigning Sovereign be declared to have forfeited his or her right to the throne, and after such proclamation, the right of succession shall vest in the next heir as though such offender were *dead*.

ARTICLE 24. His Majesty Kamehameha V will, and his successors upon coming to the throne shall, take the following oath: I solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, to maintain the constitution of the Kingdom whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity therewith.

ARTICLE 25. No person shall ever sit upon the throne who has been convicted of any infamous crime, or who is insane or an idiot.

ARTICLE 26. The King is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of all other military forces of the Kingdom, by sea and land; and has full power by himself, or by any officer or officers he may appoint, to train and govern such forces as he may judge best for the defense and safety of the Kingdom. But he shall never proclaim war without the consent of the legislative assembly.

ARTICLE 27. The King, by and with the consent of his privy council, has the power to grant reprieves and pardons, after conviction, for all offences, except in cases of impeachment.

ARTICLE 28. The King, by and with the consent of his privy council, convenes the legislative assembly at the seat of Government, or at a different place, if that should become dangerous from an enemy or any dangerous disorder; and in case of disagreement between His Majesty and the legislative assembly, he adjourns, prorogues, or dissolves it, but not beyond the next ordinary session; under any great emergency, he may convene the legislative assembly to extraordinary sessions.

such appointment and proclamation, and the throne should become vacant, then the Cabinet immediately after the occurring of such vacancy shall cause a meeting of the Legislature, who shall elect by ballot some native Alii of the Kingdom as successor to the throne; and the successor so elected shall become a new *Stirps* for a royal family; and the succession from the Sovereign thus elected shall be regulated by the same law as the present royal family of Hawaii.

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ARTICLE 25. No person shall sit upon the throne who has been convicted of any infamous crime, or who is insane, or an idiot.

ARTICLE 26. The King is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy and of all other military forces of the Kingdom, by sea and land. But he shall never proclaim war without the consent of the Legislature; and no military or naval force shall be organized except by the authority of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 27. The King, by and with the advice of his privy council, and with the consent of the Cabinet, has the power to grant reprieves and pardons, after conviction, for all offenses, except in case of impeachment.

ARTICLE 28. The King convenes the Legislature at the seat of Government, or at a different place, if that should become insecure from an enemy or any dangerous disorder, and prorogues the same; and in any great emergency he may, with the advice of the privy council, convene the Legislature in extraordinary session.

ARTICLE 29. The King has the power to make treaties. Treaties involving changes in the tariff or in any law of the Kingdom shall be referred for approval to the legislative assembly. The King appoints public ministers, who shall be commissioned, accredited, and instructed agreeably to the usage and law of nations.

ARTICLE 30. It is the King's prerogative to receive and acknowledge public ministers; to inform the legislative assembly by royal message, from time to time, of the state of the Kingdom, and to recommend to its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

ARTICLE 31. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred. His ministers are responsible. To the King belongs the executive power. All laws that have passed the legislative assembly shall require His Majesty's signature, in order to their validity.

ARTICLE 32. Whenever, upon the decease of the reigning sovereign, the heir shall be less than 18 years of age, the royal power shall be exercised by a regent or council of regency, as hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE 33. It shall be lawful for the King at any time when he may be about to absent himself from the Kingdom, to appoint a regent or council of regency, who shall administer the Government in his name; and likewise the King may, by his last will and testament, appoint a regent or council of regency to administer the Government during the minority of any heir to the throne; and should a sovereign decease, leaving a minor heir, and having made no last will and testament, the cabinet council at the time of such decease shall be a council of regency until the legislative assembly, which shall be called immediately, may be assembled, and the legislative assembly immediately that it is assembled shall proceed to choose by ballot a regent or council of regency, who shall administer the Government in the name of the King, and exercise all the powers which are constitutionally vested in the King, until he shall have attained the age of 18 years, which age is declared to be the legal majority of such sovereign.

ARTICLE 34. The King is sovereign of all the chiefs and of all the people; the Kingdom is his.

ARTICLE 35. All titles of honor, orders, and other distinctions emanate from the King.

ARTICLE 36. The King coins money and regulates the currency by law.

ARTICLE 37. The King, in case of invasion or rebellion, can place the whole Kingdom or any part of it under martial law.

ARTICLE 29. The King has the power to make treaties. Treaties involving changes in the tariff or in any law of the Kingdom, shall be referred for approval to the Legislature. The King appoints public ministers, who shall be commissioned, accredited, and instructed agreeably to the usage and law of nations.

ARTICLE 30. It is the King's prerogative to receive and acknowledge public ministers; to inform the Legislature by royal message, from time to time, of the state of the Kingdom, and to recommend to its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

ARTICLE 31. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred. His ministers are responsible. To the King and the cabinet belongs the executive power. All laws that have passed the Legislature shall require His Majesty's signature, in order to their validity, except as provided in article 48.

ARTICLE 32. Whenever, upon the decease of the reigning sovereign, the heir shall be less than 18 years of age, the royal power shall be exercised by a regent or council of regency, as hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE 33. It shall be lawful for the King at any time when he may be about to absent himself from the Kingdom, to appoint a regent or council of regency, who shall administer the Government in his name; and likewise the King may, by his last will and testament, appoint a regent or council of regency to administer the Government during the minority of any heir to the throne; and should a sovereign decease, leaving a minor heir, and having made no last will and testament, the cabinet at the time of such decease shall be a council of regency until the Legislature, which shall be called immediately, be assembled, and the Legislature immediately that it is assembled shall proceed to choose by ballot a regent or council of regency, who shall administer the Government in the name of the King, and exercise all the powers which are vested in the King, until such heir shall have attained the age of 18 years, which age is declared to be the legal majority of such sovereign.

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ARTICLE 36. The King coins money and regulates the currency by law.

ARTICLE 37. The King, in case of invasion or rebellion, can place the whole Kingdom or any part of it under martial law.

ARTICLE 38. The national ensign shall not be changed, except by act of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 39. The King's private lands and other property are inviolable.

ARTICLE 40. The King can not be sued or held to account in any court or tribunal of the realm.

ARTICLE 41. There shall continue to be a council of state for advising the King in all matters for the good of the state, wherein he may require its advice, and for assisting him in administering the executive affairs of the Government in such manner as he may direct, which council shall be called the King's privy council of state, and the members thereof shall be appointed by the King to hold office during His Majesty's pleasure.

ARTICLE 42. The King's cabinet shall consist of the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of the interior, the minister of finance, and the attorney-general of the Kingdom, and these shall be His Majesty's special advisers in the executive affairs of the Kingdom; and they shall be *ex officio* members of His Majesty's privy council of state. They shall be appointed and commissioned by the King, and hold office during His Majesty's pleasure, subject to impeachment. No act of the King shall have any effect unless it be countersigned by a minister, who, by that signature, makes himself responsible.

ARTICLE 43. Each member of the King's cabinet shall keep an office at the seat of Government, and shall be accountable for the conduct of his deputies and clerks. The ministry hold seats *ex officio* as nobles in the legislative assembly.

ARTICLE 44. The minister of finance shall present to the legislative assembly, in the name of the Government, on the first day of the meeting of the Legislature, the financial budget, in the Hawaiian and English languages.

ARTICLE 45. The legislative power of the three estates of this Kingdom is vested in the King, and the legislative assembly, which assembly shall consist of the nobles, appointed by the King, and of the representatives of the people, sitting together.

ARTICLE 38. The national ensign shall not be changed, except by act of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 39. The King can not be sued or held to account in any court or tribunal of the Kingdom.

ARTICLE 40. There shall continue to be a council of state for advising the King in all matters for the good of the state, wherein he may require its advice, which council shall be called the King's privy council of state, and the members thereof shall be appointed by the King to hold office during His Majesty's pleasure, and which council shall have and exercise only such powers as are given to it by the constitution.

ARTICLE 41. The cabinet shall consist of the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of the interior, the minister of finance, and the attorney-general, and they shall be His Majesty's special advisers in the executive affairs of the Kingdom; and they shall be *ex officio* members of His Majesty's privy council of state. They shall be appointed and commissioned by the King, and shall be removed by him only upon a vote of want of confidence passed by a majority of all the elective members of the Legislature, or upon conviction of felony, and shall be subject to impeachment. No act of the King shall have any effect unless it be countersigned by a member of the cabinet, who, by that signature, makes himself responsible.

ARTICLE 42. Each member of the cabinet shall keep an office at the seat of Government, and shall be accountable for the conduct of his deputies and clerks. The cabinet hold seats *ex officio* in the Legislature, with the right to vote, except on a question of want of confidence in them.

ARTICLE 43. The minister of finance shall present to the Legislature, in the name of the Government, on the first day of each biennial session, the financial budget, in the Hawaiian and English languages.

ARTICLE 44. The legislative power of the Kingdom is vested in the King and the Legislature, which shall consist of the nobles and representatives sitting together.

ARTICLE 45. The legislative body shall be styled the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and shall assemble, biennially, in the month of May. The first regular session shall be held in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and eighty-eight.

ARTICLE 46. The legislative body shall assemble biennially, in the month of April, and at such other time as the King may judge necessary, for the purpose of seeking the welfare of the nation. This body shall be styled the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

ARTICLE 47. Every member of the legislative assembly shall take the following oath: I most solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will faithfully support the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and conscientiously and impartially discharge my duties as a member of this Assembly.

ARTICLE 48. The Legislature has full power and authority to amend the constitution as hereinafter provided; and from time to time to make all manner of wholesome laws not repugnant to the provisions of the constitution.

ARTICLE 49. The King shall signify his approval of any bill or resolution which shall have passed the legislative assembly, by signing the same previous to the final rising of the Legislature. But if he shall object to the passing of such bill or resolution he will return it to the legislative assembly, who shall enter the fact of such return on its journal, and such bill or resolution shall not be brought forward thereafter during the same session.

ARTICLE 50. The legislative assembly shall be the judge of the qualifications of its own members, and a majority shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as the assembly may provide.

ARTICLE 51. The legislative assembly shall choose its own officers and determine the rules of its own proceedings.

ARTICLE 46. Every member of the Legislature shall take the following oath: I solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will faithfully support the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and conscientiously and impartially discharge my duties as a member of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 47. The Legislature has full power and authority to amend the Constitution as hereinafter provided; and from time to time to make all manner of wholesome laws not repugnant to the constitution.

ARTICLE 48. Every bill which shall have passed the Legislature shall, before it becomes law, be presented to the King. If he approve he shall sign it and it shall thereby become a law, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to the Legislature, which shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration it shall be approved by a two-thirds vote of all the elective members of the Legislature it shall become a law. In all such cases the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of the Legislature. If any bill shall not be returned by the King within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Legislature by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

ARTICLE 49. The Legislature shall be the judge of the qualifications of its own members, except as may hereafter be provided by law, and a majority shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as the Legislature may provide.

ARTICLE 50. The Legislature shall choose its own officers and determine the rules of its own proceedings.

ARTICLE 51. The Legislature shall have authority to punish by imprisonment, not exceeding thirty days, every person, not a member, who shall be guilty of disrespect to the Legislature by any disorderly or contemptuous behavior in its presence; or who, during the time of its sitting,

ARTICLE 52. The legislative assembly shall have authority to punish by imprisonment, not exceeding thirty days, every person, not a member, who shall be guilty of disrespect to the assembly, by any disorderly or contemptuous behavior in its presence; or who, during the time of its sitting, shall publish any false report of its proceedings, or insulting comments upon the same; or who shall threaten harm to the body or estate of any of its members, for anything said or done in the assembly; or who shall assault any of them therefor, or who shall assault or arrest any witness, or other person ordered to attend the assembly, in his way going or returning; or who shall rescue any person arrested by order of the assembly.

ARTICLE 53. The legislative assembly may punish its own members for disorderly behavior.

ARTICLE 54. The legislative assembly shall keep a journal of its proceedings; and the yeas and nays of the members on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

ARTICLE 55. The members of the legislative assembly shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of the Legislature, and in going to and returning from the same; and they shall not be held to answer for any speech or debate made in the assembly, in any court or place whatsoever.

ARTICLE 56. The representatives shall receive for their services a compensation to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the public treasury, but no increase of compensation shall take effect during the year in which it shall have been made; and no law shall be passed increasing the compensation of said representatives beyond the sum of one hundred and fifty

shall publish any false report of its proceedings, or insulting comments upon the same; or who shall threaten harm to the body or estate of any of its members for anything said or done in the Legislature; or who shall assault any of them therefor; or who shall assault or arrest any witness, or other person ordered to attend the Legislature, on his way going or returning; or who shall rescue any person arrested by order of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 52. The Legislature may punish its own members for disorderly behavior.

ARTICLE 53. The Legislature shall keep a journal of its proceedings; and the yeas and nays of the members, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

ARTICLE 54. The members of the Legislature shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of the Legislature, and in going to and returning from the same; provided such privilege as to going and returning shall not cover a period of over twenty days; and they shall not be held to answer for any speech or debate made in the Legislature, in any court or place whatsoever.

ARTICLE 55. The representatives shall receive for their services a compensation to be determined by law, and paid out of the public treasury, but no increase of compensation shall take effect during the biennial term in which it shall have been made; and no law shall be passed increasing the compensation of representatives beyond the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars each for each biennial term.

ARTICLE 56. A noble shall be a subject of the Kingdom, who shall have attained the age of twenty-five years, and resided in the Kingdom three years, and shall be the owner of taxable property in this Kingdom of the value of three thousand dollars over and above all encumbrances, or in receipt of an income of not less than six hundred dollars per annum.

ARTICLE 57. The King appoints the nobles, who shall hold their appointments during life, subject to the provisions of Article 53; but their number shall not exceed twenty.

ARTICLE 58. No person shall be appointed a noble who shall not have attained the age of twenty-one years and resided in the Kingdom five years.

ARTICLE 59. The nobles shall be a court with full and sole authority to hear and determine all impeachments made by the representatives, as the grand inquest of the Kingdom, against any officers of the Kingdom, for misconduct or maladministration in their offices; but previous to the trial of every impeachment the nobles shall respectively be sworn, truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question, according to evidence and the law. Their judgment, however, shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold or enjoy any place of honor, trust, or profit, under this Government; but the party so convicted, shall be, nevertheless, liable to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to the laws of the land. No Minister shall sit as a noble on the trial of any impeachment.

ARTICLE 57. The nobles shall be a court, with full and sole authority to hear and determine all impeachments made by the representatives, as the grand inquest of the Kingdom, against any officers of the Kingdom, for misconduct or maladministration in their offices; but previous to the trial of every impeachment the nobles shall respectively be sworn, truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question, according to evidence and law. Their judgment, however, shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold or enjoy any place of honor, trust, or profit under this Government; but the party so convicted shall be, nevertheless, liable to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to the laws of the land.

ARTICLE 58. Twenty-four nobles shall be elected, as follows: Six from the island of Hawaii; six from the islands of Maui, Molokai, and Lanai; nine from the island of Oahu, and three from the islands of Kauai and Niihau. At the first election held under this constitution the nobles shall be elected to serve until the general election to the Legislature for the year of our Lord 1890, at which election, and thereafter, the nobles shall be elected at the same time and places as the representatives. At the election for the year of our Lord 1890 one-third of the nobles from each of the divisions aforesaid shall be elected for two years, and one-third for four years, and one-third for six years, and the electors shall ballot for them for such terms, respectively; and at all subsequent general elections they shall be elected for six years. The nobles shall serve without pay.

ARTICLE 59. Every male resident of the Hawaiian Islands, of Hawaiian, American, or European birth or descent, who shall have attained the age of twenty years, and shall have paid his taxes, and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters for nobles for his district, shall be an elector of nobles, and shall be entitled to vote at any election of nobles; provided,

First. That he shall have resided in the country not less than three years, and in the district in which he offers to vote not less than three months, immediately preceding the election at which he offers to vote.

Second. That he shall own and be possessed, in his own right, of taxable property in this country of the value of not less than three thousand dollars over and above all encumbrances, or shall have actually received an income of not less than six hundred dollars during the year next preceding his registration for such election.

Third. That he shall be able to read and comprehend an ordinary newspaper printed in either the Hawaiian, English, or some European language.

Fourth. That he shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution and laws, such oath to be administered by any person authorized to administer oaths or by any inspector of elections.

Provided, however, that the requirements of a three years' residence and of ability to read and comprehend an ordinary newspaper, printed either in the Hawaiian, English, or some European language, shall not apply to persons residing in the Kingdom at the time of the promulgation of this constitution, if they shall register and vote at the first election which shall be held under this constitution.

ARTICLE 60. The representation of the people shall be based upon the principal of equality, and shall be regulated and apportioned by the legislature according to the population, to be ascertained, from time to time, by the official census. The representatives shall not be less in number than twenty-four, nor more than forty, who shall be elected biennially.

ARTICLE 60. There shall be twenty-four representatives of the people elected biennially, except those first elected under this constitution, who shall serve until the general election for the year of our Lord 1890. The representation shall be based upon the principles of equality, and shall be regulated and apportioned by the Legislature according to the population to be ascertained, from time to time, by the official census. But until such apportionment by the Legislature, the apportionment now established by law shall remain in force, with the following exceptions, namely, there shall be but two representatives for the districts of Hilo and Puna, on the island of Hawaii; but one for the districts of Lahaina and Kaanapali, on the island of Maui; and but one for the districts of Koolauloa and Waialua, on the island of Oahu.

ARTICLE 61. No person shall be eligible for a representative of the people who is insane or an idiot, nor unless he be a male subject of the Kingdom, who shall have arrived at the full age of twenty-one years, who shall know how to read and write, who shall understand accounts and shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for at least three years—the last of which shall be the year immediately preceding his election—and who shall own real estate within the Kingdom of a clear value, over and above all encumbrances, of at least five hundred dollars, or who shall have an annual income of at least two hundred and fifty dollars, derived from any property or some lawful employment.

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ARTICLE 62. Every male subject of the Kingdom, who shall have paid his taxes, who shall have attained the age of twenty years, and shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for one year immediately preceding the election, and shall be possessed of real property in the Kingdom, to the value, over and above all encumbrances, of one hundred and fifty dollars, or of a leasehold property on which the rent is twenty-five dollars per year, or of an income of not less than seventy-five dollars per year, derived from any property or some lawful employment, and shall know how to read and

ARTICLE 62. Every male resident of the Kingdom, of Hawaiian, American, or European birth or descent, who shall have taken an oath to support the constitution and laws in the manner provided for electors of nobles, who shall have paid his taxes, who shall have attained the age of twenty years, and shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for one year immediately preceding the election, and shall know how to read and write either the Hawaiian, English, or some European language (if born since the year 1840), and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters

write, if born since the year 1840, and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters of his district as may be provided by law, shall be entitled to one vote for the representative or representatives of that district: *Provided, however,* That no insane or idiotic person, nor any person who shall have been convicted of any infamous crime within this Kingdom, unless he shall have been pardoned by the King, and by the terms of such pardon have been restored to all the rights of a subject, shall be allowed to vote.

