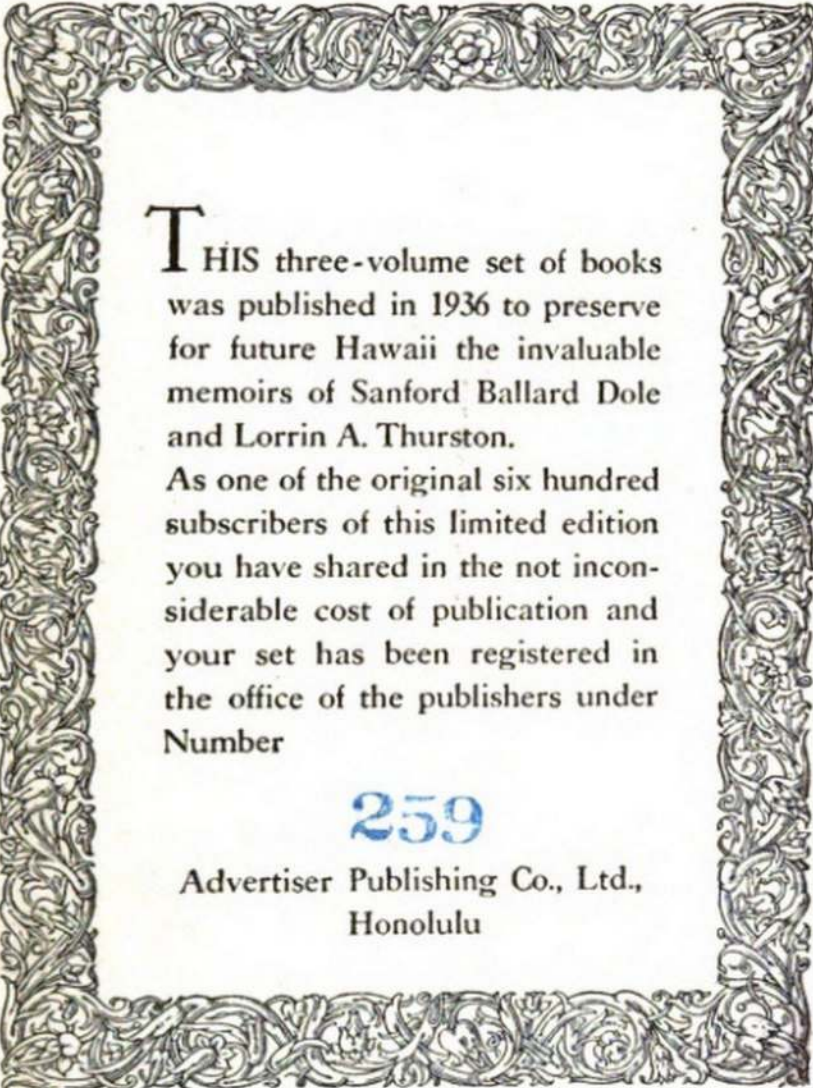




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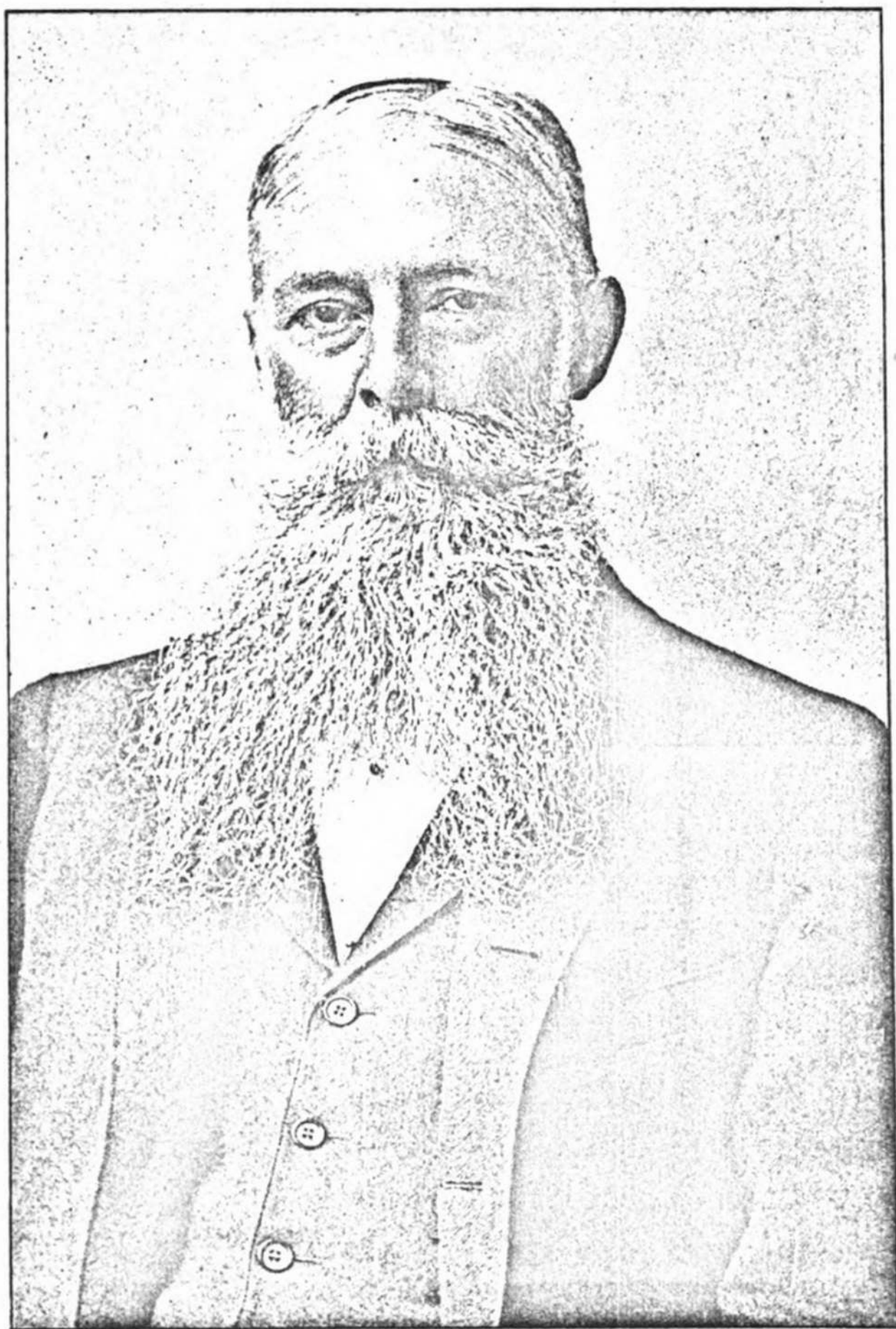
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Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd.,
Honolulu