ARTICLE 63. The property qualification of the representatives of the people, and of the electors, may be increased by law.

ARTICLE 64. The judicial power of the Kingdom shall be vested in one supreme court and in such inferior courts as the Legislature may, from time to time, establish.

ARTICLE 65. The supreme court shall consist of a chief justice and not less than two associate justices, any of whom may hold the court. The justices of the supreme court shall hold their offices during good behavior, subject to removal upon impeachment, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office: *Provided, however,* That any judge of the supreme court or any other court of record may be removed from office, on a resolution passed by two-thirds of the legislative assembly, for good cause shown to the satisfaction of the King. The judge against whom the legislative assembly may be about to proceed shall receive due notice thereof, accompanied by a copy of the causes alleged for his removal, at least ten days before the day on which the legislative assembly shall act thereon. He shall be heard before the legislative assembly.

ARTICLE 66. The judicial power shall be divided among the supreme court and the several inferior courts of the Kingdom in such manner as the legislature may, from time to time, prescribe, and the tenure of office in the inferior courts of the Kingdom shall be such as may be defined by the law creating them.

ARTICLE 67. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under the constitution and laws of this Kingdom, and treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority, to all cases affecting public ministers and consuls, and to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction.

of his district as may be provided by law, shall be entitled to one vote for the representative or representatives of that district: *Provided, however,* That the requirements of being domiciled in the Kingdom for one year immediately preceding the election, and of knowing how to read and write, either the Hawaiian, English, or some European language, shall not apply to persons residing in this Kingdom at the time of the promulgation of this constitution if they shall register and vote at the first election which shall be held under this constitution.

ARTICLE 63. No person shall sit as a noble or representative in the Legislature unless elected under, and in conformity with, the provisions of this constitution. The property or income qualification of representatives, of nobles, and of electors of nobles may be increased by law; and a property or income qualification of electors of representatives may be created and altered by law.

ARTICLE 64. The judiciary power of the Kingdom shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Legislature may, from time to time, establish.

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ARTICLE 68. The chief justice of the supreme court shall be the chancellor of the Kingdom. He shall be *ex officio* president of the nobles in all cases of impeachment, unless when impeached himself, and exercise such jurisdiction in equity or other cases as the law may confer upon him; his decisions being subject, however, to the revision of the supreme court on appeal. Should the chief justice ever be impeached, some person specially commissioned by the King shall be president of the court of impeachment during such trial.

ARTICLE 69. The decisions of the supreme court, when made by a majority of the justices thereof, shall be final and conclusive upon all parties.

ARTICLE 70. The King, his cabinet, and the legislative assembly shall have authority to require the opinions of the justices of the supreme court upon important questions of law and upon solemn occasions.

ARTICLE 71. The King appoints the justices of the supreme court and all other judges of courts of record. Their salaries are fixed by law.

ARTICLE 72. No judge or magistrate can sit alone on an appeal or new trial in any case on which he may have given a previous judgment.

ARTICLE 73. No person shall ever hold any office of honor, trust, or profit under the Government of the Hawaiian Islands who shall, in due course of law, have been convicted of theft, bribery, perjury, forgery, embezzlement, or other high crime or misdemeanor, unless he shall have been pardoned by the King and restored to his civil rights, and by the express terms of his pardon declared to be appointable to offices of trust, honor, and profit.

ARTICLE 74. No officer of this Government shall hold any office or receive any salary from any other government or power whatever.

ARTICLE 75. The Legislature votes the appropriations biennially, after due consideration of the revenue and expenditure for the two preceding years, and the estimates of the revenue and expenditure of the two succeeding years, which shall be submitted to them by the minister of finance.

ARTICLE 76. The enacting style in making and passing all acts and laws shall be: "Be it enacted by the King and the legislative assembly of the Hawaiian Islands, in the Legislature of the Kingdom assembled."

ARTICLE 68. The chief justice of the supreme court shall be the chancellor of the Kingdom. He shall be *ex officio* president of the nobles in all cases of impeachment, unless when impeached himself, and shall exercise such jurisdiction in equity or other cases as the law may confer upon him; his decisions being subject, however, to the revision of the supreme court on appeal. Should the chief justice ever be impeached, some person specially commissioned by the King shall be president of the court of impeachment during such trial.

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ARTICLE 72. No judge or magistrate shall sit all alone on an appeal or new trial in any case on which he may have given a previous judgment.

ARTICLE 73. The following persons shall not be permitted to register for voting, to vote, or to hold office under any department of the Government, or to sit in the Legislature, namely: Any person who is insane or an idiot, or any person who shall have been convicted of any of the following-named offenses, viz: Arson, barratry, bribery, burglary, counterfeiting, embezzlement, felonious branding of cattle, forgery, gross cheat, incest, kidnapping, larceny, malicious burning, manslaughter in the first degree, murder, perjury, rape, robbery, sodomy, treason, subornation of perjury, and malfeasance in office, unless he shall have been pardoned by the King and restored to his civil rights, and by the express terms of his pardon declared to be eligible to offices of trust, honor, and profit.

ARTICLE 74. No officer of this Government shall hold any office or receive any salary from any other government or power whatever.

ARTICLE 75. The Legislature votes the appropriation biennially, after due consideration of the revenue and expenditure for the two preceding years, and the estimates of the revenue and expenditure of the two succeeding years, which shall be submitted to them by the minister of finance.

ARTICLE 76. The enacting style in making and passing all acts and laws shall be: "Be it enacted by the King and the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom."

ARTICLE 77. To avoid improper influences which may result from intermixing in one and the same act such things as have no proper relation to each other, every law shall embrace but one object, and that shall be expressed in its title.

ARTICLE 78. All laws now in force in this Kingdom shall continue and remain in full effect until altered or repealed by the Legislature, such parts only excepted as are repugnant to this constitution. All laws heretofore enacted, or that may hereafter be enacted, which are contrary to this constitution shall be null and void.

ARTICLE 79. This constitution shall be in force from the twentieth day of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, but that there may be no failure of justice or inconvenience to the Kingdom from any change, all officers of this Kingdom at the time this constitution shall take effect shall have, hold, and exercise all the power to them granted, until other persons shall be appointed in their stead.

ARTICLE 80. Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the legislative assembly, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of members thereof such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on its journal, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to the next Legislature; which proposed amendment or amendments shall be published for three months previous to the next election of representatives; and if in the next Legislature such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members of the legislative assembly, and be approved by the King, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the constitution of this country.

KAMEHAMEHA R.

ARTICLE 77. To avoid improper influences which may result from intermixing in one and the same act such things as have no proper relation to each other, every law shall embrace but one object, and that shall be expressed in its title.

ARTICLE 78. Wherever by this constitution any act is to be done or performed by the King or the Sovereign, it shall, unless otherwise expressed, mean that such act shall be done and performed by the Sovereign by and with the advice and consent of the cabinet.

ARTICLE 79. All laws now in force in this Kingdom shall continue and remain in full effect until altered or repealed by the Legislature, such parts only excepted as are repugnant to this constitution. All laws heretofore enacted, or that may hereafter be enacted, which are contrary to this constitution shall be null and void.

ARTICLE 80. The cabinet shall have power to make and publish all necessary rules and regulations for the holding of any election or elections under this constitution, prior to the passage by the Legislature of appropriate laws for such purpose, and to provide for administering to officials, subjects, and residents the oath to support this constitution. The first election hereunder shall be held within ninety days after the promulgation of this constitution, and the Legislature then elected may be convened at Honolulu, upon the call of the cabinet council, in extraordinary session at such time as the cabinet council may deem necessary, thirty days' notice thereof being previously given.

ARTICLE 81. This constitution shall be in force from the 7th day of July, A. D. 1887; but that there may be no failure of justice or convenience to the Kingdom from any change, all officers of this Kingdom, at the time this constitution shall take effect, shall have, hold, and exercise all the power to them granted. Such officers shall take an oath to support this constitution within sixty days after the promulgation thereof.

ARTICLE 82. Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the Legislature, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members thereof, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on its journal, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to next Legislature; which proposed amendment or amendments shall be published for three months previous to the next election of representatives and nobles; and if in the next Legislature such proposed amend-

ment or amendments shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members of the Legislature, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the constitution of this Kingdom.

KALAKAUA REX.

By the King:

W. L. GREEN,

Minister of Finance.

HONOLULU, OAHU, ss.

I, Kalakaua, King of the Hawaiian Islands, in the presence of Almighty God, do solemnly swear to maintain this constitution whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity therewith.

KALAKAUA REX.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this sixth day of July, A. D. 1887.

A. F. JUDD,

*Chief Justice of the Supreme Court,
and Chancellor of the Kingdom.*

No. 24.

Statement of Charles T. Gulick.

AGENCY OF UNITED STATES MINISTER STEVENS AND CAPT. WILTSE, COMMANDING U. S. S. BOSTON, IN THE OVERTHROW OF THE HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WAS EFFECTED JANUARY 17, 1893.

When Mr. Stevens presented his credentials to His Majesty, Kalakaua, as United States minister resident near the Hawaiian court, he gave the King a lecture on his duties as a sovereign, and at the same time hinted, in an ambiguous way, at the possibilities of the future. The subject matter of the address, and the manner of Mr. Stevens, were so offensive as to very nearly produce disagreeable consequences, as the King was on the point of abruptly terminating the interview and demanding the recall of Mr. Stevens. The unpleasant episode passed, however, without subsequent notice.

Col. G. W. Macfarlane and Dr. G. Trousseau will confirm the foregoing.

On the occasion of the Fourth of July celebration in 1891, Mr. Stevens delivered an oration at the music hall in which he took the opportunity to show his very thinly veiled contempt for the Sovereign and Government to which he was accredited. His sentiments were more distinctly emphasized in his speech on Memorial Day, 1892, leaving no room for doubt with regard to his real meaning. In October, 1892, the Daily Bulletin, a newspaper published in Honolulu, contained a criticism on Mr. Stevens' tardiness in causing a search for a missing boat's crew (supposed to be somewhere to windward of the island of Hawaii) belonging to an American vessel which had burned at sea.

Mr. Stevens called in a rage at the foreign office and in his interview with the minister of foreign affairs endeavored to fasten on the cabinet responsibility for the comments in the Bulletin and demanded, as he termed it, "full satisfaction." His manner and language were in the highest degree undiplomatic and offensive, and he would accept no explanation. He immediately followed up the insult by demanding an audience with the Queen *without* the usual formality of the presence

of the minister of foreign affairs. The audience was accorded, and, trembling with passion, he reiterated his demand for "satisfaction," leaving it somewhat vague as to the form or kind of "satisfaction" he desired. The impression left by him in both interviews was that it was not so much "satisfaction" that he was after as it was an opportunity to pick a quarrel with, and embarrass, the cabinet who were then under fire in the legislative assembly.

Hon. Samuel Parker, Hon. Paul Neumann, and Maj. J. W. Robertson can give more fully the details of the foregoing.

Very shortly after Mr. Stevens' arrival in the Kingdom he made it generally known that he considered annexation to the United States as not only the ultimate or "manifest" destiny of the little country, but that it would be just as well to hasten the event, and the American legation immediately became the rendezvous or headquarters of the annexation leaders, such as Hartwell, Judd (the chief justice), Thurston, Dole, Castle, Smith, and others, who frequently met there for the purpose of discussing plans for bringing about the desired end.

On one occasion M. d'Anglade, the then French commissioner, and M. Canavarro, the present Portuguese chargé d'affairs, were invited to dinner at the American legation, and much to their surprise found several of the above-named gentlemen present, and as the dinner proceeded were not a little annoyed to find that they had been invited for the express purpose of being sounded with regard to annexation.

Señhor Canavarro and Dr. Trousseau, the latter being an intimate friend of M. d'Anglade, the French commissioner (who is not now in the Kingdom), can throw light on the above if they will submit to an interview.

During August, 1892, the tension became so great in the Legislature that the cabinet was voted out, and a new one was appointed on the 12th day of September. A vote of "want of confidence" in the new cabinet was immediately introduced, and the speeches of Thurston, Smith, Ashford, and their associates on the motion showed that the meetings at the legation were beginning to bear fruit. Mr. Stevens was present during a part of the debate on the motion, also Capt. Wiltse, who just after one of Mr. Thurston's speeches called at the interior office and took occasion to inform the then minister of the interior (C. T. Gulick) that he considered Mr. Thurston a "very able man," and that his "views on the situation, and particularly those on the monarchy, were very sound." It may be observed that Thurston had very plainly shown in his speech supporting the motion that he and his supporters would leave no stone unturned in order to destroy the monarchy and get the reins of power into their own hands.

As Thurston and his party were known to be annexationists, his expressions seemed to please Capt. Wiltse very much. About this time (September, 1892) it was a matter frequently spoken of that any move for the overthrow of the Government would receive the official recognition of Mr. Stevens and the material aid of Capt. Wiltse. Annexation was so freely discussed in public that T. T. Williams, of the San Francisco Examiner, polled the Legislature on the subject, and when they found that their views were likely to be published they denounced annexation to a man.

The meetings at the legation continued, and Stevens and Wiltse (the latter more particularly) called frequently at Hartwell's office during the day. Wiltse told people that he kept himself thoroughly posted with regard to affairs, as he "was constantly in communication

with Hartwell, who was the best informed man in the Kingdom on the situation."

The *Boston's* troops were landed at about 5 o'clock p. m. on Monday, the 16th day of January, A. D. 1893, and were quartered at Arion Hall, a position which practically commanded the Government building and the palace. The Hawaiian Government protested against their presence. The foreign diplomatic representatives called at the legation and entered their protest against the procedure as being wholly unnecessary. The town was perfectly quiet. Mr. Stevens's excuse was that the troops were ashore for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of Americans. They were quartered, however, on property belonging to an Englishman (at that time occupied by an Englishman and the Japanese inspector of immigrants under leases), and was surrounded by property belonging to the Hawaiian Government and native Hawaiians.

During the forenoon of Tuesday, the 17th day of January, 1893, it was freely remarked and frequently repeated on the streets that a move for deposing the Queen and overturning the Government would be made during the day, and that "*it was all right, as Stevens had promised to support the movement.*"

Thirteen men, calling themselves a committee of public safety (*all foreigners and some of brief residence in the country*), proceeded from the office of W. O. Smith up Merchant street to the front of the Government building, and Cooper, the leader, at about 2:40 o'clock p. m., read a proclamation deposing the Queen and establishing a "Provisional Government." Just before the arrival of the committee at the building, Charles L. Carter rode up hastily on horseback to Arion Hall and delivered a letter to Capt. Wiltse, who was himself in charge of the American troops. Wiltse was seen to tear open the envelope and read the letter, nodding his satisfaction to Carter, who then withdrew. As the committee turned the corner of the Music Hall on their road up, Mr. Cooper hastened forward to Arion Hall and delivered a letter to an officer (who apparently stood in readiness to receive it) and rejoined the committee.

At this time, *i. e.*, before the proclamation was read, the American troops were under arms, strong picked guards were posted at the corner of the Music Hall on King street and at other points around their quarters; the Gatling guns were placed in commanding positions and the crews were to attention or handy by.

The position of the American troops and their attitude, also the delivery of the letters above mentioned, can be verified by several different people, each one seeing different parts of the procedure. Dr. G. Trousseau, T. A. Lloyd, H. F. Poor, Norie, Pond, de Voll, and others were eyewitnesses of the matter above referred to.

By half past 3 o'clock it was generally reported on the streets that Stevens had recognized the Provisional Government and had assured the Queen's cabinet that he would support their action with the troops of the *Boston*.

The police department in charge of the marshal of the Kingdom was surrendered at dusk—lamps were lighted indoors, but there was still daylight on the streets; it was probably about 7 o'clock in the evening, *i. e.*, some three and a half to four hours after Stevens's action was generally known to the public. The barracks were not surrendered till near night of the following day.

Interview with Fred. H. Hayselden, Lanai, April 11, 1893.

Q. What is your occupation?

A. I am a stock raiser.

Q. How much land have you?

A. I control about 100,000 acres.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. It is my wife's property left in trust to my children.

Q. How many whites on that island?

A. Only my family and four white men.

Q. How many natives?

A. About 250.

Q. What is the disposition down there towards the revolution—towards the new Government?

A. The natives are entirely opposed to it.

Q. What is the reason of that opposition?

A. Simply personal, I believe.

Q. Don't like the people?

A. No; because they feel that they are shut out in everything.

Q. Are you well acquainted in Honolulu?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the feeling here towards the present Government?

A. I should imagine among a majority of the whites it is in favor of the Provisional Government, for the sake of business.

Q. Are there any whites here opposed to the existing Government?

A. A great many.

Q. How many would you suppose?

A. I should suppose there are one-third of the whites.

Q. Do you include in that estimate Portuguese or Japanese?

A. No.

Q. You mean people of American descent?

A. American, English, German, and French.

Q. What type of people are they—people of education and means?

A. Yes; all of them.

Q. What does their opposition consist in?

A. They are opposed because they think they are run by a coterie. That is one reason.

Q. Any other?

A. The other reason is that they want to force annexation on this country and to put them down to the position of serfs.

Q. Do you mean by that that they meant to deprive them of suffrage?

A. Yes.

Q. Are there many of the natives here who have signed petitions for annexation?

A. I have heard that there are quite a considerable number of those who have been forced to do so by storekeepers and others—for bread and butter. I have asked them why they signed. They said: "On account of our food." I said: "Do you really mean that?" They said: "Heart is here—mouth is there."

Q. You were not here at the time of the revolution?

A. No. I was in Lanai; was sheriff there at the time. I had the honor of being the first one selected for dismissal.

Q. They dismissed you on account of your political views?

A. Yes. I came down to W. O. Smith's office and asked why I was dismissed. He said: "Simply because you are a friend of the Queen. You and the circuit judge are looked upon as enemies to our arrangement and we do not think it right to have two prominent officials against us." I asked him: "Do you want a republic here?" He said: "No." I said: "Are you quite sure of what you are saying? I have heard it reported on the street that you do." He said: "I give you my word of honor I do not." He said: "We want annexation." I said: "Do you want it pure and simple?" He asked what I meant. I said: "To give the natives franchise." He said: "Oh, no; we could not do that." I said: "You will never get it unless you do. I could go out and get 1,000 signatures for annexation if I could guarantee the franchise. You could not get one."

Q. As a matter of fact are they not getting signatures?

A. There is no question about that. My personal interests would be advanced 100 per cent by annexation.

Q. How?

A. Because we only get 10 cents a pound for our wool. If we had annexation we would get 20 in California. We have to send it to London and ship it through the United States.