SANFORD B. DOLE



*President of the Provisional Government and the Republic
of Hawaii, first governor of the American Territory*

Sanford B. Dole

MEMOIRS
of the
HAWAIIAN
REVOLUTION

BY
SANFORD B. DOLE

Edited by
ANDREW FARRELL

HONOLULU
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1936

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Preface

These *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, by Sanford B. Dole, president of the Provisional Government and of the Republic of Hawaii, were written at the suggestion of Lorrin A. Thurston, publisher of *The Honolulu Advertiser*, for that newspaper. They were not published therein. As related in the more general preface to Mr. Thurston's memoirs, Mr. Thurston also was encouraged to write; after years of application, a comprehensive manuscript was produced, the combined work of the two men. Judge Dole's articles now are withdrawn from the whole, and are published here as chapters of one volume.

A statement of the editor's work is due to the reader and history, for these memoirs are paramount to Hawaii, and they are not unimportant elsewhere. Since the articles were written for a newspaper, they proved not entirely suited to publication in book form. One editorial task was to establish and to follow a style in the minutiae of typography. A second task was to compare all quotations of public papers with the sources cited, comma by comma—literally that; the most captious critic hardly could demand greater care and accuracy. A similar comparison has been made generally of newspaper excerpts, although a copy of the *Daily Herald* of July 1, 1887, could not be found. But the quotation from the *Herald*, on page 50, agrees substantially with the reports of other papers: no serious error could have occurred in the copying.

Judge Dole credited the Blount credentials, pages 93 and 94, to William D. Alexander; likewise the Dole reply to Mr. Willis, pages 111 to 126. Typographical errors, appearing in Mr. Alexander's book, caused me to use *Morgan's Report*, the voluminous document on Hawaii by the committee on foreign relations of the United States Senate, for it seemed better to follow the virtually perfect typography of the Government Printing Office. Except for minor variances, the Morgan and Alexander versions are identical. The quotations of the resolutions adopted at the mass meeting of June 30, 1887, pages 51 and 52, were puzzling. Judge Dole credited them to Senator Morgan; the copy, in fact, was a composite of the Morgan ver-

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sion and of one published in *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of July 1, 1887. No considerable discrepancy was evident; inasmuch as the judge had cited *Morgan's Report*, I followed it literally.

Judge Dole's versions of the Lunalilo chapter manifestoes generally parallel those of the newspapers, with allowance for translational variances. But *The Advertiser* of December 21, 1872, adds two names to the Lunalilo genealogy, as recited by the "Skillful Genealogists" on page 13; the relevant passage in the newspaper runs as follows: "Kaoleiohoku further lived with Luahine, thence was born Konia; Konia lived with Paki, thence was born Kalani Pauahi." A meticulous genealogist will mark the inclusion of Konia and Paki, whom the judge omits. Another difference: the newspaper makes "land of Kaulu," in the Kalakaua manifesto on page 18, read "Lanai of Kaulu." Judge Dole supplied the Lunalilo chapter to Mr. Thurston as a printed paper, which had been read before the Hawaiian Historical Society in 1915; its first publication was in *The Advertiser*, January, 1874, five weekly installments; the judge edited the original slightly, in preparing his Historical Society paper; he did not alter the genealogy and "land of Kaulu," and they stand here as he left them.

A third task, delicate, has been to revise, to "read copy" in the best sense, to prepare for book form what was written for a daily paper. That work has been done most conscientiously, with a deep sense of duty to Judge Dole and history. No liberties whatever have been taken with statements of fact or opinion.

Frequently the judge omitted initials or Christian names; they have been supplied in the index. A few other names have been supplied: on page 108, allusion is made to John W. Foster, the Harrison secretary of state who negotiated the first annexation treaty, though his name does not appear there; so of Kawaihae Church on pages 30 and 31.

Judge Dole forbears to say that he introduced the pro-Lunalilo resolutions, quoted at the top of page 17: "Resolved, that this meeting, acknowledging the justice of the claims of His Highness Prince W. C. Lunalilo". . . To quote *The Advertiser* of December 28, 1872: "In support of the same" [the resolutions] "Mr. Dole said that Prince Lunalilo had come before the people and submitted his claims to them. He had not seized the power as he might have done, without any serious opposition, but had left it to the people to say who should be

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their next King. This act had not its parallel in the history of monarchies, and by this act alone the Prince had recognized the great fact that the origin of all governments lay with the people. By adopting this resolution the people would show that they were alive to the responsibility resting upon them."