Q. What do you think were the causes of the revolution?

A. Simply 2 cents a pound on sugar—to get some treaty or some arrangement with America. They did not see their way clear to get it in the face of the McKinley bill. They thought Harrison would be reelected and the Republican policy would be continued.

Q. But at the time of the revolution Harrison had been defeated?

A. Yes; but this thing was marked up long before that. They wanted to force it upon the Harrison administration, if they could, before the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland.

I have carefully read the foregoing and pronounce it an accurate report of my interview with Col. Blount.

(Mr. Blount didn't care to have this certified.—E. M.)

No. 26.

Statement of C. M. Hyde.

HONOLULU, April 3, 1893.

Hon. J. S. BLOUNT,
Commissioner, etc.:

Since I saw you at your residence last Saturday afternoon, it has occurred to me that it might be advisable for me, occupying such a position as I do at the islands, as the only resident missionary of the A. B. C. F. M., to write out for your information and consideration such a statement of facts as might assist you in arriving at just conclusions in regard to the political and social condition of affairs, and the proper course for the United States Government to take at this juncture.

I have no occasion and certainly no desire to appear as either advocate or assailant of any persons or parties here. Nor have I any authority to act as the representative of the American board in matters outside of my special province as principal of the training school of

Hawaiian pastors and missionaries, except so far as it has its bearings on my instructions "to induce in the Hawaiians more of the sentiments of personal independence and self-reliance, and to develop that strength of character which shall enable them to withstand the unfavorable influences that have hitherto depressed them, and still exist from their contact with so large a foreign population."

You will pardon me in what I have to say if I introduce more of the personal element than you would meet in ordinary diplomatic correspondence. It is this very element that throws upon any such question those side lights that give the aspect of vitality and reality to what else might be only abstract discussion of abstruse principles of government and social order.

When I arrived here June 1, 1877, and began to study the situation, I found that I must first disabuse myself of the notion that it was Hawaiian civilization and a Hawaiian government under which I was to live. Such nomenclature was right and proper, but the church and state, nominally Hawaiian, was really managed by the few foreigners who had the direction of affairs. Not that the foreigners were exercising an usurped authority and the natives simply subject to their beck and call, but rather this, that the management of affairs of church and state was under the direction of the missionaries in the one case, and trusted advisers in the other; and that without such direction, not to say control, both churches and government would disintegrate speedily because of utter lack of the needful ability to maintain an independent organic existence.

The number of superannuated missionaries has constantly diminished till now there are only three surviving, only one of these an ordained preacher. The management of the churches has fallen entirely into the hands of the native pastors, with no direct continuous personal supervision. What I can do by correspondence or by chance visits and what Mr. Emerson can do by similar means (only in his case these are official and in some places semiannual,)—this constitutes all that we two workers can well do for the 57 Hawaiian evangelical churches, with their membership of 5,427 communicants out of a total population (native) of 34,436, with only one foreign pastor (Rev. H. H. Parker, of Kawaiajao Church, Honolulu) among the whole number (34) of pastors. The native churches are growing poorer and feebler each year, less able and willing to support the native pastorate.

One reason for this growing unwillingness is the demoralization of our churches under the influence of the native sovereign Kalakaua. It was his custom to appoint natives to office without regard to fitness, but rather because of social position among their own people and subserviency personally to himself. In this way, as our church members are among the better class of Hawaiians, they were selected as officials, but made to feel that their tenure of office depended upon his own pleasure. As there were not offices enough to give to all jealousies arose, and removals were necessary to make places for some whom it was the necessity of the moment to placate. In this way a greed for office-holding was introduced and fostered, till in perversion of the native translation of 1 Corinthians, 12 31, office seeking was made to seem the duty of every church member (seek the "highest offices for yourselves").

Another means of demoralizing the native churches was the idea instilled assiduously by the King, that a State church was the desirable religious establishment for Hawaii. He was to be the head, and

each pastor was to receive his salary from the Government treasury promptly, and amply sufficient for all his needs.

It is this same element of personal rule which the King cherished and constantly pushed forward in politics. In this he was helped by the style of political management which was introduced under the sugar-planting interests. Soon after I arrived there occurred the first advance made by the King in this direction. The Haiku Sugar Company had succeeded in building a canal to bring water from the windward side of Maui down to Kiamakuapoko to irrigate their cane fields there. Another company wanted to build a canal higher up, of course cutting off the water supply of the upper gulches that fed the Haiku ditch. The cabinet refused them a charter.

A loan to the King of \$40,000 was effected, and at this place that cabinet was dismissed at midnight and a ministry more favorable to the other party appointed, and the influence of money rather than principle became paramount. From that time onward the King pushed his schemes of personal aggrandizement as fast and as far as he dared. In Mr. Gibson he found a willing tool, who, for the sake of retaining his official position, did the King's bidding, and put through one iniquitous and ruinous measure after another. The foreign community remonstrated and yielded, remonstrated, opposed, and yielded, till finally forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and the situation became so embarrassing, perilous to all business, social, moral, and political interest, that an uprising of the sensible and intelligent and respectable part of the community (commonly stigmatized as the missionary element) led to the promulgation of the constitution of 1887, which abridged the power of the King, and was intended to make the cabinet, appointed by approval of the Legislature, the responsible organ of legislative and executive authority.

I refused to join the league under whose management this constitution was secured because it was a secret organization, whose leaders might initiate measures to which I could not consent. I published in the newspapers over my own name, however, the first and only public complaint that was thus openly made of the conduct and character of the King, and asked for a public meeting to formulate demands that would secure good government for the benefit of the community and end the misrule which was ruining the natives and scandalizing the foreign community. The common talk at that time was about shooting the King at sight, but I could not be convinced that a stable government would ever be secured by assassination.

The special occasion for the very vindictive feeling at that time was the conduct of the King in getting an opium license passed by the majority of the Legislature, then under his personal control, selling the license to one Chinaman without delivering it, but pocketing the money (\$75,000 or thereabouts), selling it afterwards to another Chinaman, who was shrewd enough to secure first the delivery of the license. All this was supported by sworn affidavits published in the newspapers, to which the King made no reply.

Another fact that incensed the community was the revelation about that time of the King's use of old superstitious practices and abominable orgies to degrade the Hawaiian people and make them the more ready tools to accomplish his purposes. In seeking a charter for the secret society he had formed (the Hale Nana, a mixture of Free Masonry, Mormonism, and diabolism) the character of that institution came to be quite generally known. You can obtain information about it from reliable sources. Suffice it for me to say that part of the exercise was the

worship of the King as divine. It was affirmed that as a god he could do no wrong, and by a curious Hawaiian perversion of logical reasoning he did various things that no one would hesitate to call vile as well as wrong to prove that he was a god.

It was hoped that the new constitution would give us a change. But largely through various judicial decisions the royal prerogatives and not the constitutional limitation of Hawaiian sovereignty have been assigned the supremacy. It has been one series of disappointments after another. The late Queen was in England when the constitution of 1887 was promulgated. She was bitterly disappointed at what her brother had done. Taking advantage of the vexation felt by many in the community at the various developments of royal prerogative, she sent for R. W. Wilcox to head a revolution, with the idea that Kalakaua would be compelled to abdicate and she would be placed upon the throne. But this scheme failed.

When she became Queen the first act was one to disappoint those who were ready to support a constitutional monarchical government with a responsible ministry approved by the Legislature. She claimed the privilege of nominating her own cabinet. The point was yielded, but the Legislature prorogued January 14, 1893, was of such a complexion and so manipulated that there was constant friction between the Queen's adherents and the supporters of representative constitutional government. Yet forbearance was exercised again and again; hopes were cherished in spite of convictions to the contrary from evident tendencies and attempts. These culminated in the transactions of January 10-17, with which you are familiar from the published statements.

The point to which I wish to call your attention is this, that the political system under which thus far Hawaiian affairs have been managed is utterly unfitted for the present changed conditions. It answered fairly well under the Kamehamehas. But the last Kamehameha (though older than his brother Kamehameha IV and passed by in Kamehameha III's election of his successor, because of personal unfitness) was restive under constitutional limitations and arbitrarily set aside the constitution under which he was appointed. The native element in the population at that time was too dominant an element to be successfully resisted.

Now, business and commerce have brought to these islands so large a foreign element that their interests are virtually the controlling element, politically and socially. But while they are the controlling element, and that fact can not be gainsaid, there has not ever been, nor is there now, so far as I am able to judge, any disposition to do any injustice to the natives. The present movement has been under the management of those who are and always have been the best friends of the natives, and in seeking to secure and support their own rights they seek and secure the true rights and the highest interests of the native population.

The organization of a constitutional government originated in the desire of the chiefs for a more stable tenure of property titles than simply the pleasure of the sovereign. When attempts to secure from abroad competent persons for this work had repeatedly failed, the American missionaries were requested to aid in this work. Interested in all that concerned the welfare of the Hawaiian people, they consented, but first resigned their commissions as missionaries of the American Board. They sought no emoluments for themselves nor their families, and the records of those days show how faithfully, tirelessly, self-sacrificingly they discharged the duties of their new and responsible positions, which

no one then would have taken up with all their disabilities except those intent with all singleness of purpose in elevating and sustaining a Christian nation here.

In 1870 the American Board withdrew from all supervision of the work here. Other influences have come to the front with the opening of commerce from the Pacific coast States. How intimate those relations have come to be, the statistical reports will show. Permit me to allude, in closing, to the changed social condition of the Hawaiian people. It is often asserted that a fundamental mistake was made in mission work by not (from the very outset) instructing the people in the English language. But those who take that view are persons who do not stop to think under what different conditions mission work was begun seventy years ago. English text-books and teachers were impossibilities then; they are not yet the great success which had been hoped, when the experiment was begun in 1876 of making English the medium of instruction in the Government schools. There are no pure Hawaiians at this day, so far as I know, who have been instructed in these Government schools who would be considered promising candidates to be trained for a collegiate course.

In all my intercourse with young Hawaiians I have met only one whom I would call worthy the name of a student, capable of abstruse thought, the study of principles, the acquisition of scientific or philosophical methods. Hawaiian is still the language of the Legislature and the judiciary, and every biennial period the attempt is made to make the Hawaiian, not the English language, the authoritative language of the statute book. The Americanization of the islands will necessitate the use of the English language only as the language of business, of politics, of education, of church service; and open the wide field of English literature to a people who have only poorly edited newspapers and a meager number of very rudimentary manuals as their text-books in science, or their highest attainments in culture.

The desire for official position without proper fitness for it is an element to the great disadvantage of the Hawaiian. Money thus easily made is foolishly as well as quickly spent for momentary enjoyments. Young people ruin themselves, their lives, their property, their families, in sensual enjoyments, and it is almost impossible to train them to habits of industry, thrift, forethought under the temptations about them to vice, idleness, extravagance. When Rev. Mr. Kuaea was made minister of finance, with every bank note he signed, he delighted in saying "How rich I am making this country."

In changing the political system of the country there is no abandonment of the original idea of the American mission, nor any betrayal of its high aims. I came here at the expense of the American board. To kind friends among the foreign residents I am indebted for the comfortable—not luxurious—home their hospitality has provided for an overburdened worker interested in everything that concerns the welfare of the community.

I have shirked no responsibility nor any burden of toil and care in doing all I could for the Hawaiian people. They have at times misinterpreted my actions, but they have never doubted the sincerity of my purposes, nor withheld their expressions of appreciation and approval. They may have expected too much, but they have always been ready to listen to any words of advice or warning I have had occasion to utter. It is as natural for them to follow a leader whom they think they can trust as for an Anglo-Saxon to take his stand independently whether others come to his support or not. They have not yet learned

the rudimentary principles of government and independent citizenship. Their lawyers can not grasp the details nor the generalizations that are necessary for the successful advocate or judge. Their ministers in our Christian churches may know how to shepherd the flocks in pastures, fenced and barred; but to beat off cunning and fierce destroyers they need other qualifications than a kindly spirit and a devoted attachment. There is no educated physician of native race in practice of his profession at the islands. There is no artisan, nor mechanic, nor trader in business for himself. As masters of the smaller coasting craft they have risen higher above their fellows and done better for their employers than in any other line of business.

It will take time and patience and devotion to righteousness and truth as well as genuine sympathy to uplift and adopt and then to adapt American political system to this community, but I believe that the foregoing statement of facts will show that it is, in the line of past procedure, the only hopeful way out of present difficulties, a necessity and an urgency.

We, who have lived some length of time in the country, know the weaknesses of the Hawaiian race, as well as their many excellent characteristics. The evidences that have shown such weaknesses are cumulative. The incidents that have developed such weaknesses, have not often been made matters of record and so can not at a moment's notice be recalled to substantiate such statements as might be made in regard to the unfitness of the Hawaiians for such predominance, politically and socially, as has hitherto been accorded to them.

Here is one incident of recent occurrences: The acting pastor of a church on Maui found that the Sunday-school superintendent was drinking heavily of sweet-potato beer and was often drunk. He brought the case before the deacons, but they decided that they would do nothing about it, for two reasons assigned: (1) Sweet-potato beer was the common food of the people; (2) drunkenness was so common that it could not be treated as an offense. Thereupon the pastor on the succeeding Sunday proceeded to read a long proclamation after the fashion set by the Provincial Government, deposing the Sunday-school superintendent for reasons assigned, as unworthy of his official position.

The people of Kaumakapili church in this city who do not like the well-known opposition of their pastor to the late Queen and her misrule presented a petition for his removal. The chief reason assigned was that they had not paid him his salary in full for the last two years, and this violation of their contract they acknowledged and made it the basis of their petition that he should be removed from the pastorate.

You will find that such is the childishness of this people, only two generations removed from lowest barbarism and heathenism, that the working of the political system is utterly unreliable. If voting is their privilege, it is sufficient to pose as a special friend of Hawaiian prejudices to secure an overwhelming majority for any such partisan. No matter how many times he may have deceived them, any demagogue who will promise whatever they may foolishly desire at the moment is the one whom they will follow. In this desire to perpetuate what is Hawaiian, and make that predominant, they are easily led to go back to heathen practices and ideas. To break up this tendency, for their own best welfare I know nothing better than to Americanize the political system. They will then be free to choose what is for their best good, not bound to cling to what is old and effete.

Social regeneration is as necessary as individual regeneration to

Christianize a nation. The individual instances of Christian character have not had for the last twenty years the environment favorable for any legitimate and proper development; and this has been largely owing to the political system. Instead of simply saying that the King's advisers, not the King, would be held responsible for mistakes in political management, the old constitution positively asserted that the King is not amenable to law. It was too much like the old Hawaiian idea of autocratic rule, limited only by fear of assassination. To get rid of the spirit of submissiveness to despotic authority, and substitute for it the Christian principle of obedience to righteous rule, is absolutely essential to the proper development of the national and individual life.

The old system will not work in its want of adaptation to the present civilization of the country. We can not trust business interests to the decision of a Hawaiian jury. In the management of the Kamehameha estate, of which I speak from personal knowledge as one of the trustees under the will of the late Mrs. C. R. Bishop, we are forced to put up with an inefficient administration of much of the property, because no Hawaiian jury would be likely to give us a verdict according to the law and evidence. Take what occurred at the last session of the circuit court in Kau. A Hawaiian jury brought in a verdict standing 10 to 2. The judge said that it was proper; according to the law 9 to 3, would be accepted as valid. On the next case, when the jury came to a decision they were unanimous. But some sapient juror remarked that the judge had just said a verdict of 9 to 3 was valid, so they talked and talked till finally three jurors changed their votes, and then their verdict was reported to the judge.

In the change of the political system, that seems to me now unavoidable and imperative, I see no other first step than annexation. Then let other matters be made the subject of careful consideration. We can not go on any longer under the old political system. I had hoped that we could. I did not believe annexation was wise or expedient, and have always said so to Mr. Stevens, whose views of the situation here had convinced him of the immediate necessity of such a step. The Queen did not show out her true character fully until the last week of the last parliamentary session. The logic of events has forced me to the conclusion that the old political system can not be made to work satisfactorily or enduringly even any longer. In seeking for a political system that will meet the requirements of the case, I see nothing better than immediate annexation. That will settle forever many things that now militate against the stability of any political system for the islands as the people are now. Other political questions must be left for future deliberation.

I think that intelligent Hawaiians, who have at heart the best interests of the country and the people, are very generally of that opinion. Give us annexation, and plans will be at once pushed for such a development of the country as can not be even thought of under any other circumstances. Talk about a protectorate is idle. We have had enough of legal fictions. The institutions and connections of the country are mainly American. Let us have the name, as well as the appearance; the real power as well as the nominal acquiescence, and the Hawaiians will accept the situation. They will have to make the best of it, whatever may be decided upon for them. The best thing for the whole people is now to make American citizens of themselves as fast as they can. Those who know that they are aiming at the highest possible ideal can afford to wait with patience for its realization. The overthrow of an

obstructive and ruinous social and political system is the best preparation for the spread of the Gospel of Christ, and the enjoyments of its privileges and blessings.

Yours respectfully,

C. M. HYDE.

NORTH PACIFIC MISSIONARY INSTITUTE.

No. 27.

Statement by Col. C. P. Jaukea, late of Her Majesty's personal staff.

On arriving at the palace shortly after the landing of the United States forces, I found Her Majesty's household in a state of nervous excitement. The Queen, although calm and collected, showed signs of uneasiness. This feeling soon increased to one of grave alarm and apprehension when, a few minutes later, the troops were seen moving in the direction of the palace, and, without warning, immediately take a position a short distance from, and in full view of, the palace and Government building.

This unexpected show of force right under the palace walls deeply impressed Her Majesty; and when on the day following the United States forces were seen encamped in the Arion Hall, adjoining the Government building premises, and commanding the palace, it at once became evident that they were landed for some other purpose than the protection of life and property.

When therefore during the afternoon of the same day the revolutionists took possession of the Government building no resistance was offered by the Queen's forces, it being impossible to successfully resist them without precipitating a conflict with the United States forces.

C. P. JAUKEA,

Late of Her Majesty's Personal Staff.

No. 28.

Interview with Chief Justice A. F. Judd, Honolulu, May 16, 1893.

Q. Please state where you were born.

A. In Honolulu, January 7, 1838.

Q. Has this always been your home?

A. With the exception of four years in the United States, two at Yale and the other two at Harvard law school, and on occasional visits to the States and a trip to Europe. I entered the practice of law in this country in 1864, and was elected twice to the Legislature—in 1868 from South Kona, Hawaii, and again for Honolulu in 1870, and in 1873 I was appointed attorney-general by Lunalilo, and on his death in 1874, on the election of Kalakaua, I went onto the bench as associate justice of the supreme court. I continued on the bench until now, having held different positions. I took the position of first associate justice in 1877, and was appointed chief justice in 1881. I have been in judicial life since my first appointment as judge in February, 1874, and have had my office in the Government building during all that time, and am somewhat familiar with political changes that have taken place.

Q. How were your judges selected prior to the constitution of 1887?

A. They were appointed.

Q. How selected prior to 1887?

A. They were appointed by the King. The supreme judges have always been appointed in that way, and, whatever has happened to this country, I think the sovereigns have always aimed to give us good men as judges.

Q. Who did Kalakaua appoint first as judges?

A. Judge Allen was chief justice under a former appointment—he being in the United States at the time of Kalakaua's election, of course was merely continued in office. The other judges were Hartwell and Widemann. Hartwell was appointed attorney-general and Widemann as minister of the interior. Judge Harris was then made first associate justice and I second associate justice.

Q. None of these were men of native blood?

A. None.

Q. Were they men of substantial character?

A. Yes; all of them. We have had two judges of native blood on the bench.

Q. Appointed by whom?

A. By Kamehameha III and Kamehameha V. The first was Judge Ii. He was a pure native. The other judge of native blood was R. G. Davis. He was half-white.

Q. How was your Legislature made up prior to the constitution of 1887?

A. It consisted of one body—nobles appointed by the Crown and representatives elected by the people.

Q. How many nobles?

A. Twenty.

Q. How many representatives?

A. It seems to me twenty-four—perhaps twenty-six—I do not know positively.

Q. The number of representatives exceeded the number of nobles prior to 1887?

A. I do not remember, but I think so.

Q. How were nobles selected?

A. Appointed by the King on nomination by the cabinet.

Q. And the representatives were—

A. Elected by the people.

Q. What suffrage qualification had you?

A. Under the constitution of 1852 there was no property qualification. The Legislature consisted of two houses that sat separately. King Kamehameha V refused to take the oath to that constitution when he took the throne in the fall of 1863, and he called a convention of delegates to revise the constitution, with the purpose of limiting the power of the people and strengthening his own prerogatives. I was secretary in that convention, and after a very warm discussion the King was unable to agree with the delegates as to the measure of that property qualification. He then dismissed the convention and proclaimed the constitution of 1864, which prescribed a small property qualification for voters.

Q. What was the amount of that property qualification?

A. Two hundred and fifty dollars a year, I think.

Q. Was that property qualification for voters the main point on which the King and the convention disagreed?

A. It was.

Q. Prior to that there was no property qualification?

A. No.

Q. This constitution of 1864 then came by virtue of a proclamation of the King?

A. It did. The people acquiesced in it after awhile, and, although there was a good deal of dissatisfaction felt, the people voted under it and agreed to it, and a good many believed that it was wise—that is, making the Legislature of one house and not of two.

Q. Prior to the constitution of 1864 how were nobles appointed?

A. By the King.

Q. What support had the King in reducing the franchise of the native population of the islands?

A. He had the support of his cabinet, and I think that is about all.

Q. What was the disposition of the more intelligent people here?

A. They considered it very arbitrary. The King at that time was very much opposed to the growth of American influence and republican ideas. He was very bitterly opposed to the influence of the Americans, and especially American missionaries. His aim was to strengthen the royal prerogatives.

Q. But if he cut off the number of native votes by property qualifications would he accomplish any addition to his strength?

A. He had one house then only, and there could be no negative action on any affirmative action of his. It was not necessary for him to have a majority of each house.

Q. Were the bodies equal in number?

A. I think not; I think the representative body was larger. It was proportioned according to the population of the districts.

Q. Under the constitution of 1864 did you have a property qualification?

A. We did for a while.

Q. How long?

A. For several elections. It was finally eradicated by amendments to the constitution.

Q. In what year?

A. I can only speak from memory, but certainly before 1870, but I certainly can not say without reference to books.

Q. How was that brought about? What state of opinion brought that about?

A. It was mainly the feeling that this was an encroachment. Public sentiment did not feel the necessity for it. Demagogism was then not prevalent. I think the Hawaiians voted better then than they do now. That is, demoralizing influences had not set in.

Q. At that time, I suppose, it was somewhat of a struggle between the King and the people?

A. Yes, precisely.

Q. And they were attempting to recover a part of the power they had lost under that constitution?

A. Yes.

Q. I see in the compilation of your laws, page 220, section 780, the following:

For the island of Hawaii, eight, that is to say:

One for the district of North Kona, beginning at and including Keahualono, and extending to and including Puuohao; one for the district of South Kona, beginning at Puhao and extending to and including Kaheawai.

One for the district of Kau.

One for the district of Puna.

Two for the district of Hilo.

One for the district of Hamakua.

One for the district of Kohala.

For the island of Maui, seven, that is to say, two for the district composed of Lahaina, Ukumehame, and Kahoolawe.

One for the district composed of Kahakuloa and Kaanapali.

One for the district beginning with and including Waihee and extending to and including Honouaule.

One for the district beginning with and including Kahikinui and extending to and including Koolau.

One for the district beginning with and including Hamakualoa and extending to and including Kula.

Two for the districts composing the Islands of Molokai and Lanai.

For the island of Oahu, eight, that is to say: Four for the district of Honolulu, beginning with and including Maunaloa, and extending to and including Moanalua.

And one for the district composed of Ewa and Waianae.

One for the district of Waialua.

One for the district of Koolauloa.

One for the district of Koolaupoko.

For the island of Kauai, three, that is to say: One for the district of Waimea, beginning with and including Nualolo and extending to and including Hanapepe, and also including the island of Niihau.

One for the district of Puna, beginning with and including Wahiawa, and extending to and including Wailua.

One for the district of Hanalei, beginning with and including Kapaa, and extending to and including Awa-awa-puhi.

Please say how many representatives you had under that?

A. Twenty-six.

Q. When was that established?

A. There have been laws of this character altered little by little, but a law of this general character has been in existence from very early times—that is from 1852. There would be occasional changes, adding one representative to one district and taking one away possibly from another district.

Q. I ask your attention to section 774 of your compilation of laws:

The house of representatives shall be composed of not less than twenty-four nor more than forty members, who shall be elected biennially.

Prior to 1887 you had in a legislative body twenty-six representatives?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it ever larger than that?

A. I think not.

Q. That gave them a popular element in the Legislature—a majority over the power of the King as represented in the nobles?

A. That is the way it was generally exercised. The King never appointed his full number.

Q. But the constitution itself provided that he might appoint thirty and that the representatives might be forty?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The fact was he generally appointed twenty, and the representatives were twenty-six?

A. Yes.

Q. So that there remained from this an excess of political power in the representatives in the legislative body as against the Crown?

A. That is true; but they rarely ever divided on that issue—nobles on one side and representatives on the other. Some of our best legislation was accomplished through the nobles. They were excellent men.

Q. What class of men generally?

A. Such men as Mr. C. R. Bishop, S. G. Wilder, and Mr. Dowsett. They were appointed by Lunalilo, who filled up the body to twenty.

Q. Were they generally appointed from the class of men who repre-

sented the intelligence and wealth and morality of the community or not?

A. In those days they were nominated to the King by his cabinet, and they were representative of the property of this Kingdom, combining also a fair representation of character and intelligence, until the middle of Kalakaua's reign, when, as vacancies occurred, he would appoint natives generally who did not have these characteristics of wealth, character, and intelligence.

Q. How was a ministry appointed and removed?

A. Under every constitution prior to 1887 the ministers were appointed by the King and removed by him; but until Kalakaua's reign it was a very rare thing that any King changed his ministry. They had a pretty long lease of political life. My father was minister for nine or ten years, and Mr. Wyllie for a longer period. It was a very rare political occurrence, and made a great sensation when a change was made. Under Kalakaua things were different; I think we had twenty-six different cabinets during his reign.

Q. How long was his reign?

A. From 1874 to 1891.

Q. What were the property qualifications of electors prior to 1887?

A. None—no property qualification.

Q. They had to be 20 years of age, and to be able to read and write?

A. If born since 1840 they had to be able to read and write, but this test was rarely applied. If born before that there was no qualification at all.

Q. Under the constitution of 1887 the same qualification of an elector for representative was continued?

A. Yes; substantially the same.

Q. Was there any very considerable change in the matter of the qualification of a voter for representative under the constitution of 1887 in the matter of allowing foreigners to vote?

A. There was.

Q. Please state it.

A. Previous to that time only citizens could vote; that is, native born or naturalized, or those who had received letters of denization. The constitution of 1887 allowed all residents, if they had those qualifications, excepting Asiatics, and they were not allowed to vote, even those who were citizens by naturalization.

Q. Did that cover the Portuguese element?

A. We allowed Portuguese to vote.

Q. Then the races that were excluded under that from the privilege of voting were the Chinese and the Japanese?

A. Yes.

Q. How about the qualifications to read and write for that class of voters—I mean the Portuguese, Americans, and Europeans who were allowed to vote? Did the qualifications as to reading and writing apply to them?

A. It did.

Q. Were there many Portuguese then voting under the constitution of 1887?

A. A good many voted. Not having the statistics before me I can not say what proportion.

Q. Under that constitution of 1887 were the number of nobles and representatives the same?

A. Exactly the same—twenty-four nobles and twenty-four representatives.

Q. The cabinet was appointed by the Crown?

A. Yes.

Q. And how removable?

A. Only by vote of want of confidence passed by a majority of elected members.

Q. What was the character of the increased power of the cabinet under the constitution of 1887 over that of 1864?

A. It made the ministerial responsibility clearer, I think, than it existed under the constitution of 1864.

Q. In what way was it made clearer?

A. By express provision after 1887, if I mistake not, saying that whenever any act was to be done by the sovereign it was to be done by and with the advice of the cabinet. That the supreme court has held to be the advice of a majority of the cabinet.

Q. Would that be so in the matter of the exercise of the veto power?

A. We thought not. That is, the justices of the supreme court thought not. Under the constitution, which made the legislative power consist of the King and the legislature, we felt that this act in approving or vetoing a bill was a legislative and not an executive act.

Q. What did the word signify, then, in relation to the power that the King could only do it with the advice of the cabinet?

A. We construed that power of the King which could only be exercised through the ministry as applying solely to executive and not to legislative acts.

Q. He could do nothing, then, without the sanction of a majority of the cabinet in the matter of administration?

A. No, sir.

Q. A single member of the cabinet would not answer?

A. No, sir. The Thurston ministry broke up on that principle, Ashford advising the King, contrary to the advice of the supreme court, that he was not bound to act unless all the members of the cabinet advised a certain measure. That led to a serious difference in the cabinet, which resulted in breaking it up.

Q. The court held that it required a majority?

A. Yes.

Q. Which Ashford was that?

A. C. W. Ashford. After his return from Canada he seemed to be very much changed.

Q. Your house of nobles was equal in number to the representatives. What was the qualification of an elector for nobles?

A. The property qualification was an income of \$600 a year, or unincumbered real property of the value of \$3,000. We held that where a man was paid wages and his board that his board was not to be included; that he must have a clear income of \$600.

Q. I wish to ask you the reason for these changes—what they were intended to accomplish—and I wish to ask you because of your high official position as chief justice and because of your high character?

A. The main grievance was this: The Legislature was composed of officeholders. I mean the representatives prior to 1887. The district justice, nominated by the governor of each island, would use his judicial influence by making it very easy with the offenses of the people. The same thing was true of deputy sheriffs, tax assessors, tax collectors, and all minor officials. When once in the Legislature they could be very easily controlled either by threats of withdrawing the offices from them, or by promises of other offices. As was well expressed by Mr. Gibson, who was premier at one time, the King was the larger part of the

Legislature. That is, his influence exerted through these agents became paramount. He could accomplish, against his ministry even, almost any measure he chose.

Q. Did he appoint all these officers to which you referred?

A. Not directly, but the governors, being appointed for four years, and being his favorites, would appoint any officials he suggested, and as a matter of fact Kalakaua nominated, directly or indirectly, the mass of the officials in this country.

Q. Do you mean to say that by the appointment of governors who were personal friends of his there came to be appointments of subordinate officers who were in sympathy with the King in his political views and his general wishes?

A. I do, and more especially to carry out the money votes which he was very eager for in order to pay his debts, the expenses of his tour abroad, of his coronation, of the military embassy to Samoa, and other extravagances which every respectable person thought very unwise. I recommended in my report to the Legislature a change in this respect, *i. e.*, in the qualifications of candidates to the Legislature, excluding judges, etc. Another cause, hardly second in importance, was the matter of the removal of ministries. I have said that up to that time there had been twenty-six changes of cabinets. It had unsettled the community so greatly and gave opportunity for what is called "backstairs cabinets" by adventurers and others that there was very little stability in the Government. It was almost impossible for any ministry to carry out any settled policy, certainly any policy that did not please the King.

Q. You changed the constitution so as to guard against that improper mode of the appointment of inferior officers?

A. It forbade any person being appointed to office during the whole time for which he was elected, and also forbade the election of anybody who held any office under the Government.

Q. Then you cut off that power of the King in the use of his patronage?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. As to the appointment of nobles, the idea was to take that away from him?

A. The nobles were elected by what was supposed to be the wealthy and influential class.

Q. That was taken away from the King and placed among the wealthy and influential classes?

A. Yes, so that they could have representation in the Legislature.

Q. Under that a minority of the natives only could vote for nobles?

A. Only a minority of them could vote; it gave them great dissatisfaction.

Q. Any other changes of consequence?

A. I think not.

Q. You say this new manner of selecting nobles gave the natives great dissatisfaction?

A. It did. The first election held under the constitution was very satisfactory. The natives voted well. Good men were elected. Then they were told that the white people had advantages, by reason of their wealth, over them, and this idea at election time, that they were put in an inferior position, was always forced upon them.

Q. Will you be kind enough to state how this new constitution was established?

A. The two events which brought this matter to a culminating point

were (1) the opium steal of \$71,000, by which a Chinaman named Aki was made by the King to pay him a bribe of \$71,000 of hard coin in order to obtain the exclusive franchise for selling opium, and (2) the expense of the expedition to Samoa in the *Kaimiloa*. A secret league was formed all over the islands, the result of which was, the King was asked to promulgate a new constitution containing those provisions that I have before alluded to. It was very adroitly managed by the Ashfords, and more especially by V. V. Ashford, who obtained the confidence of the King and Mr. Gibson. He was the colonel of the rifles, and he assured them that if he was paid a certain sum of money and made minister to Canada that he would arrange it so that the movement would be futile.

Q. How was he to do that?

A. By preventing the use of the military I suppose. And he arranged with the military authorities and Capt. Haley that they should be called out to preserve public order, although it was this large and well-drilled force which made the King fear that if he did not yield things would be very critical for him.

Q. Was that a Government force?

A. It was organized under the laws.

Q. A volunteer organization?

A. Yes.

Q. So that the men in sympathy with the movement of this secret league went into it and constituted it under form of law?

A. Of course I do not know what was told the King privately, but I know that he felt it would be very dangerous to refuse to promulgate the new constitution. I have no doubt that a great many things were circulated which came to his ears in the way of threats that were unfounded.

Q. What was the outside manifestation?

A. One great feature of it was its secrecy. The King was frightened at this secrecy. It was very well managed. The judges of the supreme court were not told of it until just before the event took place. I think it was the 2d or 3d of July, 1887.

Q. Was there then a mass meeting?

A. There was a large mass meeting held, and a set of resolutions was presented to the King, requiring that a new ministry be formed, by Mr. W. L. Green and one other person whose name I have forgotten.

Q. Was there any display of force?

A. The Honolulu Rifles were in detachments marched about in different portions of the town, having been called out by the legal military authorities.

Q. Who were the legal military authorities?

A. The governor of the island, Dominis, and Capt H. Burrill-Haley, the adjutant-general.

Q. Were they in sympathy with the movement?

A. No, sir; the officers of the corps were in sympathy with the movement.

Q. Who were they?

A. Ashford and Hebbard; I do not remember all.

Q. Did the governor order them out, not knowing of this state of things?

A. I think he did. I think he knew it; but it was to prevent as I believe, something worse happening. As I said, there were threats made.

Q. Of what sort?

A. I understood that at one time there was a very strong feeling that the King should be forced to abdicate altogether, and it was only the more conservative men born here who said that the King and the Hawaiians should have another opportunity.

Q. Were there not two elements in that movement, one for a republic and the other for restraining the power of the King?

A. Yes.

Q. Were there not two forces in this movement coöperating together up to a certain point, to wit: those who were in favor of restraining the King by virtue of the provisions of the constitution of 1887, and those who were in favor of dethroning the King and establishing a republic?

A. I understand that there were, and that the more conservative view prevailed.

Q. And the men who were in favor of a republic were discontented at the outcome?

A. They were, and they didn't want the Hawaiians to vote at all; and the reason that the Portuguese were allowed to vote was to balance the native vote.

Q. Whose idea was that, was that the idea of the men who made the new constitution?

A. Of the men who made the new constitution.

Q. It was to balance the native vote with the Portuguese vote?

A. That was the idea.

Q. And that would throw the political power into the hands of the intelligence and wealth of the country?

A. That was the aim.

Q. How was this military used?

A. It was put about in squads over the city.

Q. The officers of the corps were really in favor of the movement for the new constitution, and were called out by Governor Dominis to preserve order?

A. Yes. After the affair was over he was thanked by a military order from headquarters.

Q. Do you suppose he was gratified with thanks, under the circumstances?

A. Haley said to me when he showed me the order, "It is a little funny to thank a man who kicked you out, but I suppose I've got to do it."

Q. The King acceded to the demand for a new constitution and of a cabinet of given character?

A. In the first place he acceded to the proposition to make a new cabinet named by Mr. Green. The former cabinet, consisting of Mr. Gibson and three Hawaiians, had just resigned a day or two before. In three or four days the cabinet waited upon him with the constitution.

Q. What cabinet?

A. The cabinet, consisting of Mr. Green, minister of foreign affairs; Mr. Thurston, minister of the interior; Mr. C. W. Ashford, attorney-general, and Mr. Godfrey Brown, minister of finance. I was sent for in the afternoon of July 5, to swear the King to the constitution. When I reached the palace they were all there, and the King asked me in Hawaiian whether he had better sign it or not. I said "You must follow the advice of your responsible ministers." He signed it.

Q. This ministry had been appointed as the result of the demand of the mass meeting?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then, having been appointed, they presented him with the constitution of 1887 ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he signed it ?

A. He did.

Q. Was that constitution ever submitted to a popular vote for ratification ?

A. No; it was not. There was no direct vote ratifying the constitution, but its provisions requiring that no one should vote unless he had taken an oath to support it, and a large number voted at that first election, was considered a virtual ratification of the constitution.

Q. If they voted at all they were considered as accepting it ?

A. Yes, sir. I do not think any large number refused to take the oath to it.

Q. It was not contemplated by the mass meeting, nor the cabinet, nor anybody in power, to submit the matter of ratification at all ?

A. No; it was not. It was considered a revolution. It was a successful revolutionary act.

Q. And therefore was not submitted to a popular vote for ratification ?

A. Yes, sir. It had mischievous effects in encouraging the Wilcox revolution of 1889, which was unsuccessful. I think it was a bad precedent, only the exigencies of the occasion seemed to demand it.