That speech breathes the Sanford B. Dole of 1887 and 1893. Several prominent white men attended the meeting of 1872; conspicuous among them, as one reads the names in musty newspaper files, is Peter C. Jones—like Judge Dole, a conservative revolutionist, or perhaps a reluctant one. Such facts illuminate much: the sentiment that raised Lunalilo to the throne was the very sentiment that subdued Kalakaua and deposed Liliuokalani. This seems significant: the tribute to Lunalilo was first published in January, 1874, just before the King died, when the imminence of death must have been obvious. Was it rushed into print so that he might see it before his eyes closed forever? Many persons recall Lunalilo's weakness for drink; Judge Dole's admirable chapter should rescue the King's name from obloquy.

Since it was published early in 1874, the Lunalilo chapter must have been penned in 1873. The foreword says that it was "written forty years ago." Hence the judge did the other papers about 1913. Confirmation is found in a passage, deleted from the manuscript as it came to me, which describes Charles J. McCarthy as "the present treasurer of the Territory." Mr. McCarthy was treasurer from 1914 to 1918. The delay in publication, some twenty years, is explained in the preface to Mr. Thurston's memoirs.

A characteristic modesty is observable throughout these pages. On page 172, indeed, modesty becomes self-effacement: the judge says that the "reviewing authority" generally modified the sentences imposed by a military commission upon the insurrectionists of 1895: the "reviewing authority" was Sanford B. Dole. He withstood considerable pressure, to have the death sentences executed. A statesman hardly undergoes a fiercer trial, than in deciding when to be inflexible and when to be lenient in punishing treason. Happily for Hawaii, the judge was mild; and the years have proved his wisdom. Living, he was a tall man; though dead, he grows in stature.

ANDREW FARRELL.

Honolulu, 1936.

A Sketch of Sanford Ballard Dole to 1887

By LORRIN A. THURSTON

In the political history of Hawaii, there are several strong men of dominating spirit; but above all others, in face, form, reputation, and character, towers Sanford Ballard Dole. He was a tall man, slow and soft-spoken, of decisive tone on occasion, but with kind brown eyes and an unfaltering gaze to friend and foe alike, which gave assurance of a kindly and just spirit, or, as Admiral Albert S. Barker, U.S.N., says in his book, *Everyday Life in the Navy*, published in 1928, "having eyes which I imagine martyrs might have—steady, but compassionate."

I am in a position to know whereof I speak. I assert, without qualification, that while there were others whose counsel and services were of great help during the long strain which tried the souls of men, from January 14-17, 1893, the time of the overthrow of the monarchy, to August 12, 1898, the date of the consummation of annexation to the United States, the dominating note and unifying influence of that period were the person and character of Sanford Ballard Dole. These were facts, recognized by all, which required neither supporting evidence nor argument. It was universally

*Sanford B. Dole
Towers Above
Other Figures*

*His Character
and Person
Are Unifiers*

felt that a man of Dole's standing, character, and disposition could not consciously identify himself with, or advocate, a selfish or unjust cause.

*Gentleness and
Vigor Combined
Are Disarming*

The inherent gentleness of the man, combined with his patent vigor and force when those qualities were demanded, was more potent and disarming than all the fighting men and material and all the cold, superficial logic that could be marshaled against the revolution and the revolutionists. In fact, to the outside world and largely to the insiders as well, Sanford Ballard Dole was the revolution. His mere participation as its leader disarmed and neutralized opposition, and brought support that could have been secured in practically no other way. He was an observer and often a participant in the "high spots" of Hawaiian history, of which he writes. Hawaii is fortunate in obtaining his personal recollections of the subjects and events treated. Concerning those events, much remains unrecorded, and there are few competent men left to record it.

*Born in Hawaii
of Missionary
Parentage*

Men such as Dole do not simply happen. They are the product of their ancestry and environment. Sanford Ballard Dole was born at Punahou, Honolulu, on April 23, 1844. An elder brother, George Hathaway Dole, was born nearly two years before. His parents, the Reverend Daniel and Emily (Ballard) Dole, from the State of Maine, were missionaries to Hawaii under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, of Boston. Dole, senior, was put in charge of a school

at Punahou, located on the outskirts of the town. It was founded by the American missionaries in 1841, as a boarding and day school for the education of their children, who had theretofore been sent around Cape Horn to be educated in the Eastern states. The school has since been expanded to care for children other than those of missionaries, and has been organized as Oahu College.

Dole's mother died on the third day after his birth, and the boy was placed in the family of an American missionary, the Reverend Artemus Bishop, stationed at Ewa, Oahu, where Dole remained off and on for some years. An incident, in that period, made a lasting impression upon his mind. Mr. Dole distinctly recollects seeing a number of natives, tied together with ropes, trudge by on the dusty road, going from Waianae to Honolulu in charge of the police, the prisoners having been arrested for being converts to the Catholic faith, contrary to a statute enacted by the native government of Hawaii. The statute was based upon the theory that idolatry had been abolished by Kamehameha II, and that the Catholics were idol-worshippers, figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and various saints being deemed by the native chiefs to be idols. Later this legislation was repealed, largely through the influence of the American Protestant missionaries. Mr. Dole also remembers the intense indignation of Mr. Bishop at the imprisonment of the Catholic converts, and his protest against what he termed "religious persecution." The impression thus made upon young

*Early Memory
of Religious
Persecution*

Dole was doubtless one influence that later gave his character a strong bent toward tolerance and fairness. It contributed largely to the success of the revolution, which he led in 1893, and enlisted many "because Dole was the head."

*Dole Family
Moves to
Koloa, Kauai*

Dole, senior, married again when Sanford was about two years old, and nine years thereafter the father moved to Koloa, Kauai, where he conducted an English language school and was pastor of a church conducted in the same language. Both sons were pupils in the school and ultimately became members of the church.

An incident of this period is related by George Wilcox, now of Lihue, Kauai, which illustrates the legal turn of young Dole's mind, even that early. One day young Dole and Wilcox, armed with rifles, went hunting wild goats on the coast west of Koloa. They found none; on the return trip, Wilcox shot and killed a dog that came from a native house and barked at them. The boys were somewhat fearful that Wilcox might be arrested and tried for this act, and convicted on evidence that Dole would be compelled to give. Dole thereupon proposed to meet the situation by himself finding and shooting another dog, so that, being a fellow criminal, he would not be compelled to testify, and both would thereby escape.

*Younger Doles
Form Infantry
of Hawaiians*

About 1864 Sanford and his elder brother George organized and drilled a company of native infantry soldiers at Koloa. They were armed with muzzle-loading rifles, obtained from the old fort

at Waimea, Kauai. I remember being a visitor with my mother at the Dole home at this time, and seeing the two stalwart young six-footers marshal their troops, each mounted on his own horse, and seeing them all ride away to the Koloa landing, where they were to take whale boats to Lawai, some distance down the coast. My principal recollection is not of the incongruity of foot soldiers being mounted on horseback, or of their going on a boating trip, but of my resentment that I was not allowed to go also, for I was a superfluous small boy. I also recall a collection of early Hawaiian numeral postage stamps, made by the Dole school pupils led by the Dole boys. The stamps were pasted on the interior walls of an outhouse; if now available, they would be worth many thousands of dollars.

Later, in 1864, when Kamehameha V had pro-rogued a constitutional convention called by himself and had promulgated a new constitution on his own account, strong opposition developed throughout the islands, accompanied by support of the more liberal constitution of Kamehameha III. A reflex of that sentiment was seen in the organization by the Dole boys and other young men at Lihue, Kauai, of a company of native cavalry, each member owning his own horse. The company flag was a white background, with the word *Kumukānawai* (Constitution), in large blue letters, running its whole length. Nothing further came of the organization.

*Organization
of Cavalry
Comes Later*

In 1866 Sanford Dole entered the senior class of

*Law Studies
at Williams
Begun in 1866*

Williams College, Massachusetts, as a special student. He remained in college for a year, and then studied law for a year at Boston in the office of William Brigham, father of William T. Brigham, who had been a teacher at Punahou and later became director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. In 1868 Mr. Dole was admitted to practice law in the courts of Suffolk County, Massachusetts. He returned to Hawaii in the same year, and for some years engaged in private law practice in Honolulu.

William C. Lunalilo, popularly known as "Prince Bill," who was elected king in 1873 and died in 1874, left his estate in trust for the support of indigent Hawaiians. Mr. Dole was appointed as one of the first trustees under this will, serving as such for many years and establishing the well-known Lunalilo Home, in Honolulu.

*First Election
to Legislature
Comes in 1884*

In 1884 Mr. Dole first took an active part in politics, being elected a representative to the Legislature from Koloa, Kauai, on the Reform Party ticket. At that time, a representative did not have to be a resident of the district that he represented in the Legislature. The people had the privilege, which the people of Great Britain possess, of electing representatives regardless of their place of residence. In 1886 Mr. Dole again was elected to the Legislature from Koloa as a member of the Reform Party, and served throughout the succeeding session of the Legislature, taking an exceedingly active part.

A SKETCH OF SANFORD B. DOLE

From 1886 the biographical sketch of Mr. Dole consists chiefly of a record of the principal events in Hawaiian history. These events are so closely connected and entwined with the record of Mr. Dole that it is impossible to make a chronological story of one without involving the other. The biography of Mr. Dole from this point, therefore, will be found in his chapters and mine.

*Biography and
Island History
Run Together*

Lorin A. Thurston



—Call, San Francisco, January 18, 1898.

Foreword

By SANFORD B. DOLE

It has been often suggested to me, as something in the line of duty, that I should record my recollections of those events in the political progress of Hawaii that came under my observation and have been significant in its political evolution, or have exhibited the temper of its people in the stress of civil questions, and have sometimes roused and called forth an expression of their natural feeling. It is well, sometimes, for us to look backward, that we may better look forward.

I am keenly aware of the delicacy inherent in such an enterprise, when one records events in which one has been, to some extent, a participator. I have felt, however, that those who have observed, or have been participators in incidents having some historic importance, should, from the mere impulse of community interest, record or recount their recollections—this not only for the benefit of their neighbors, but also that the serious historical student might have access to the accounts of eyewitnesses, the best evidence. I do not propose to write a history, but a narrative, without comment or analysis, of certain occurrences that I witnessed or in which I participated enough to be conversant with the facts. Mr. Lorrin A. Thurston, of *The*

*Look Backward,
That We May
Look Forward*

*Not History,
But Narrative,
Is Dole's Aim*

Honolulu Advertiser, has kindly offered to publish these papers.