Q. Was there discontent with that constitution on the part of Kalakaua ? Was he ever satisfied with it ?

A. He was very skillful in concealing his views. I do not think he was satisfied with it.

Q. Was the ex-Queen ever satisfied with it ?

A. I think much less satisfied with it than he was, and commenced movements against it even before her brother died—while she was princess. From my intimate acquaintance with her, I knew that she ran away with the idea that she was Queen only of the native Hawaiians and not of the whites, even though born here.

Q. Have the natives as a race been discontented with these changes ?

A. As shown in their public utterances in the Legislature, at election times, and through their native newspapers, I should say yes; but from my acquaintance with them personally, I am unable to see that it has worked to their injury, and I do not see evidences of their dissatisfaction.

Q. Were they in this secret league to which you had made reference ?

A. I think there was only one person of mixed blood in the league.

Q. Did your politics take on anything of a racial form at any time; if so, when ?

A. Occasionally a native in the Legislature would lose his head and say severe things against the whites as a class. It is generally frowned down upon by the most respectable of the natives and the foreigners. It has, however, been made a much more prominent feature in politics of late.

Q. Did Gibson use that race feeling to obtain power, and to maintain himself in it ?

A. He did; and he also used flattery to the King to exalt his position. He fostered in the King's mind the idea of proclaiming himself emperor of the Pacific in connection with the Samoan affair.

Q. But in dealing with the natives in the matter of suffrage did he play on the matter of race feeling ?

A. Somewhat. His emissaries generally looked to other means—gin among them.

Q. Was he in the habit of abusing the whites, those who are called missionaries?

A. Yes; the first mischief he did was in thwarting the treaty of reciprocity.

Q. In what year was that?

A. In 1873.

Q. Before Kalakaua was King?

A. Yes; and the ministry of which I was a member, Mr. Bishop being leader, owing to the fact that King Lunalilo was in consumption, felt that it was prudent to abandon it.

Q. You were going to speak of race feeling in regard to politics?

A. It has been almost impossible to elect any kind of a decent white man in Honolulu for many years.

Q. Why?

A. I once had a conversation with a very prominent native and asked him why they never succeeded in electing a good white man in Honolulu. He said:

The man whom you regard as the best man the natives oppose just because you want him elected.

Q. I suppose you were not with the committee of safety during the late revolution?

A. I was not informed of any of their proceedings. They kept me out.

Q. Did you know that a constitution was going to be proclaimed in 1893 before it was done?

A. I had heard hints during some years before that the Queen was anxious to proclaim a new constitution, but I did not hear of her present intention until the morning of Saturday. Shortly before the prorogation, at 10 o'clock in the morning, a gentleman told me that immediately after the prorogation Mr. William White, the lottery advocate in the Legislature, was going to the palace with a large number of people and that the Queen was going to proclaim a new constitution. I mentioned it to my associates on the bench. They didn't credit it. I mentioned it to a few others, among them the French consul. It disturbed me very much. Immediately the Legislature was prorogued I looked out from the balcony and saw a large number of natives dressed in black and wearing beaver hats marching over to the palace with banners and carrying a parcel.

I said to myself that is the new constitution. Being invited by the chamberlain to go over there, which is customary after prorogation, I urged my associates to accompany me. Judge Dole had an engagement and could not go. Judge Bickerton and I went over. We stayed until 4 o'clock and saw the whole thing, except we were not in the private room with the Queen when she had her ministry there. The speech that she made, when she said she had designed to promulgate a new constitution but had met with obstacles and was prevented for the present, I wrote from memory. She said it in Hawaiian. I went home that evening, wrote it down from memory, and furnished it to the press.

Q. What was the point of it?

A. She was under great emotion. I never saw her in such a state of agitation. At the same time she controlled herself. It was really a magnificent spectacle. She said she had listened to thousands of voices demanding a change in the constitution—demanding a new constitu-

tion—and she thought the opportune moment had come. The constitution was very defective, and she turned around to defer to me as her witness, because I had had occasion so often to construe it. She had prepared a new constitution which she thought would meet the purposes required and would please the people; but she said with great sorrow: “I am obliged to tell you that I can not do it now. I have met with obstacles, but I ask you to go home; continue to love me, and I will continue to love you, and in a few days you will have your wishes gratified.” Immediately a member of the Legislature, the throne room being full of the Hui Kalaiainas, turned around and said: “What shall we do with these men who prevent the gratification of our wishes?” meaning the ministry. We hushed him up; told him to keep quiet, and I left the palace.

Q. What do you suppose she meant that in a few days they would be gratified?

A. She hoped to overcome the objections of her cabinet. Parker told me that the reason he stayed by her without leaving her all that afternoon was that he was afraid she would break away from the cabinet, go out on the balcony, and say to the people: “The ministers won’t approve it, and my chief justice won’t swear me to it. Here is your constitution. Now look out for these men.” We stayed there not under any physical compulsion. I sent in two messages by the chamberlain asking to be excused, but she sent word asking me to remain. Evidently she expected that thing done then and there. Mr. Wilson, the marshal, was in a great state of excitement, and told me that he had been fighting the battle alone all the morning with her, and wanted me to go in and use my influence to prevent her from doing it. I said that if the Queen asked me to come into her council I should be glad to do it, but I could not swear her to the new constitution.

Q. Have you any personal knowledge of improper relations between Wilson and the ex-Queen?

A. I know this as a fact, that when the supreme court decided that on the death of Kalakaua she could require the resignation of the cabinet appointed by him and could appoint her own cabinet, that she made three conditions with the new cabinet, and one of these conditions was such that Mr. Peterson would not consent to resume office under her. The three conditions were these: That Wilson was to be marshal, a native boy named Joe Aea was to be made turnkey of the prison, and that Wundenberg was to be dismissed as postmaster-general. Wundenberg had dismissed Henry Poor from a clerkship in the post-office, whose mother, living on Emma street, was a very strong friend of the Queen.

They were schoolmates together with me, and she, Mrs. Poor, is in charge of two boys. One of the boys is Dominis’s own son by a woman named Mary Purdy. She is married to the messenger of the foreign office, named Kamiki, and the other child is a son of Joe Aea, and rumor says it is the Queen’s own child. I do not know whether it is the Queen’s child or a child of Aea’s wife. I got it from Kamiki, who was deprived of the service of his wife from being Dominis’s mistress. When Dominis died he died with one hand in the hands of the Queen and the other in Mary Purdy’s hands. On one occasion I went to her about the morality of the palace, and she professed to me to be in favor of religion and morality. I went to her on account of a great deal of scandal in regard to the character of the palace invitations.

Q. Did Wilson live in the bungalow?

A. Yes.

Q. And when she went back to Washington Place he always had a cottage there?

A. Yes.

Q. He was marshal?

A. Yes; he had been clerk of the waterworks before that.

Q. Judge, you have a good many races of people here. Could you establish stable government here on the basis of a qualification that they should read and write the English language?

A. That would limit the number qualified to vote very much. It would exclude nearly all the old Hawaiians. It would exclude the Portuguese, except the younger class that have been to school here, and, of course, the younger Hawaiians, who are now taught English exclusively.

Q. What would be the proportion between the white and native vote, putting the English test?

A. I can not say.

Q. Would it leave the native vote in excess or not?

A. I think it would.

Q. Now, on the basis of reading and writing English, could you establish a permanent form of government?

A. I doubt it very much.

Q. Could it maintain a government such as obtains in the States of the United States—New York, for instance?

A. It depends upon the character of the imperial government over it.

Q. What do you mean?

A. I mean that a republic of our own would not be at all successful.

Q. Why?

A. Because our natives are so likely to be influenced by demagogues, and more especially such influences as obtained in the last Legislature, such as the lottery—such schemes as that. The natives joined with the lower class of whites. They have not sufficient character to resist.

Q. Could you establish one that would make life and property safe and preserve order?

A. I doubt it very much.

Q. Would you be willing to take your chances on that sort of government?

A. No sir. As a property-holder and a man of family I would not like to take my chances.

Q. Could you maintain a good government here as a State in the Federal Union, like the State of New York?

A. I have not thought that was possible, because I do not suppose the United States would ever consent to have two Senators from a place like this.

Q. I am not talking about what they would consent to, but as to what you consider the qualifications of the Hawaiians to vote. I do not want to imply that the Government of the United States means to do anything.

A. Yes, I believe we could.

Q. What is the character of the Hawaiian as a voter? Is he an intelligent voter?

A. That is a matter of comparison, of course. He is easily influenced.

Q. In what way?

A. When his prejudices are excited, and when he is told the usual election stories; that something is going to happen unless they vote for such and such a man.

Q. Is he in the habit of selling his vote?

A. I believe there has been a good deal of bribery in this way, paying a man's taxes for him—there being a qualification that a man shall have paid his taxes.

Q. Are they influenced much in elections by liquor?

A. Until the Australian ballot went into effect. The election of 1886 was largely managed by gin.

Q. What is their character as to honesty?

A. So far as they are concerned, they are not especially addicted to larceny.

Q. Not more than the white race?

A. No; I have lived in my present residence twenty-one years; have never had a theft; we live with our houses very loosely fastened.

Q. What is the moral character of the race?

A. The seafaring class are very much addicted to the use of liquor.

Q. What is the character of the Hawaiian women for chastity?

A. They are not chaste. At the same time they do not expose their immorality to public view. I think strangers would see scarcely anything of it. There is an outward observance of the laws of decency and morality.

Q. Why do they observe it outwardly and not practice it in secrecy?

A. I think it is the influence of their religious teaching. It is a source of profit to them.

Q. How?

A. Sailors and mechanics visit them, and that is what supports their families very largely in the low part of the town.

Q. Is that the character of the Hawaiian women generally?

A. I must except many very good, virtuous women.

Q. I do not mean exceptions.

A. They are accessible.

Q. As a race they are not chaste?

A. Their instincts are towards the sexual desire.

Q. Then the domestic circle is not marked by chaste conversation and life?

A. They are very careless in their conversation before their children.

Q. There is a good deal of intermarriage between the whites and natives here. What is the result of that? Is it a better type?

A. It is a more intelligent type.

Q. Are they not better morally?

A. As a class, no.

Q. Are the half castes generally the result of matrimonial alliances?

A. There are a large number that are not.

Q. What social recognition have these half-castes?

A. They have always received social recognition. They have always been sought after by strangers.

Q. How in social life here; are they received among the whites?

A. Those of good character are. There are several large families received on terms of perfect equality.

Q. The Portuguese population here, is that leaving much?

A. Yes.

Q. To what extent; rapidly, would you say?

A. Yes. On account of their inability to obtain land.

Q. Why can not they obtain land?

A. A great many lands have been tied up by long leases, although the Government has commenced the system of throwing open lands to homesteaders.

Q. But still the tendency is to leave?

A. Yes; they want to go to California—to America.

Q. Then is it the land only?

A. No; it is the desire to go to America; it is their El Dorado.

Q. The Japanese population is probably your future reliance for labor?

A. Yes; but I think the Chinese make the best laborers.

Q. But the authorities who have been controlling the Islands have taken the view that it was best not to allow the Chinamen to come in in large numbers?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the action of the Government has been toward restricting that, and looking to Japan for laborers?

A. Yes; that has been the policy of the country for a long time.

Q. Are these Japanese beginning to get the desire for suffrage.

A. I only hear it through the newspapers.

Q. What do you hear?

A. I hear that they will in time demand suffrage.

Q. What do you think of them as voters?

A. I think they would vote as the consul wanted them to vote. They are an inferior class, brought up with the idea that they must obey their superiors.

Q. They belong to the lowest class of the Japanese population?

A. Yes; they have very great deference for their superiors.

Q. Are they learning to read and write the English language to any extent?

A. Those who remain in the field do not have the opportunity. Their children go to school and learn English.

Q. Your native population—do they understand generally how to read and write the native tongue?

A. Lately they are losing the ability to speak Hawaiian well, by reason of their minds being directed in school to English.

Q. What books have they in the Hawaiian language?

A. Very few books outside of school books and religious books, and a few trashy novels.

Q. They have the Bible and the Pilgrim's Progress?

A. Yes.

Q. You indicated a desire to make a statement in reference to certain occurrences in the legislature of 1892.

A. The body of Kalakaua arrived here on the 29th of January, 1891. At 2 o'clock that day Liliuokalani took the oath to support the constitution of 1887, which I administered. Kalakaua's cabinet consisted then of Cummins, C. N. Spencer, Godfrey Brown, and A. P. Peterson. There was a great deal of discussion and wire pulling as to whether that cabinet should have the right to continue. Finally the opinion of the court was asked and it was held that she had liberty to ask for their resignation. They resigned and she appointed Parker, minister of foreign affairs; Widemann, finance; Spencer, interior, and Whiting, attorney-general.

At the general election which took place in 1892 all the representatives of the island of Oahu were elected from the Liberal party, of which Robert W. Wilcox was the leader (with one exception, W. R. Wilder), who was elected for one of the districts of Honolulu. The Legislature was opened on the 20th of May. On the 6th of June a vote was taken to expunge MacFarlane's resolution, which was directed against Minister Stevens, which was carried by 33 to 13. On the 30th of August the Parker ministry was voted out by 31 to 10. There

was no new cabinet appointed until the 12th of September. That was E. C. MacFarlane, minister of finance; Parker, foreign affairs; Gulick, interior, and Neumann, attorney-general. On the 15th of September there was another vote of want of confidence in this MacFarlane cabinet. It received 24 votes against 21. The question as to whether that was a sufficient constitutional number to pass it was referred to the judges of the supreme court, who decided that 25 votes were necessary.

Meanwhile, on the 4th of October, there was a special election held on this island, and Maile, a native from the fish market, and Hopkins, a half-white, were elected as nobles, by a very large majority, over two very respectable men, M. P. Robinson and H. Waterhouse, by the so-called lottery faction; that is, people who were bound to carry the lottery bill through.

On the 17th of October there was another vote of want of confidence introduced in the MacFarlane ministry, and it passed 32 to 15. On the 1st of November, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the Queen appointed Cornwell minister of finance, Gulick minister of the interior, Nawahi minister of foreign affairs, and Creighton, attorney-general. At half-past 12 they were voted out—26 to 15, the same day. The 4th of November, rumors prevailed that the Queen would agree to appoint G. N. Wilcox minister of the interior, Cecil Brown attorney-general, P. C. Jones minister of finance, and M. C. Robinson minister of foreign affairs.

On the 8th of November this cabinet was appointed and sworn in. Then the country felt easy. The next important event was on the 6th of December, when the Legislature sent a request for an opinion to the justices of the supreme court upon the question whether an amendment to the constitution which had passed two successive Legislatures required the approval of the Queen. We answered that it did not.

Q. What was the constitutional provision?

A. It was something with reference to allowing legislation restricting the residence of Chinese here. The idea was that any laws that might be passed restricting terms of residence or rights of Chinese here would not be held unconstitutional.

Q. At that time was there any restriction on Chinese immigration?

A. Oh, yes; there were restrictions that had passed the Legislature with reference to their entering the Kingdom, but when once in the Kingdom they had the rights of all residents under Hawaiian law, and by our constitution no class legislation would be permissible under the constitution. The object of this amendment was to allow legislation of that character.

Q. Do you have reference to legislation providing that the Chinese should not reside here after the contract term had expired?

A. Yes; I think also as to the character of the employment they should engage in. It was the desire to pass that law which gave rise to this submission to the court. The constitution of 1887 left out all the provisions which had previously existed as to the sovereign signing an amendment to the constitution. The only popular reference was that any amendment that had passed one Legislature would have to be published three months previous to the election, and then if it passed the second Legislature it became a law.

Q. Was there no direct submission to the people?

A. Only in that way. On the 21st of December this ministry, which had the confidence of the people, began to have difficulty with the Queen with reference to the appointment of circuit judges under the new act.

Q. In what way?

A. They nominated Mr. Whiting and Mr. Frear.

Q. And she was not willing?

A. At first she was. The appointment of circuit judges was not to go into effect until the 1st of January, but it was deemed advisable that these gentlemen, who were in the practice of law, should be notified beforehand to arrange their business, as terms of the circuit court would begin with the new year. She first agreed that she would make these appointments. Then she said she did not care to appoint Mr. Frear, but wanted Mr. Rosa. I had a long talk with her. I told her that Mr. Rosa's habits would make him unfit; that he got drunk. She finally on the 3d of January appointed those two judges. On the 29th of December there was talk all over town and in the lobby of the Legislature that there would be a vote of want of confidence against the Wilcox ministry, and on the 4th of January Mr. Bush introduced one. It failed, 19 to 22. On the 10th of January the lottery bill, which everyone supposed was dead, was moved up by C. L. Hopkins, who had just been elected by the lottery people.

Q. What is he doing now?

A. He is in the fishing business. I can not say he is in the opium business. It passed on the second reading to the astonishment of everybody by 20 to 17. It was hurried right along and passed its third reading on the 11th of January, 23 to 20. Six of the members of the house had gone home. On the 12th at half past 1 Kapahu introduced a vote of want of confidence in the Wilcox cabinet, and it passed, 25 to 16. Noble C. O. Beyer being the twenty-fifth man and he voted that way because Mr. Widemann was promised by the Queen that he should form a new cabinet. On the 13th of January there was no quorum in the morning. At half past 2 the cabinet came in—Parker, Cornwell, Peterson, and Colburn. That was Friday. That night quite a number of members tried to get their forces together to introduce a vote of want of confidence in that ministry. People said no, it is no use. Saturday morning Mr. Peterson announced to the Legislature that the Queen had signed two bills that had interested the community for a long time—the bill licensing the sale of opium and the establishing of smoking joints, and the lottery bill, giving an exclusive franchise to these individuals for a term of twenty-five years to establish a national lottery, for which they were to give the Government \$500,000 a year.

Q. Did the bill provide how it should be used?

A. It provided that a certain sum should be used for the laying of a cable between here and San Francisco.

Q. Any other public work?

A. I do not now remember.

Q. Did you participate in the meetings of the committee of safety on 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of January?

A. I did not, being a judge.

I have carefully read the foregoing and pronounce it an accurate report of my interview with Mr. Blount.

A. F. JUDD.

No. 29.

Interview with the Hui Kalaiaina, Friday April 21, 1893.

At half past 3 a committee of the Hui Kalaiaina called at the headquarters of the Commission and presented resolutions from that society, which were read by the interpreter, Mr. Solomon Kaleiope.

In accepting the copy of the resolutions Mr. Blount responded as follows:

GENTLEMEN: Very much of the duties of my mission I can not communicate to you. I will say, however, that your papers which have been presented I will accept and forward to the President in the nature of information indicating the opinions of your people in these islands in reference to the inclination on your part to support the existing condition of things; that is to say, whether you are in favor of the Provisional Government and annexation, or whether your preference is for royalty. I am gathering information on lines of that sort for the purpose of submitting it to the President. That is the extent of what I can say to you by way of response. I would like to ask, however, a few questions. Which is the chairman of your committee?

INTERPRETER. W. L. Holokahiki, Honolulu.

(These questions were given and answered through the interpreter:)

Q. On the day of the prorogation of the Legislature a number of natives were reported to have gone in to see the Queen—about thirty in number—and that their object was to ask for a new constitution. Was that a committee from this organization?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many voters, people who vote for representatives, are there in this order.

A. Some thousands as we have it in our books; about 3,000 of native Hawaiians.

Q. What did the Queen say in response to your request?

A. That she was quite ready to give a new constitution, but her cabinet is opposed to it. Her cabinet refused it, so that she could not do otherwise. She told the people that they had to go home quietly and wait for the next session of the Legislature.

Q. When would that be if the Government had not been overthrown?

A. The time, according to our laws, was two years, and that would run us up to 1894.

Q. Then the information was that nothing could be done under two years on account of the disapproval of the cabinet?

A. Yes; the Queen could do nothing.

Q. She said she could do nothing?

A. Yes; because the constitution says she can do nothing without being approved by her cabinet.

Q. What did the committee do when they went out; did they give this information to the native people?

A. Yes, sir. This committee shortly after they came out they told the people they could not do anything now. That they would have to wait until the next session. Also the Queen came out and told the people she could not give them any constitution now because the law forbids.

(A great many petitions were exhibited; sometimes they were to the Queen and sometimes to the Legislature, asking for a new constitution.)

(A book was also shown, containing the names of members of the organization throughout the Islands, as follows:)

(Oahu, 2,320; Maui, 384; Hawaii, 266; Kaai, 222, and Molokai, 263.

Q. (To interpreter.) Why don't other natives join the organization?

A. They sometimes go to meetings. When anything happens they go together.

Q. These are active members of the organization?

A. Yes.

Q. In matters of this sort the natives followed the lead of the organization?

A. Yes, sir.

We have read the foregoing and pronounce it to be a correct report:

A. SOLOMON KALEIOPU, *Interpreter.*

W. C. HOLOKAHIKI.

J. ALAPAI.

JOHN KANUI.

J. A. KAHOONEI.

J. B. KUOHO.

J. KEEUI.

T. C. POLIKAPA.

D. W. KANAILEHUA.

No. 30.

Interview with J. W. Kalua, president of the Annexation Club, and others, May 1, 1893.

Q. Please give the names of the delegates and the islands they represent?

A. Interpreter J. W. Kalua, president of the Annexation Club and chairman of the delegation, Rev. A. Pali, C. E. Coe, W. F. Pogue, C. F. Horner, and E. H. Bailey, all of Maui.

(Through interpreter.)

Q. Mr. Kalua, were you chosen by a convention of delegates from various districts chairman of the delegation to present their wishes on the subject of annexation?

A. I was.

Q. Are the natives you represent in favor of annexation unless they have the right to vote?

A. They are not.

Q. Are they in favor of it with any property qualifications?

A. They are not in favor of it.

Q. Have the annexation speakers in addressing them conveyed the idea to them that the right to vote would be preserved to them if they went into the American Union?

A. It has been said to them in speeches.

Q. If the right to vote is preserved to them they are willing to give up the Crown and become annexed to the United States?

A. They are.

Q. Mr. Coe, were you born in the Island?

A. I was born in Grant County, Wis.

Q. How long have you lived here?

A. Twelve years this coming fall.

Q. Are the natives in favor of annexation unless the right to vote is preserved to them?

A. I think not.

Q. Would they be in favor of annexation with a property qualification?

A. No, sir.

Q. With the right to vote preserved to them, they prefer to be a part of the United States rather than to be under the Crown?

A. Yes, sir, thinking that the progress of the country would be advanced by being part of the United States.

Q. Provided the right to vote is preserved?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Horner, is that your understanding of the situation?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Pogue, is that your understanding?

A. It is.

Q. Mr. Kalua, how many voters do you represent on the island of Maui?

A. Taking the annexation list for me to go by—the foreigners represent three-fourths and the natives represent one-fourth of the lists of the annexation club—in all 700.

(The interpreter, Mr. Kalua, says there are more names on the lists than 700, but they have not all been opened yet. He does not know the exact number. He says the people have not all subscribed who will subscribe, owing to the short time the club has been started—they have not had the opportunity.)

(The notes of the foregoing were read over to the interpreter and others and pronounced correct.—E. M.)

No. 31.

Interview with Rev. J. Kanoho, of Lihue, Kauai, Wednesday, April 19, 1893.

(Mr. George Mundon, interpreter.)

Mr. BLOUNT. What is your occupation?

A. I am a minister of the Gospel.

Q. How many members of your church?

A. Sometimes 30 and sometimes 50.

Q. Do you belong to the annexation club?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many members are there in that club?

A. I can not state exactly how many.

Q. Well, about how many?

A. I think about 200.

Q. Are they in favor of annexation?

A. They are in favor of annexation.

Q. Are they in favor of annexation without having the right to ballot?

A. No, sir; they are not in favor of annexation without they get their right to vote.

Q. How do they feel towards the Queen?

A. A portion of them would like to have the Queen replaced. Those who have not signed for annexation would like to have her back. Those who have signed are not in favor of having her returned.

Q. Have most of them signed in favor of annexation or not?

A. Yes; a majority of them have signed annexation papers.

The foregoing has been translated to me by Mr. George Mundon, and I pronounce it a correct report.

J. KANOHO.

HONOLULU, *April 19, 1893.*

No. 32.

Interview with John Lot Kaulukou.

HONOLULU, *Thursday, April 13, 1893.*

Mr. BLOUNT. Where do you live?

A. In Honolulu.

Q. Were you in the city on the 14th of January last?

A. I was.

Q. Will you please give me a statement of the causes of the revolution which resulted in the dethronement of the Queen?

A. I will tell you what I know. On the 14th of January, the Queen dismissed the Legislature—discharged every member of the house at 12 o'clock. The Queen went into the palace with several people. On that day it was the first time I heard of the Queen's intention to declare a new constitution. Since 1887, after the decree of that constitution, the people were asking and filing petitions to the legislatures of 1890 and also 1892. There were many names on the petitions to his late Majesty Kalakaua, and when he died his sister came on the throne. The people sent petitions to the legislature and to Her Majesty the Queen to make a new constitution, because the people wanted to have a new constitution—a constitution for equal rights between everyone in this community.

Q. You mean by equal rights everybody to have the privilege to vote who were twenty?

A. Yes. The constitution of 1887 is to take away the rights of the natives to vote for the nobles. For instance, if I had property of \$2,999.99 I had no right to vote for nobles under that constitution, but a man who had an income of \$600, without property, he had that right. In these islands there were nine nobles and that man with an income of \$600 had a right to vote for nine nobles, and a man of property of \$2,999.99, he had no right to vote for noble, except one representative in the ward where he lived.

Q. You mean to vote for a member of the house of representatives instead of nobles.

A. Yes; and this man, with an income of \$600, he had a right to vote for nine nobles in these islands and also a representative in the ward where he lived. He voted for ten men. For that reason the people claim it is not right.

Q. These petitions to the legislature and to the Queen, what did they ask for in the matter of the election of nobles? Did they ask that the Crown should appoint them or the people be allowed to elect them?

A. That the people be allowed to vote for all—to give everyone an equal vote for both noble and representative. That was the intention of the petitions.

Q. Do you know what this constitution the Queen intended to proclaim contained in that connection?

A. No one in this community knows.

Q. You do know that the demand from the people was for the election of nobles by all classes of the people?

A. Yes; without any qualification.

Q. Well, please go on with your statement.

A. Many people went into the palace to see the Queen and also Kalakaua, and they sent a petition to the Queen and also to the legislature, and called a mass meeting, and that is the only reason Wilcox is elected; also Mr. Bush and Antone Rosa, and also the reason why they were elected in 1890.

Q. On the idea of making a new constitution on the ground these petitions asked for?

A. Yes; and also in 1892.

Q. In the elections of 1890 and 1892 the line of division amongst the people was upon that question of a new constitution, giving everybody the right to vote for nobles and representatives?

A. Yes; for any candidates running to oppose that view it was impossible for that man to go to the legislature in 1890 and 1892. They did not want the idea of taking all the power from the Queen. Under this constitution they took every power from the Queen.

Q. What power did they want to give the Queen?

A. In regard to veto. They wanted to give some power to the Queen. A bill goes to Her Majesty. They want to give that privilege to the Queen; if she thinks a bill not proper, not right, she should have the right to veto it.

Q. She did have that power and exercised it, didn't she?

A. After the case came before the court, the court decided in favor of her power to veto.

Q. When was that decision made?

A. I think about 1888 or 1889. It was after 1887.

Q. If that was settled by the court in 1888 or 1889, it would hardly be in the campaign in 1890 and 1892?

A. The real object of the people was for the constitution. They did not care about the veto question. They claimed the constitution was forced on Kalakaua. The people wanted a new constitution.

Q. You say the constitution was forced on Kalakaua. How was it forced on him?

A. He did not like this constitution.

Q. Why did he proclaim it?

A. People told him "if you don't sign this constitution we will overthrow you."

Q. What people?

A. White men—foreigners.

Q. Where did they live?

A. Here.

Q. And in the other islands?

A. In this island and in the other islands. I saw some from other islands.

Q. How many?

A. Saw only one that I remember.

Q. Any natives in the meeting which demanded the new constitution of Kalakaua?

A. Very few. About three or four natives went there.

Q. The native population is in the majority. Why didn't they stand

by him—by Kalakaua? He did not expect them to help him or he would not have yielded to the whites.

A. The Government had many soldiers and also volunteers. Volunteers supported the view of the new constitution in 1887. Many Portuguese. The officers had commissions from King Kalakaua. Government furnished guns and ammunition for them. Those people are the very people to oppose the King and go in favor of the new constitution. The Portuguese officers and men were opposed to the King.

Q. Do I understand you to mean that the desertion of these Portuguese officers and troops left him without the military power to oppose this movement of the whites?

A. The Portuguese officers and Portuguese soldiers went together with the volunteers at that time. There were two kinds of volunteers, white men, really white men, and the Portuguese joined together with the Thurston crowd and opposed the King.

Q. Were they volunteers?

A. Yes.

Q. How many soldiers had the Thurston crowd?

A. Including Portuguese, about 300.

Q. How many had the King?

A. I think the King had 700 or 800.

Q. Was the King with 800 troops afraid of Thurston with 300?

A. He was not afraid. His Majesty wanted to go and fight, but so many of his friends would go back on him.

Q. Why did they go back on him?

A. I don't know.

Q. Who were they?

A. Haley was one of them. He was an Englishman, I understand. The King did not want to have bloodshed, so he signed his name on that constitution. I have no doubt in my mind that if the King had opposed this crowd we would have no more town of Honolulu. There would have been property lost and lives lost—great many.

Q. You mean in 1887?

A. Yes.

Q. But he did not want to see that?

A. No; he didn't.

Q. Well, please go on where I interrupted you.

A. After that we got a new constitution, and every one of us took oath to support it. I myself do not like the constitution—the way of getting it—but the regulation issued from the interior office if any one of the natives did not take the oath to support that constitution he had no right to vote. For that reason I myself and all the rest of my native friends took oath to support the constitution. So we lived under that constitution, and the people did not like it; I mean the natives. They did not like it, not because everything in the constitution is bad, but they did not like the way of getting it. They were disgusted by the way of getting it. Part of that constitution is really part of the constitution of Kamehameha V.

In the election of 1890 Wilcox was a leader, and Bush and several others. Their platform to go before the people is that they want a new constitution. Part of their crowd came in and joined the natives and said they must have a new constitution. At that time, if I remember right, McCarty—Charlie McCarty (he was one of the volunteers against the King in 1887)—was one of the candidates for noble in 1890 to oppose the constitution, and by uniting of foreigners and natives

the whole island on that principle elected members of the House of Nobles and Representatives.

Q. How did they manage to elect nobles with the property qualification?

A. As I told you, whoever had an income of \$600 had a right to vote for nobles.

Q. Were a majority of the nobles elected in 1892 for or against the constitution?

A. They did not want this constitution.

Q. You do not understand my question. In 1892 you elected nobles. Now, were a majority of the nobles elected in 1892 for or against the constitution?

A. They were against the constitution of 1887. They wanted to have a new constitution. Some of them say, all I want is amendments, but a majority of the people wanted a new constitution. So you see a majority of the people wanted a new constitution. I suppose that is the reason the Queen wanted to have a new constitution.

Q. Now, a majority of the nobles and representatives being in favor of a new constitution, why didn't they pursue the plan laid down in the constitution?

A. The trouble was at that time, before the election they came forward to the people with the idea of a new constitution, but when they go inside the house some of the people go back on their constituents and they turn around. Some of them, like Wilcox. He was strongly in favor of a new constitution, but he never did anything in the house to get a new constitution. Some of them introduced a bill to make a new constitution, and some people say that is against the constitution. But yet people talk outside "new constitution! new constitution!" When we go before the house we never get constitution. They never did anything. That is the reason we did not get a new constitution. The people wanted to have a constitution for equal rights.

On the 14th of January I was in the palace myself, and before I went into the palace I heard the Queen intended to proclaim a new constitution. I went in to see if it was true or not. While there I saw Chief Justice Judd. He asked me, what is all this? I said I didn't know. I heard the Queen was going to proclaim a new constitution. He asked me what sort of a constitution? I said I didn't know. He said he would give \$50 for a copy of that constitution. We stayed there about an hour, perhaps two hours, and then the Queen came from the blue room.

Q. What you call the throne room?

A. Yes. She said:

My people, I am sorry to say I can not proclaim a new constitution to-day, because of the advice from my cabinet not to do so. Therefore, my people, I want you to go home. Behave yourselves and keep quiet. Do not make any disturbance.

The people went home.

Q. Was that speech made in the throne room?

A. Yes; so the people went home quietly. On Sunday morning the first I knew there were some posters on the street, the committee of safety calling for a mass meeting on Monday. There were no names on it; just committee of safety calling mass meeting at the armory on Beretania street. Sunday was a very quiet day—no disturbance, no riot; no reason to make any one believe a revolution had come on Saturday and Sunday—and Monday morning I saw another poster to have another mass meeting for natives on Palace square at 2 o'clock. I was at this meeting on Palace square.

Q. How many people were there?

A. I think, including foreigners and natives, about 5,000. There were many foreigners there.

Q. How many foreigners?

A. I think more than 500, between 500 and 1,000, the rest were natives. They made speeches and thanked Her Majesty, the Queen, for her intention to proclaim a new constitution. She could not do anything now because her cabinet had advised her not; but the meeting thanked her for her idea to proclaim a new constitution. They adopted resolutions as follows:

Resolved, That the assurance of Her Majesty, the Queen, contained in this day's proclamation, is accepted by the people as a satisfactory guaranty that the Government does not and will not seek any modification of the constitution by any other means than those provided in the organic law.

Resolved, That accepting this assurance, the citizens here assembled will give their cordial support to the administration and indorse them in sustaining that policy.

The meeting adjourned and the people went home. They made no disturbance. Saturday the Queen ordered the people to go home quietly. The natives always listen. They always obey. On this day, Monday, Bush and Nawahi told the people to go home quietly and calmly. They did so. I went home. Several others went home without any idea of any revolution to come after that. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon was the first time we had news of the landing of the Boston's troops on shore—on the same landing you came the other day. We went down to see. Heard that some marines and blue jackets were there.

If you were here at that time you could hear foreigners and natives asking this question: "What does this mean? For what reason do these people come ashore?" From there they marched on Fort street, turned their right on Fort street and came up to the consul-general's office—Mr. Severance. I suppose there were twenty of them formed there. There were perhaps twenty or twenty-four went over to the minister's; the rest of them marched over to King street, the front of the palace. They went over with guns, Gatling guns.

Q. The soldiers had Gatling guns?

A. Yes; they had everything ready to meet their enemies.

Q. How long did they stop in front of the palace?

A. I think they stopped in front of the opera house about three or four minutes, and from there they went over to the front of the palace. When they got there they saluted the flag.

Q. What flag?

A. The Queen's flag. The Queen generally had the flag up when she was in the palace. From there they went over to the corner of the palace. They remained there.

Q. How long?

A. About five minutes. From there they went over to Atherton, the place where the consul-general lives. I was there myself. I saw them sitting down smoking. After that I came to the Government house. While I was there, I think they came from King street and took charge of Arion Hall for that night.

Q. Who did the building belong to?

A. Mr. Gilbert J. Waller.

Q. They got it from him for occupation that night?

A. I do not know. I heard they went in without permission. They remained there for the night.

Q. How long altogether were the troops about the palace; how much time did they stay there?

A. They stayed in front of the Opera House about five minutes and went over to the end of the palace gate and stayed another five minutes.

Q. Did they show any signs of being mad in any way—of wanting to fight?

A. What I understand is this: I saw their guns, like this (holding his hands in a position to show that the weapons were ready for use) facing them towards the palace. Their intention I do not know. That evening everything around the town was very quiet. If I am not mistaken there was a band playing at the hotel that evening. A very important question in the minds of the people was: "Did you see the troops of the *Boston* come? What does this all mean?"

Q. Who were talking in this way, whites or natives?

A. Whites and natives too. I said nobody knows. Perhaps they have come to support the Queen's Government. I do not know. I will go back a little. On Monday the white men held their meeting at the armory. I was not there myself. There was nobody there except foreigners and some Portuguese.

Q. When you say foreigners, do you mean whites?

A. Yes, Germans, Americans and different nationalities. I think, from what I heard, there were only five natives there—Kanakas.

Q. Who were they?

A. One of them, I understand, is the editor of a newspaper under the control of the Serano E. Bishop—J. U. Kawainui. I heard there were five others.

Q. Was Wilcox there?

A. No, he was one of the speakers at the Palace square.

Q. Is he the man who headed the Wilcox revolution?

A. Yes. Wilcox says like this: "Any man who insults a lady is nothing but a pig and a hog, and more especially a man who insults the dignity of his Queen. He is nothing but a pig and a hog." At that time Wilcox had nothing to do with foreigners. He was strongly opposed against them. Tuesday morning the town is very quiet. The only question is this: What is all this? We never had any idea of a revolution or disturbance. About afternoon the only excitement I know we heard the news of the shooting of a man by Capt. Good, captain of the guard now at the barracks. He was sent to carry an order from the station house to stop the man to carry guns and ammunition that day. So Good shot him. People then saw there was some trouble coming up. Before that I saw some of these people here. I mean Thurston, C. L. Carter, W. L. Castle going around the streets. What they did I do not know. I saw Charlie Carter before 12 o'clock go over to Arion Hall and meet with one of the officers of the *Boston's* troop. The conversation I do not know. That evening, about half past 2, we heard the news of the proclamation of the Provisional Government and the overthrow of the Queen.