*Lunalilo Paper
Written Soon
After Events*

The first of this series refers to the election of King Lunalilo. This article was written forty years ago [that is to say, in 1873—*Editor*]. It exhibits some partisan enthusiasm, which I trust will not be found in the papers written especially for this series. It also was intended to be more than a mere narrative, and does not hesitate to indulge in some comment on events, rather than merely on persons. In chapters specially written, I have had occasion, particularly in the account of the affairs of the Provisional Government of Hawaii, to use considerable portions of the correspondence between it and the government of the United States and its officers, inserting only such letters as seemed necessary to a clear understanding of the perplexing situation in which the Provisional Government was placed.

*Others Praised
For Their Part
In the Crisis*

Mr. Thurston's biographical sketch of myself, in its high praise, has taken me entirely by surprise. I had not anticipated, from any quarter, such favorable analysis of my part in the critical period referred to; nor do I feel that I can accept it without warm recognition of the unstinted support rendered by many, regardless of the unknown dangers, actuated by the bravest and most unselfish devotion to the cause—men who, unused to exposure, spent nights and days scouting in mountain forests without shelter; women who sent their husbands to the front, not permitting them to remain at home to defend their families in times when the foreign

FOREWORD

representatives offered their stations for the protection of defenseless women and children.

Mr. Thurston himself was a conspicuous leader in initiating the movement, which depended greatly on his firmness and decision and courage. Many others could be named for like qualities and service, but I should not know where to stop. This affair was an enterprise in which escape from serious destruction to life and property was, without doubt, due to our vigilant preparedness, and to the loyalty and devotion of our supporters, from the lowest to the highest, excepting, however, the situation at the launching of the movement, when our organization and plans, arranged in haste, were far from complete. We certainly owed much, on that first day, to circumstances entirely out of our control.

*Fortune Kind
To Revolution
on First Day*

Danford B. Dole

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Kamehameha V, the last of his dynasty, by refusing to name a successor, threw the selection into the Legislature

Kamehameha V

The Hawaiian Revolution

CHAPTER I

THIRTY DAYS OF HAWAIIAN HISTORY*

History derives less interest from the magnitude of its events than from the principles involved therein; less from the numbers of its hosts than the causes and character of their movements. The uprising of a small people may be as inspiring as the uprising of a great nation.

*Principles,
Not Events,
Are Dominant*

To the lover of liberal institutions, the accession of King Lunalilo to the Hawaiian throne was full of propitious omens. A step toward popular government, even in a comparatively insignificant state, belongs to the world and is part of universal progress. To Hawaiians, it will ever be an era of great political moment. It was a serious crisis in affairs, and fortunately terminated favorably for Hawaiian citizenship.

A brief review of a few of the most important circumstances in Hawaiian history will assist to a better understanding of the interesting events connected with the election and installation of King Lunalilo in January, 1873. The Hawaiians had rapidly advanced from the very complete feudal

*Rapid Hawaiian
Advance From
Feudal System*

* A paper read at the annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society, January 11, 1915. First published in *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, five installments, January, 1874.

*Liberal Speech
of New King
to Convention*

system of the time of their discovery by Captain Cook to the liberal constitutional monarchy of the reign of Kamehameha III. The common people had passed in a single generation from the condition of serfs, retainers, and tenants to that of citizens and landholders, with personal freedom and a voice in the government. Upon the death of Kamehameha IV, his brother, Prince Lot, proclaimed himself king and took the government in his own hands. Then, calling a convention of the people to amend the constitution, which he found inconsistent with his own ideas of government, he addressed them in a dignified and liberal speech, in which he made use of the following language:

“It has been the traditional policy of my predecessor to whom the kingdom is indebted for the liberal reforms that have been made, to lead the nation forward and to watch over its welfare. My subjects will find in me as they did in him, a jealous guardian of their liberties and an earnest promoter of all measures calculated to increase their happiness and to check the evils that tend to their destruction.”

*King Defeated
on Property
Qualification*

Five weeks later, after much parliamentary sparring, the King, being roundly defeated in a proposed amendment fixing a property qualification for the voting privilege, which was a favorite measure with him, abruptly broke up the convention and in the following words fell back upon his last resort against the liberal institutions of the country:

“As we do not agree, it is useless to prolong the session, and as at the time His Majesty Kameha-

meha III. gave the Constitution of the year 1852, he reserved to himself the power of taking it away if it was not for the interest of his Government and people, and as it is clear to me that that King left the revision of the Constitution to my predecessor and myself, therefore as I sit in his seat, on the part of the Sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands I make known today that the Constitution of 1852 is abrogated. I will give you a Constitution."

He kept his promise. In a few days, he gave his subjects a constitution proclaimed through the streets of the capital at the head of an armed force. The new constitution fixed a property condition of suffrage, merged the two houses of the Legislature into one, and introduced several other features of absolutism into the government. The people submitted not without protest to this high-handed act. The King ruled with a strong hand. He gathered around him vigilant and resolute counselors. He easily controlled the one-house Legislature. Nine years passed away, years of political suppression and growing alienation between King and people. A period not devoid of commercial prosperity, but yet attended with alarming national decay. Nine years, and then the end came.

*Constitution
Proclaimed by
Force of Arms*

Wednesday, the 11th of December, 1872, like most tropical days, rose bright and warm on Honolulu, the Hawaiian capital. It was the birthday of Kamehameha V, the King, and preparations for its customary observance as a national holiday were in full progress in the early morning. Flags fluttered from the government and private masts and from

ships in the harbor. Business houses and shops were closed, and workmen of all classes rested from labor. Parties of townspeople were starting out into the country to enjoy the holiday in rural festivities, while a scattered army of natives on their half-trained horses galloped gaily into town over the various roads from all parts of the island, men, women and children, and even the horses crowned and garlanded with flowing wreaths of the fragrant *maile*, all eager to join in whatever of merrymaking or excitement the city had to offer.

*Festivity and
Approaching
Death Clash*

In the meantime, while these signs of festival and pleasure were thus prosperously progressing, a scene of quite a different character was taking place at the Palace of Iolani. Before light the principal government officials and the most intimate friends of the King had been hastily sent for, as he had been failing rapidly through the night and had at length gone into a state of stupor. Shortly after sunrise his consciousness returned, and those around him took immediate measures to have a will drawn up for him to execute. After some general conversation in regard to the succession, in which no positive conclusions were reached, and a few allusions to the distribution of certain items of his personal property, the governor of Oahu taking down in writing his words, he told his friends that he was not as sick as they thought he was, and that they all had better have breakfast before going on with the will. Some of the company then left the room, and the King with assistance got up and walked around a little and ate a small quantity of

food; then reclining again on his couch, in a few minutes, without sign of approaching dissolution, he suddenly and quietly expired, at twenty minutes after ten o'clock.

*Sudden and
Quiet End of
Kamehameha V*

The public were aware that the King had been seriously ill for many months, in spite of the studied concealment on the part of the administration of the fact and the repeated statements in the *Government Gazette* that His Majesty was in "excellent health," but as to the nature of his malady or the severity of his illness, they had to content themselves with the vaguest and most indefinite rumors. Still the fact of the King's absence, during the preceding two or three months, from the public drives and all state occasions left them not wholly unprepared for the report, which was made through the town about breakfast time, that the King was dying. Here and there, in the yet quiet streets, knots of people gathered and anxiously discussed the event with its possibilities. About nine o'clock in the forenoon, the King's chamberlain passed through the business portion of the place and told people that His Majesty was better, and was eating breakfast. This news greatly relieved the prevailing anxiety and changed the hush of gloomy anticipation, which already brooded over the community, to the more lively and noisy scenes belonging to the anniversary of a king's birthday. But before half-past ten o'clock, the guns of the Puowaina battery above the town, which had been loaded to give at noon the royal salute, began to thunder forth in mournful minute guns, the announcement that he whose birth

*Minute Guns
From Battery
Thunder News*

the people were then commemorating, was dead; national festivities, scattered over many a league, were checked and hushed with the ominous warning, and the echoes of the death peal, reverberating among the cliffs and crags of the mountains, bore to the distant parts of the island a vague hint of the brooding of a public crisis.

*Alarm, Rather
Than Regret,
Moves People*

The deep feeling caused by the event of the King's decease was rather alarm at the situation and its possibilities than regret for the dead. No royal testament had been signed. No successor to the throne had been appointed and proclaimed; the King left no nearer kin than Ruth Keelikolani, governess of the Island of Hawaii, his half-sister and not in the line of royal descent. It was a crisis without precedent in the history of the nation; it was impossible to divine the temper of the people or guess at the line of action which different claimants to the throne might adopt.

As the country revelers of the morning straggled homeward in the evening, now mourners perchance, and some of them true to the ancient customs which made the days of mourning days also of absolute license, badly intoxicated, and spurring their jaded steeds up hill and down at a reckless speed, hugging their unfinished gin bottles with affectionate fondness as they rode, singing, shouting, and swearing, they would reply, if asked as to their views on the succession, with an air of surprise at the question, that as a matter of course Lunalilo would be the new king.

*Lunalilo Is
Popular Choice
For Throne*

On the next day, the dead King lay in state in the

throne room of the Palace, while his ministers, his staff, and the chiefs of the realm kept watch over him; and somber *kahilis*, waving at his head, beat a sad and silent dead march for the crowds of people, subjects and aliens, who continuously filed through the apartment for a curious, farewell glance on the last of the Kamehamehas.

On the day after the King's death, his cabinet ministers issued an order, calling a meeting of the Legislature for the 8th of January for the purpose of electing a new king. The possible candidates for the office were Prince William Charles Lunalilo, Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, Queen Dowager Emma, and Colonel Kalakaua. Of these, Prince Lunalilo held the highest rank and influence, his countrymen generally according him the position of highest chief by blood in the kingdom. He was about thirty-eight years old, had never married, and was an educated and accomplished gentleman. During the late reign, he had been unpopular with the administration, having been studiously slighted by the King and deprived of all honor, emolument, or participation in the government. His only official position remaining was the hereditary one of noble, which gave him a seat in the upper side of the Legislature and which the government was powerless to affect. Mrs. Bishop was one of the highest of the chiefs of the kingdom. She was the wife of Mr. Charles R. Bishop, an American living in Honolulu, and enjoyed a wide popularity among the people. Queen Emma, well-known throughout the civilized world, was popular among the

*Legislature
Called to
Choose King*

*Other Possible
Candidates For
Succession*

Hawaiians. Colonel Kalakaua belonged to a family of rank and distinction among the chiefs of the kingdom. He was a man of education and industrious habits; during the late reign, had held some civil position under the government, and had a commission in the Hawaiian army as a colonel.

During the first few days after the King's death, there were many indefinite rumors afloat in regard to these different individuals, about what they said; what others said about them; what they wanted and hoped for and what they did not want and hope for. Naturally also they became the subjects of much criticism. Their lives were reviewed, their characters were weighed and compared, and their respective capacities for guiding the ship of state discussed in all the possible relations of such questions. In all this agitation, Prince Lunalilo appeared to hold the first place in the popular heart.