Q. What time was that?

A. About half past 2, I think. I did not look at my watch. I was there myself. A gentleman, now a judge on the bench, Mr. Cooper, he read the proclamation with his hand shaking.

Q. What day was this?

A. Tuesday the 17th. The marines of the *Boston* were lying between the fence of the Government house. They were lying there when the new government was proclaimed. Lying between the Government house and Arion Hall.

Q. How far is Arion Hall from the Government house?

A. About 50 or 60 feet.

Q. When that mass meeting was in session on the 16th where were the troops? Were there any troops on shore?

A. No. After that, about 5 o'clock of the same day, the troops landed.

Q. What did that mass meeting determine on that day?

A. The day the troops landed?

Q. Yes.

A. I can not tell you positively what was the object of their meeting. As I heard it, they wanted to overthrow the Queen because she was against her oath by her intention to proclaim a new constitution. Before Cooper read his proclamation for a new government, the marines of the *Boston* were lying at the same place. I was at the station house at that time with plenty of foreigners and also natives—plenty of white men and also natives ready to support Her Majesty the Queen's Government. We could have gone up there and cleaned those soldiers of the Provisional Government out in fifteen or twenty minutes. We had everything ready to go and fight. We could have cleaned up every one of them in fifteen or twenty minutes.

The barracks were in the hands of someone for Her Majesty the Queen. The station house was in the hands of foreigners and natives under control of the Queen's Government. So you see the Government building was the only place taken by the Provisional Government at that time. The barracks, the Queen's palace, and the station house were in the hands of the Queen's friends. I was one of the soldiers ready to support the Queen's Government. I think about 500 of us were there that day. Sam Damon came down there. He went out to Bill Cornwell, minister of finance; I saw him with Sam Damon.

Sam Parker was down at the station house. Peterson, the attorney-general, was there; Antone Rosa was there; in fact, the whole cabinet was there. The marshal was there; Deputy Marshal Martin was there, and a large crowd ready to go up to the Government house against the Provisional Government. While I was there I saw C. L. Hopkins in a carriage with a letter, and he went up to his excellency Mr. Stevens's residence. About half an hour afterwards Hopkins returned to the station house again with his answer to that letter.

The answer was, I understand, I am not positive, "I recognize the Provisional Government at this time." That is my understanding. I do not want you to think I saw the letter. We thought before Hopkins went up there that his excellency Mr. Stevens was in favor of Her Majesty's Government. When Hopkins arrived at the station house and some of the members of the cabinet read the letter they told us his excellency Mr. Stevens was in favor of the Provisional Government. He would not support Her Majesty's Government. For that reason we could not do anything, because we did not want to fight with the United States Government.

Q. When this man came back from the American minister with the letter recognizing the Provisional Government was the Queen then in possession of the barracks and the palace and the station house?

A. She was in control of the palace, in control of the barracks, and the station house. She was ready to meet the Provisional party. I assure you if Mr. Stevens had never sent any letter of that kind that evening I have no doubt the people in the Government building would have to clean out.

Q. How many were there?

A. About 50.

Q. Who knows how many troops the white people had there then—who else besides yourself knows about it?

A. Antone Rosa knows it; Henry Poor, he is three-fourths white; Charles Hopkins, and several others. At the time that man returned from Minister Stevens's house the station house, the barracks, and the palace were in control of the Queen.

Q. Was the Queen in possession of the barracks, station house, and palace when the proclamation was read?

A. Yes; I am sure. When we had news from Mr. Stevens in favor of the Provisional Government, then some of our friends said:

It is no use for us to go and fight the Americans. There are few soldiers here but there are 65,000,000 of people behind. It is no use to fight.

If Mr. Stevens had never sent that letter to recognize the Provisional Government I say Her Majesty would have remained on the throne to-day.

Next morning I read a letter from Minister Stevens in the newspaper. He said:

I recognize the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, because it takes the palace, the station house, and the barracks. That is my reason why I recognize the Provisional Government.

Now he had recognized the Provisional Government before they had taken charge of the station house, the palace, or the barracks. There was only the Government house in the hands of the Provisional Government. We could not fight the United States. If Mr. Stevens had never sent any word of that kind, if he had never interfered, you would see these people cleaned out in fifteen or twenty minutes, and the Queen remain on her throne till to-day.

Q. How do you know what was in the letter which Mr. Hopkins carried to Mr. Stevens?

A. I do not know. I saw Antone Rosa write a letter and Hopkins took it to give to his excellency, Mr. Stevens.

Q. The letter Mr. Rosa wrote in the station house?

A. Yes.

Q. When Hopkins came back he brought an answer. To whom?

A. To the members of the cabinet, because they remained in the station house.

Q. Where is the letter?

A. I suppose Sam Parker or the Queen has it.

Q. Will you find out and furnish me with the letters?

A. I will try.

Q. I want the letter taken by Mr. Hopkins and given to Mr. Stevens and the reply.

A. Yes.

Q. Well, please continue your narrative.

A. Her Majesty the Queen did not surrender her Government to the Provisional Government, but to the United States Government.

Q. How do a majority of the people feel towards the Provisional Government?

A. They are against it.

Q. By what majority, if there was a vote on the Australian ballot system?

A. I do not think the Provisional Government would get one-tenth of the native people from the Island of Hawaii to Niihau.

Q. That is the native people?

A. Yes.

Q. How about the whites?

A. I say I think nearly a majority of the white men in town is against the Provisional Government, or perhaps half and half.

Q. I have heard a good many natives were signing papers here and in other islands in favor of annexation. If that is true, how do you account for it?

A. I think some of them have signed their names in favor of annexation. I will give you the reason: Because their horses run in pasture of very people in favor of annexation. Some of them work under them on plantations. So they have control of them. Some natives sign because they are afraid of being turned out from their work. They say they will have no bread and butter; but if you declare an election like the Australian law, when their master or boss would have no control of them, it would differ.

I have carefully read the foregoing and pronounce it an accurate report of my interview with Col. Blount.

J. L. KAULUKOU.

No. 33.

Statement of Liliuokalani.

His Excellency JAMES H. BLOUNT:

SIR: On the morning of the 26th of November, 1890, I went to Iolani palace, where I met His Majesty Kalakaua's ministers, Mr. J. A. Cummins, C. N. Spencer, G. Brown, and A. P. Peterson, awaiting the appearance of His Majesty.

We did not have to wait long and were ushered into the library, the King seating me in his chair and formally introduced his ministers to me. After exchanging assurances of fidelity to each other and faithfulness in the discharge of their official duties, the ministers left, and the King and I were left to talk over matters.

He told me of things that had transpired a few months back. That some of the ministers had thrown guns and ammunition into the sea from the steamer *Waimanalo*. It was done to prevent him from having them, and had evidently been directed by the reform party with whom a portion of his ministers were in accord, instead of keeping them for his protection and safety. These ministers were working with a party of conspirators, who are the very same parties who have been the means of the overthrow of my government on the 17th of January, 1893. They are called the missionary or reform party. The King went on to say that his guards had been reduced to twenty men and they were barely sufficient to protect me if there should be any disturbance. He had requested Mr. Cummins, minister of foreign affairs, to send back to the palace all the guns that were at the station house and that the carriages had been sent to the palace but the guns themselves had been kept back. It was an insult by his cabinet and he felt keenly his weakness; that he had no more power or influence since his cabinet was working against him. He explained all these things because he wanted me to study my situation so as to be able to cope with it.

The time for his departure on the U. S. S. *Charleston* drew near and he bade the Queen and myself farewell, and I felt in my own heart some misgivings that I would never see him again.

I spent a few nights in the palace and realized the insecurity of the situation. Every two or three nights there was an alarm of some kind. There was a fear that something was going to happen; what that something was no one could tell. Mr. Cummins had heard of some conspiracy but could not prove anything.

During the session of 1890 the Honolulu Rifles were disbanded, but the members of that company were still allowed to carry arms in the streets and to wear the uniforms.

I asked my husband, the Hon. John O. Dominis, how all this could be allowed. He referred me to the minister of foreign affairs. On inquiring of the minister he said that they were part of the Knights of Pythias and were permitted to carry arms. This was very unsatisfactory, and my husband and I concluded that there must be some underhanded dealings somewhere. After that I preferred to remain at Washington Place, only going to the palace during office hours.

A few weeks passed, and during that time grand preparations were made to receive the King on his return; but the morning of the 29th of January, 1891, the city was startled with the news that the U. S. S. *Charleston* was in sight with the Hawaiian flag flying at half mast.

I was so shocked by the news that it seemed as if I was in a maze, especially as those things which took place on that day was all done in a hurry by my ministers, of whom Mr. Godfrey Brown seemed to be leader.

Things that might have been put off for a day or two were all done that day, and I had no time to think wisely of my situation, or to realize the sad grief that had fallen on Kalakaua's Queen and myself and on the whole nation.

On that day, at 11, I was told that I was to take the oath. I sent a note immediately to my husband (at Washington Place) who was lying on a sick bed, and told him of the arrival of my brother's remains, and of all that had transpired, and he came to the palace weak as he was.

We conversed on the subject before us; also about the constitution. I told him I did not wish to sign it, as there was a general feeling in the community, and principally amongst the native Hawaiians, that it was not a good constitution, as it had been forced on the King and the Hawaiian people, but my husband persuaded me to sign it, and I obeyed.

At 2 o'clock p. m. we entered the room where all the privy councillors were assembled and there, in their presence, I took the oath of office and swore to abide by the constitution of 1887. As we left the room and waited in the blue room to receive congratulations as well as condolences, just before the members came in a piece of paper, hurriedly written, was thrust in my hand, on which was written, "Do not sign the constitution; I shall soon explain why." But the deed was done. Chief Justice Judd was the first who came forward, but instead of congratulations, said in an undertone, "Should your ministers come up, say to them that they may keep their portfolios." I suspected something wrong and kept my countenance.

After all the others had come and gone their turn came. Mr. Cummins, as head of the cabinet, said: "Your Majesty, we wish to say that we are not quite sure that we can hold our commissions." Then Mr. Brown finished the sentence for him by saying that the constitution distinctly states that the cabinet could only be dismissed by the Legislature; therefore, all that was required would be to have new commissions made out for them. It will be seen there is no clause in the constitution providing for the cabinet in case of the demise of a sovereign.

I asked them each to keep their portfolios until after the King's funeral, and at that time I would discuss the matter. On the 15th of February, 1891, the funeral took place, and on Monday, the 16th, at 9 a. m., Mr. Cummins and I had a private conference. He evidently wanted to know what my decision would be. I told him I thought they ought to resign, and I would give him another position.

At 10 I met the following gentlemen in the cabinet council: Mr. J. A. Cummins, Mr. C. N. Spencer, Mr. G. Brown, Mr. A. P. Peterson. I told them I had studied over the situation, and concluded that they could not remain as my cabinet; that they ought to resign. They said they had also considered the question and concluded that I ought to give them new commissions, and asked me to give them more time to consider, and it was granted them. It took two weeks before it was finally settled.

At 12 m. of the same day an audience was granted to Admiral Brown, as he intended to sail soon. When the hour for the reception arrived, I was surprised when the American minister, J. L. Stevens, came also, as no notice had been previously given to my chamberlain that it was his intention to come.

After the usual form of presentation was over Mr. Stevens took the opportunity to make an address, which I thought was not at all suited to the occasion. It was the first step that Mr. Stevens took to interfere, and I felt at the time that he would take some future occasion to make trouble. Two days after Admiral Brown remarked to me that I did not seem overpleased with Mr. Stevens's speech and that my eyes flashed fire.

Two weeks elapsed, when the cabinet consulted the supreme bench, and was told that they could not hold their seats or positions without I gave them new commissions, so they resigned.

The reading of the King's will took place, and Admiral Brown was invited by the Queen dowager to be present. I appointed my new cabinet. They were Mr. S. Parker, minister of foreign affairs; Mr. C. N. Spencer, minister of interior; Mr. H. A. Widemann, minister of finance; Mr. W. A. Whiting, attorney-general. I also appointed Mr. C. B. Wilson marshal.

Before I appointed my ministers Messrs. Bush and Wilcox called and offered their services, but as Mr. Bush had shown his ingratitude to the late King, and Mr. Wilcox a disposition of disobedience on the occasion of his revolution of 1889, I felt I could not have such men for ministers, and appointed others, which made them very angry.

I began a tour to the different islands with my husband and quite a large retinue. It took us nearly six months to make a complete tour, now and then returning between times to Honolulu on business matters, and in the month of July my husband was taken sick and on the 27th of August, 1891, he breathed his last. I felt his loss very much, as his experience of several years' service with Kamehameha IV and V, and also under Lunalilo and Kalakaua's reign, proved valuable to me. He was a kind and affectionate husband, a man of honor, and esteemed by all who knew him. To those whom he gave in charity it was never spoken of. His death was a severe loss, for I needed him most at that time to advise with in the affairs of state.

Soon after the appointment of my ministers I asked my husband to come to the palace and stay. He did not wish to because he had to climb those long stairs; so I told him I would have the bungalow put in repair and furnished, and Mr. Robertson, my chamberlain, had instructions to that effect, and to see that it was done.

My husband made a request that when the ministers were ready to put up the iron fence around the palace grounds (for which the Legislature of 1890 had given appropriations) he would like to have a wicket gate made for his own convenience. I told him to speak to Minister Spencer, which he did, but the gate was not finished until 1892, and it had never been used by anyone except Mr. Robertson, my chamberlain, to let the young ladies and gentlemen of the Minuet Club pass through.

Here I will state that in 1889 that palace walls had just been completed at a great expense to the Government and after the Wilcox revolution, this very L. A. Thurston, the agitator, who was in the cabinet that year, saw fit without any regard to the heavy amount expended on the wall, ordered the whole wall to be torn down; hence the appropriation of 1890 for an iron fence. The missionary ladies' party clapped their hands with glee as they stood outside the post-office and said, "Thank the Lord the country is ours." Had their fathers left a dying request that they should eventually control and hold power over these islands? One would suppose so from the actions of their sons and daughters.

I return to the events which took place after my husband's death. I asked my cousins Princes Kawanānakoā and Kalāuiāuole to come and stay at the bungalow, but they did not seem inclined to do so, so one day Mr. Wilson asked if he and Kitty, his wife, might not come and stay with me, as he thought that it was necessary I should have some one near me to protect me, as he was fearful that some evil-minded person might do me harm, as there were parties who did not hesitate to make hateful remarks about me in his presence. Perhaps I was the obstacle to the full accomplishment of their wishes—that is *power*.

Mr. Wilson is a man of great decision and firmness of character, and as he had been appointed marshal of the Kingdom, I thought it would not be out of the way if I did accept his offer. I regretted in one sense shortly after that, that I had consented, because he was not the same person I had known as a boy. He was 19 years of age when he courted Evaline, a young girl who had almost grown up in our household, and my husband and I encouraged their marriage; but many years had flown by, and he had been through rough experience in his duties and exhibited now and then how well suited he was to the appointment of marshal. He had a brave heart and his wife I have a great fondness for.

The Legislature, Mr. Wilson said, was about to convene, and it was necessary for him at such a time to be near me, and I thought it best to let them remain till after the prorogation.

The day arrived for the opening of the Legislature, and I felt that my troubles had commenced. With such a party of men as those who comprised the Reform party, and with such unscrupulous men as Thurston, W. O. Smith, Alex. Young, J. Marsden, W. C. Wilder, and Henry Baldwin, as leaders, I knew that my cabinet would find it a difficult matter to contend against such a party.

Laws were made mostly for their special benefit, and others that would prove injurious to the Hawaiians and other nationalities. They brought in measures which only tended to prolong the session and to give them time for their scheme of annexation to ripen. In the meantime Thurston took a trip to the States to attend to his cyclorama, and at the same time try to make stipulations for annexing these islands.

In the month of August the Reform party began their policy of dismissing the ministry. They made promises to Mr. Cummins, of the

National Reform, and Bush, Wilcox, and Ashford, of the Liberal party, and P. P. Kanoa of seats in the cabinet if they joined their party, and they did so, besides taking Kamauoha, Iosepa, and another member with them, which made the Reform party very strong. On the 31st of August, for no good cause, the Parker ministry was voted out in accordance with a clause in the constitution of 1887, that any minister could be voted out by a majority of the members of the House for "want of confidence." It had been decided by myself and cabinet that our policy should be one of economy and retrenchment. This had been our course from the commencement of my reign, binding ourselves strictly to and guiding our course according to the laws and regulations of our Kingdom. The Parker ministry had no sooner gone out than twenty-five Hawaiian members of the House petitioned me to appoint Mr. Parker again. Next day Mr. Baldwin asked for audience and came with a request that I would receive the Hons. Kanoa and Kauhane and ask them to form a cabinet for me.

I received those gentlemen, but they brought with them a petition with a list of names, principally of the Reform party, that I would nominate from those names my cabinet. They called the [*sic*] a constitutional principle. I knew if I yielded to their request I would be yielding my own right under the constitution, which gave me the right to appoint and the house to dismiss.

Two weeks passed and I appointed Minister Parker, Gulick, Macfarlane, and Neumann. The policy of this ministry was retrenchment in all directions, and Mr. Macfarlane, as minister of finance, immediately set to work with that purpose in view, and laid many satisfactory plans for them to pursue. In order to carry out the rigid economies prepared by Mr. Macfarlane, I consented to a reduction of \$10,000 in the appropriation for my privy purse and further reductions in "household expenses, state entertainments, and the military."

They had, however, been in office only a few days when the American minister, J. L. Stevens, made a request through Minister Parker that he would like to call on me the next day, the 16th of October, and that he would bring his secretary with him. The hour was set for 11 and a cabinet council was called to sit at 10. When the hour arrived, the cabinet rose to depart. I asked them to remain, but Mr. Macfarlane begged to be excused, as he had once, while as noble in the house, brought in a resolution against Mr. J. L. Stevens on account of a speech he made on the 30th of May, reflecting on the administration in Hawaii. Mr. Gulick and himself were excused and Mr. Parker and Mr. Neumann remained. Mr. Parker went to the door and received Mr. Stevens and at the same time asked what was the purpose of his visit, that he might apprise me. Mr. Stevens said he would mention it to me in person. They entered, followed by Mr. H. W. Severance. He seated himself in a manner which no gentleman would in the presence of a lady, and drew from under his arm a document which he read, stating that my Government had grossly insulted him, the ambassador of the United States and minister plenipotentiary for that nation, and holding them responsible for an article which appeared in the Bulletin reflecting upon his indifference in sending relief to the captain and crew of a shipwrecked American vessel.

He then read a clause in international laws relating to a minister's position in foreign lands. While he was reading he seemed to belaboring under great excitement and anger, and when he finished reading I rose and said my cabinet would give the matter their best consideration, whereupon Mr. Stevens and Mr. Severance took their leave. Was

he seeking to make trouble? I remarked to Mr. Parker and Mr. Neumann that it appeared that way. Next day a lunch was given by the ladies of the Central Union Church; the occasion was to help pay for the new church on Beretania street. Mr. Henry Severance took the occasion to say to me that he was entirely ignorant as to the intention of Minister Stevens before they arrived at the palace, as he had not told him of the object of the visit and was surprised at Mr. Stevens's conduct. I did not answer. Some correspondence passed between Mr. Stevens and my ministers, which resulted in the cabinet entering a suit for libel against the *Bulletin*, which was afterwards withdrawn by Mr. Stevens.

It was during this month that a meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Alexander Young, and a discussion arose as to my obstinacy in not appointing one of their number. They called this "constitutional principle." At this meeting it was proposed to dethrone me. The question was asked how it was to be accomplished, when it was stated that Capt. Wiltse of the *Boston* would assist.

Changes of ministry followed rapidly. The Cornwell cabinet lasted only one hour. Its members were W. H. Cornwell, J. Nawahi, C. T. Gulick, and C. Creighton. Without giving this cabinet any trial they were immediately voted out.

Here I must mention that when the Mafarlane ministry was voted out I wished to send them back to the house again, but Mr. Macfarlane and Mr. Neumann advised to the contrary. I felt loath to give up a cabinet composed of men in whom I had reason to know the community had confidence that their transactions would be straightforward and honest.

The Wilcox (Reform) cabinet came next. They were appointed by stratagem, as I found out afterwards. The policy of this cabinet was retrenchment, no changes in the monetary system of the country, and to make a commercial treaty which would bring us in closer relationship with the United States.

Their first policy they failed to carry out, as they went into all sorts of extravagant measures, such as \$5,000 for sending a commission to Washington—and that commission were to consist of Thurston, Wilcox, and others—with the purpose of annexing these islands; \$12,000 to send the band to Chicago, and \$50,000 for the Volcano road. All these measures were for Mr. Thurston's private benefit, but were passed in the house. It had always been customary for the ministry to consult the King or sovereign in cabinet council on any measure of importance, but in this instance and on all occasions the cabinet had already decided on those measures, and simply presented them to me for my signature. I had no resource but to acquiesce.

Whenever I expostulated their answer was generally "We have consulted the chief justice, and are of one opinion." I found that I was simply a nonentity, a figurehead, but was content to wait patiently until the next session, when probably they would be voted out.

It required diplomacy to overthrow the Wilcox cabinet and the Liberals used it. The cabinet felt secure because those who worked amongst the members as wire-pullers were so sanguine about their success, but where corruption is practiced there is no stability, and such it proved in this instance.

A short time before the overthrow of the Wilcox cabinet Cummins, Bush, R. W. Wilcox, Ashford, and their followers, finding that their hopes of being in the cabinet would never be realized, left and turned to help the Liberals once more, and with the aid of some of the Nationals

they were successful. They did not like the actions of the cabinet when it became known that the ministry had no consideration for the Queen and were carrying things in such a high-handed way.

These members had been deceived by the Thurston party, and they now combined to help the Liberals. Mr. White was the introducer of the bill providing for a constitutional convention; also the opium and lottery bills. He watched his opportunity and railroaded the last two bills through the house, but he failed in regard to the first bill.

A vote of want of confidence was then brought in. Three days before members flocked in at Washington Place and wanted to know if I wanted to get rid of my ministers. I said "No, it is not my privilege," they departed and others came and went. Mr. Colburn and Ashford called and said they understood it was my wish. I answered them as I did the others. Mr. Ashford said "I see, Mr. Colburn, we have made a mistake, but Your Majesty, should it be your desire to be rid of your cabinet, we can be of great service in bringing it about, but we would expect to have a representation in the new cabinet." I asked who of their number they would put forward, and Mr. Ashford replied "Mr. Cummins, Bush, and myself." I made no further reply, and they left.

It was a practice among some of the native members to sell their votes for a consideration. This was taught them by the Thurston party. They would come to me and then return to that party and repeat all that was said, for which they were usually paid something.

The Liberals won and the cabinet was voted out, partly because they were so sure of their success and on account of their own corrupt practices.

Mr. Geo. N. Wilcox and Mr. Robinson I have a high consideration for. Mr. P. C. Jones is a hearty sympathizer with his party, while I think Mr. Cecil Brown capable of doing anything that the Reform party directed him to do. Mr. Berger's vote was the casting vote. It was decided between Mr. Parker and myself that Mr. Widemann was to be a member of the next cabinet and for that reason Mr. Berger voted against the Wilcox cabinet. And so it was, for Mr. Widemann gave his consent and afterwards he withdrew. The next day Mr. Parker, Cornwell, Colburn, and Peterson were appointed. These gentlemen were accepted by the majority of the people in the house, who applauded them on their entrance, because they were men of liberal views, although they were not considered representative men, because they were not backed by moneyed men.

The same day of their appointment they advised me to sign the opium and lottery bills. I declined at first, as I wanted to please my lady friends, but they said there should be no hesitation on my part, as the house had passed those bills by a large majority, and they had been signed by the President and committee. I had no option but to sign. It took place on the 13th of January, 1893.

During the month of November, 1892, a private note was sent me informing me of the intentions of the American minister, J. L. Stevens, with the aid of some of our residents, to perfect a scheme of annexation, and that the cabinet had knowledge of the fact, but I gave little heed to it at the time.

On the 17th of December, 1892, another note was received, of which the following is a copy:

Her Majesty Queen LILIUOKALANI, may it please your Majesty:

MADAM: Referring to the confidential communication I took the liberty of addressing your Majesty a few weeks ago, about the attitude and utterances of the Ameri-

can representatives here, the perfect correctness of which have been confirmed by subsequent information, I now beg to be allowed to state, that through the same trustworthy source I have been informed that in a very late moment of effusion, some American official gave to understand that he had instructions to press and hurry up an annexation scheme, which he confidently expected to carry through at no distant date, with the help and assistance of the present cabinet.

If your Majesty will kindly weigh this information by the side of the bold open declarations and annexation campaign made at the present time in the Bulletin, by the Rev. Sereno Bishop, the well-known mouthpiece of the annexation party, I think that your Majesty will be able to draw conclusions for yourself, and realize not only that there is yet danger ahead, but that the enemy is in the household, and that the strictest watch ought to be kept on the members of the present cabinet. This again in strictest confidence from

Your Majesty's humble and faithful servant.

The above was written by a gentleman in whose word I have great confidence as a man who had the best interest of Hawaii at heart.

It was on the receipt of this note that I sent for the British commissioner, James H. Wodehouse, and asked his advice on the matter. I asked whether he thought it would be wise for me to invite all the foreign representatives of the diplomatic and consular corps fearing that a disturbance might arise over the political situation. He said he should not interfere with our local matters, and he dissuaded me from the idea, as he said it was like acknowledging that there was actual danger. "Did I think there was any danger?" I answered, "there might be." The morning of the 14th of January, 1893, arrived with all preparations for the closing of the Legislature. At 10 a. m. I called a cabinet meeting for the purpose of apprising them of their positions in the house and other preliminary instructions. I told them it was my intention to promulgate a new constitution. The cabinet had to meet the Legislature and we adjourned. At 12 m. I prorogued the Legislature. I noticed that the hall was not filled as at the opening. There were not many ladies present in the audience, and I also noticed that several members of the Legislature belonging to the Reform party were not there. This looked ominous of some coming trouble.

On entering the palace I saw Mr. Wilson at the entrance of the blue room. I went up to him and asked if all was ready. He replied, "Yes." Then I said, "You will have to be brave to day," and I passed into the blue room and sat awaiting my ministers. A half hour passed and they did not come. After a little longer delay they arrived. I immediately judged from their countenances that something was wrong. I had a few days before planned that I would sign the constitution in the throne room and in the presence of the members of the Legislature, the majority of whom had been elected by the people for the purpose of working for a new constitution.

At the commencement of my reign petitions were sent from all parts of the kingdom asking for a new constitution. Mr. Iosepa, of Hani; Kauhi, of Ewa; Nahinu, of Molokai; Kanealii, of Waihee; Kamauoha, of Kohala, and other members came to me repeatedly and asked for a new constitution. Mr. Parker, from the commencement of his ministry, advocated a new constitution, as well as most of my friends, but I was cautious in my answers to them; but to Mr. Parker I had always said it would be a good thing, and he said he would sustain me when the proper opportunity arrived.

A month later I met two members of the Legislature, and started in to make up a new constitution from Kamehameha V and that of 1887. After completing it, I kept it till the month of October, when I placed in the hands of Mr. A. P. Peterson, and asked him to correct it, and if he found any defects to strike them out and to put in such clauses as he thought would be good for the people and for the country. He

can representatives here, the perfect correctness of which have been confirmed by subsequent information, I now beg to be allowed to state, that through the same trustworthy source I have been informed that in a very late moment of effusion, some American official gave to understand that he had instructions to press and hurry up an annexation scheme, which he confidently expected to carry through at no distant date, with the help and assistance of the present cabinet.

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Your Majesty's humble and faithful servant.

The above was written by a gentleman in whose word I have great confidence as a man who had the best interest of Hawaii at heart.

It was on the receipt of this note that I sent for the British commissioner, James H. Wodehouse, and asked his advice on the matter. I asked whether he thought it would be wise for me to invite all the foreign representatives of the diplomatic and consular corps fearing that a disturbance might arise over the political situation. He said he should not interfere with our local matters, and he dissuaded me from the idea, as he said it was like acknowledging that there was actual danger. "Did I think there was any danger?" I answered, "there might be." The morning of the 14th of January, 1893, arrived with all preparations for the closing of the Legislature. At 10 a. m. I called a cabinet meeting for the purpose of apprising them of their positions in the house and other preliminary instructions. I told them it was my intention to promulgate a new constitution. The cabinet had to meet the Legislature and we adjourned. At 12 m. I prorogued the Legislature. I noticed that the hall was not filled as at the opening. There were not many ladies present in the audience, and I also noticed that several members of the Legislature belonging to the Reform party were not there. This looked ominous of some coming trouble.

On entering the palace I saw Mr. Wilson at the entrance of the blue room. I went up to him and asked if all was ready. He replied, "Yes." Then I said, "You will have to be brave to day," and I passed into the blue room and sat awaiting my ministers. A half hour passed and they did not come. After a little longer delay they arrived. I immediately judged from their countenances that something was wrong. I had a few days before planned that I would sign the constitution in the throne room and in the presence of the members of the Legislature, the majority of whom had been elected by the people for the purpose of working for a new constitution.

At the commencement of my reign petitions were sent from all parts of the kingdom asking for a new constitution. Mr. Iosepa, of Hani; Kauhi, of Ewa; Nahinu, of Molokai; Kanealii, of Waihee; Kamauoha, of Kohala, and other members came to me repeatedly and asked for a new constitution. Mr. Parker, from the commencement of his ministry, advocated a new constitution, as well as most of my friends, but I was cautious in my answers to them; but to Mr. Parker I had always said it would be a good thing, and he said he would sustain me when the proper opportunity arrived.

A month later I met two members of the Legislature, and started in to make up a new constitution from Kamehameha V and that of 1887. After completing it, I kept it till the month of October, when I placed in the hands of Mr. A. P. Peterson, and asked him to correct it, and if he found any defects to strike them out and to put in such clauses as he thought would be good for the people and for the country. He

took it and kept it a whole month. To my knowledge he consulted many lawyers and others in regard to many points of interest in the document. When it was returned I looked it over and found no changes had been made, so I concluded that it was all right.

A week before the closing of the Legislature I asked Mr. Peterson to make a preamble for my new constitution, but up to the day of pro rogation he had not made one.

Early in January I mentioned to Capt. Nowlein, of the household guards, and Mr. Wilson, the marshal, my intention to promulgate a new constitution, and to prepare themselves to quell any riot or outbreak from the opposition. They assured me they would be ready, and I gave strict injunctions of secrecy and showed Mr. Wilson a plan of the throne room on the day of the signing.

Mr. Parker and Mr. Cornwell had given me assurances of their support before their appointment as ministers, while Mr. Peterson understood that such was my intention, and although I had not mentioned it to Mr. Colburn, he had heard of it already from Mr. Peterson.

It appears that immediately on their learning of my intentions Mr. Colburn, on the morning of the 14th of January, immediately acted the part of a traitor by going to Mr. Hartwell, a lawyer, and informed him of my intentions, and of course received instructions from him to strongly advise me to abandon the idea.

This, then, was the cause of the delay and my long waiting in the blue room. The members of the diplomatic corps had been invited; also the members of the supreme bench and members of the Legislature, besides a committee of the Hui Kalaiaina. The latter were invited to be present because it was through them that many petitions had been sent to me. When the ministers arrived I told them everything in the throne room was ready and the guests were awaiting our presence; that we must not keep them waiting. I was surprised when the cabinet informed me that they did not think it advisable for me to take such a step, that there was danger of an uprising, etc. I told them that I would not have undertaken such a step if they had not encouraged me. They had led me out to the edge of a precipice and now were leaving me to take the leap alone. It was humiliating. I said, "Why not give the people the constitution and I will bear the brunt of all the blame afterwards." Mr. Peterson said, "We have not read the constitution." I told him he had had it in his possession a whole month.

The three ministers left Mr. Parker to try to dissuade me from my purpose, and in the meantime they all (Peterson, Cornwell, and Colburn) went to the Government building to inform Thurston and his party of the stand I took. Of course they were instructed not to yield. When they went over everything was peaceful and quiet, and the guests waiting patiently in the throne room.

The ministers returned and I asked them to read the constitution over. At the end I asked them what they saw injurious in the document. Mr. Peterson said there were some points which he thought were not exactly suited. I told him the Legislature could make the amendments. He begged that I should wait for two weeks; in the meantime they would be ready to present it to me. With these assurances I yielded, and we adjourned to the throne room. I stated to the guests present my reasons for inviting their presence. It was to promulgate a new constitution at the request of my people; that the constitution of 1887 was imperfect and full of defects. Turning to the chief justice I asked, "Is it not so, Mr. Judd?" and he answered in the affirmative, in the presence of all the members assembled.

I then informed the people assembled that under the advice of my

ministers, I had yielded, as they had promised that, on some future day I could give them a new constitution. I then asked them to return to their homes and keep the peace.

I noticed the look of disappointment in their faces when I retired. During all that transpired in the blue room from, 1 o'clock p. m. to 4 p. m., I was not at all agitated; was as calm as could be expected under the circumstances. When I reached the landing of the upper hall I heard a commotion below in the yard, so I hurried to the front veranda, accompanied by Prince Kawanauakoa and Kalaniauaoe, and from there I addressed the people, saying that their wishes for a new constitution could not be granted just then, but will be some future day. They must go home and keep the peace and to pray for me, which they have done ever since.

There was a dinner prepared, at which forty persons sat down; everything was orderly and without confusion in the palace, and everything remained so all night. At 11 a. m. Sunday, the 15th, Mr. Parker came in to say that there was a meeting taking place in the Government building by the Reform party, but he did not say of what nature.

All Sunday everything seemed quiet until Monday morning. Even if any great commotion had been going on I would have remained indifferent; the reaction was a great strain, and all that took place after that I accepted as a matter of course. It was the disappointment in my ministry.

At about 10 a. m. Monday, the 16th of January, notice was issued by my ministers, stating "that the position I took and the attempt I made to promulgate a new constitution was at the earnest solicitation of my people—of my native subjects." They gave assurances that any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land would be sought only by methods provided in the constitution itself and signed by myself and ministers. It was intended to reassure the people that they might continue to maintain order and peace.

At about 5 p. m., however, the troops from the U. S. S. *Boston* were landed, by the order of the United States minister, J. L. Stevens, in secret understanding with the revolutionary party, whose names are L. A. Thurston, Henry Waterhouse, W. R. Castle, W. O. Smith, A. F. Judd, P. C. Jones, W. C. Wilder, S. B. Dole, Cecil Brown, S. M. Damon, C. Bolte, John Emmeluth, J. H. Soper, C. L. Carter. Why had they landed when everything was at peace?

I was told that it was for the safety of American citizens and the protection of their interests. Then why had they not gone to the residences instead of drawing in line in front of the palace gates, with guns pointed at us, and when I was living with my people in the palace?

I was sitting alone in the blue room when Mr. Widemann and Dr. Trousseau came in hurriedly to inform me of the approach of the troops. I asked them to go out and tell the people to be quiet, which they did.

There was no intention on the part of the Hawaiians to harm them or to raise any disturbance of any kind, nor was the life of any American citizen in danger. These revolutionists, having their wicked plans and objects in view, and feeling sure of the support from the American minister, had worked their feelings to such a state of excitement that they called a meeting of the citizens and met at the armory at Punch Bowl street on Monday at 2 o'clock p. m. There may have been 1,200 present, but the majority of those present simply went to see and hear what the revolutionists had to say, and had no sympathy with them or

their ideas. At the meeting they made incendiary remarks and appointed what they called a committee of safety. The Hawaiians called a massmeeting and passed resolutions supporting the actions of the Queen. It was a movement intended to reassure the people and to ward off the danger which they saw was approaching.

The troops remained in front of the palace until dark, when they withdrew to the Arion Hall.

That evening the Royal Hawaiian Band played as usual at the Hawaiian Hotel, and a large crowd of people met and everything around was quiet and peaceful. Tuesday morning at 9 o'clock Mr. S. M. Damon called at the palace. He told me that he had been asked to join a revolutionary council, but that he had declined. He asked me what he should do and whether he should join the advisory or executive councils, suggesting that perhaps he could be of service to me; so I told him to join the advisory council. I had no idea that they intended to establish a new Government.

At about 2:30 p. m. the establishment of the Provisional Government was proclaimed, and nearly fifteen minutes later Mr. J. S. Walker came and told me "that he had come on a painful duty, that the opposition party had requested that I should abdicate." I told him that I had no idea of doing so, but that I would like to see Mr. Neumann. Half an hour later he returned with the gentleman, and I explained to him my position, and he advised that I should consult my friends. I immediately sent for Mr. J. O. Carter, Damon, Widemann, Cleghorn, my ministers, also Mr. Neumann, Walker, and Macfarlane being present. The situation being taken into consideration and found, that since the troops of the United States had been landed to support the revolutionists, by the order of the American minister, it would be impossible for us to make any resistance. Mr. Damon had previously intimated to Mr. Parker that it was useless to resist, their party was supported by the American minister. Mr. Damon also said at the meeting that it was to be understood that I should remain at the palace and continue to fly the royal standard. At 6 p. m. I signed the following protest:

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 forces, 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 this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893.

(Signed)
(Signed)

(Signed)

(Signed)

(Signed)

LILIUOKALANI R.
SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
WM. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.
JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

(Addressed)

To S. B. DOLE, Esq., and others composing the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.