*Prince First
in Hearts of
Countrymen*

A large mass meeting, which was held at the Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu for the stated purpose of passing resolutions of condolence to the sister of the deceased King, after having performed that pious duty, proceeded at once to what was evidently the real object of the meeting, and passed a resolution amid general applause, nominating the prince as the successor to the throne. In other parts of the islands also, many impromptu meetings were held and generally with the same result. No immediate step was taken by any of the candidates; and the days succeeding the royal demise passed anxiously. There was no precedent in Hawaiian history for such an emergency, and many were

alarmed lest during the interregnum, under the excitement of opposing political interests, with the large numbers of people who flocked to the capital, lawlessness might arise and acts of violence be perpetrated, and the more especially as in old times the death of a ruling chief was the signal for a carnival of unrestrained license of every kind; but the only instances of any remnant of this custom were the nightly mourning orgies in the Palace grounds, and a feeble mutiny in the national prison at Honolulu on the day of the King's death. On this occasion, some of the prisoners rose on the jailer and attempted to escape, arguing that, with the King's death, law had ceased to exist, and logically concluding by virtue thereof that punishments also properly came to an end.

Business went on through these days apparently as usual. The courts of justice remained open and transacted their special duties; criminal cases were prosecuted in the name of the King the same as while he was living. Still, though there was no standstill in affairs, the shadow of a great crisis rested on the land. Vague, indefinite, and unknown, all men felt its gloom and looked anxiously forward to the end. Trade drooped under it and heavily and sullenly dragged its task through the hours of each slow-passing day. A hush of waiting for some uncomprehended solution muffled the din of traffic and forbade the merry music of festive reunions. Every evening, from seven o'clock till midnight, the spacious Palace grounds were open to the natives who thronged thither in crowds to offer

*Violent Acts
Feared, But
Time Is Quiet*

*Waiting Hush
Muffles Music
of Festivity*

their tribute of mourning for the dead King, who lay in his coffin in the throne room of the Palace, guarded by detachments of the royal troops. Nightly, till the funeral, the sound of these lamentations rose on the air in every variety of requiem, from civilized psalm-tune chorals and sad, plaintive melodies of their own composition, to the regular *kanikaus* and hopelessly despairing wails of the olden time, with their accompaniment of hula drums, gourd and bamboo time-beaters, and weird gesticulations.

*Lunalilo Asks
People's Vote
In Manifesto*

Matters continued in this unsatisfactory condition until the morning of the 17th of December, six days after the death of Kamehameha, when a manifesto was issued by Prince Lunalilo and scattered with the assistance of the press to the uttermost parts of the kingdom. In the following terms, this chief submitted to the people his claims to the throne and, promising certain liberal measures, asked for their vote:

"To the Hawaiian Nation!

"William C. Lunalilo, son of Kekauluohi, the daughter of Kamehameha I., to the Hawaiian people, greeting:

"Whereas, The Throne of the Kingdom has become vacant by the demise of His Majesty Kamehameha V., on the 11th of December, 1872, without a successor appointed or proclaimed; and,

"Whereas, It is desirable that the wishes of the Hawaiian people be consulted as to a successor to the Throne; therefore,

"Notwithstanding that according to the law of inheritance, I am the rightful heir to the Throne, in order

to preserve peace, harmony and good order, I desire to submit the decision of my claim to the voice of the people to be freely and fairly expressed by a plebiscitum. The only pledge that I deem it necessary to offer to the people is that I will restore the Constitution of Kamehameha III. of happy memory, with only such changes as may be required to adapt it to present laws, and that I will govern the nation according to the principles of that Constitution and a liberal constitutional monarchy, which, while it preserves the proper prerogatives of the Crown, shall fully maintain the rights and liberties of the people.

*Restoration of
Constitution
Is Only Pledge*

“To the end proposed, I recommend the judges of the different election districts throughout the islands (thereby appealing to their ancient allegiance to the family of the Kamehamehas), to give notice that a poll will be opened on Wednesday, the 1st day of January, A. D. 1873, at which all male subjects of the kingdom may by their vote peaceably and orderly express their free choice for a king of the Hawaiian Islands as a successor of Kamehameha V. And that the said officers of the several election districts, do, on a count of the vote, make immediate certified return of the same to the Legislative Assembly summoned to meet at Honolulu on the 8th day of January, 1873. That if any officer or officers of any election district shall refuse to act in accordance herewith, or if there shall be a vacancy in said offices in any district, the people may choose others in their places who may proceed in conformity to law in conducting the election.

“Given under my hand this 16th day of December, 1872.

“God protect Hawaii nei.”

An appeal so moderate, just, and democratic could hardly fail of being well received; under the circumstances of Lunalilo's existing popularity and the prevailing anxiety for definite measures, no other step could have been taken with so favorable

*Tone Moderate,
Just, and
Democratic*

an effect upon his fortunes. The independent press warmly espoused his cause, and numbers of influential people committed themselves positively in his favor. The news of the reception of the manifesto on the other islands showed a similar enthusiasm for the prince in every part of the group, and it began to be a settled thing in the minds of men that he was the unanimous choice of the nation. Still, however, some anxiety was felt as to the possible action of the Legislature in the matter, lest they might be influenced by other candidates to ignore the wishes of the people. As yet no open opposition was made to the popular feeling by his rivals, though some of them had their adherents, who did not hesitate to support them as opportunity offered.

*Rising Star
Attracts Many
to the Prince*

During all this agitation, Prince Lunalilo kept himself closely at home, where he freely received those who, now that his star was rising, hastened in no inconsiderable numbers to pay their respects, to tender advice, and to ask favors of him who had till lately lived in comparative obscurity and neglect. With much patience and good nature, he would listen to his new friends and, when they were ready to go, would personally bow them out with that un-failing courtesy which was a prominent trait of his character.

A few days after the appearance of the manifesto, a paper, printed at the government press for parties who were anonymous, was distributed secretly by night through the streets of Honolulu, of which the following is a translation:

"This Is the Truth!"

"On the 16th day of the present December, a proclamation was issued in this city, commencing as follows:—'I, Wm. C. Lunalilo, the son of Kekauluohi, the daughter of Kamehameha I., to the Hawaiian nation, greeting.'

*Kekauluohi Not
Daughter of
Kamehameha I*

"Let the genealogists see, and they testify this: Kekauluohi was not a daughter of Kamehameha I. as asserted in the publication. But her line is after this manner: Kaleimamahu lived with Kaheiheimalie and Kekauluohi was born thence; and Kekauluohi lived with Charles Kanaina and thence was born the Chief Wm. C. Lunalilo.

"On the other side this is the real truth: Kamehameha I. (after the birth of Kekauluohi) lived with Kaheiheimalie and thence was born Kinau; Kinau lived with M. Kekuanaoa and thence was born the two Kings now deceased. But in regard to the relationship of Kamehameha I. to Kaleimamahu it is as follows: Keoua lived with Kekuiapoiwa thence was born Kamehameha I. Afterwards Keoua lived with Kamakaheikuli, and thence was born Kaleimamahu, the father of Kekauluohi. This also is the truth: Kamehameha I. lived with Kaekapolei thence was born Kaoleiohoku, a male, the first born of Kamehameha I. Kaoleiohoku lived with Keoua, a female, and thence was born Pauahi, which female chief lived with M. Kekuanaoa, thence was born the sister of the late King, Ruth Keelikolani. Kaoleiohoku further lived with Luahine, thence was born Kalani Pauahi.

"Oh people, you here have the truth, and the relationship of these chief families to Kamehameha.

"By the Skillful Genealogists."

"N. B.—By the foregoing genealogical accounts it will appear that the Chief Wm. C. Lunalilo is not a descendant of Kamehameha I."

No satisfactory conclusion can be made from the genealogical authorities of the Hawaiians. Jarves makes Lunalilo the grandson of Kaiana, the

*Authorities
Among "Haoles"
Give Versions*

brother of Kaeo, an ancient King of Kauai, and Dibble makes Kaeo the uncle of Kamehameha I, and he and the "skillful genealogists" agree in making Lunalilo the grandson of Kaleimamahu, who was the son of Keoua and half brother to Kamehameha I.

*People Regard
Manifesto as
a Mean Attack*

Whatever of truth or probability the foregoing publication may have contained, it was regarded by the people as a mean attack upon their favorite; and the secret manner of its distribution, with its anonymous character, added to this feeling. This evidence of opposition, unknown in strength and working in secret, had the effect very materially to stimulate the Lunalilo party, and the signs of its power and growth became more positive every day.

*Hostility to
Election Held
as Treasonable*

As the tide of popular feeling for the prince increased, efforts to swell it to the utmost, that it might sweep away all opposition, assumed a more public character. The independent newspapers in both languages were covered with leaders and articles absolutely committing themselves to the fortunes of his party, and in which they boldly charged all opposition in such positive terms as to assume the enthronement of their candidate as a *fait accompli* and all hostility thereto as already treasonable. In the streets, and in the fish market at Honolulu, where at certain times large numbers of people congregated, stump orators from hitching-posts and fish counters harangued willing listeners and easily

drew enthusiastic applause by a judicious use of the magic word, Luna-lilo.

Many who had hitherto wavered and refrained from supporting any candidate, and some who had openly opposed the prince, now one by one declared in his favor. These changes of base, by which discreet individuals endeavored to preempt in the fortunes of an inevitable destiny, caused much irreverent amusement among the sagacious ones who had adhered to him from the first utterance of his claim.

About this time, it was reported that the rival candidates, with the exception of Colonel Kalakaua, had waived all claims to the throne in favor of Lunalilo. There does not appear to be any evidence that Queen Emma made any effort toward the sovereignty or that she troubled herself at all about the matter or regarded her own prospects, and it conveys a false impression to speak of her as a candidate. And so far as definite report goes, the same is true of Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, forasmuch as the King, in his last severe attack just before his death, distinctly, but informally, proposed to her that she should be his successor, which flattering offer she declined.

*Only Kalakaua
Left in Race
Against Prince*

The number of people in Honolulu was materially increased during these days by additions from the other islands. Every steamer and sailing vessel that came into the harbor was crowded with men, women, and children, attracted thither by the political situation and the coming funeral of the late King.

*Pro-Lunalilo
Mass Meeting
Is Summoned*

On the evening of the 26th of December, a mass meeting, called by a number of white and native citizens through the newspapers, was held at the Kaumakapili Church. This building had been used a number of times during the interregnum for political meetings, until it had acquired a character like that of Faneuil Hall in Revolutionary days. When its bell, which hung in a low belfry of wood near the churchyard gate, was rung out of the usual hours, the natives all through the town would throw down whatever they had in their hands, and leaving their work or amusements, would run for the church, such was their interest in the politics of the times. On this occasion, as the bell sounded forth its call, the people began to collect, and at the appointed time, half an hour later, the church was filled with a dense crowd, of which the great majority were Hawaiians. The stated object of the meeting was to take measures for the election on the 1st of January called for by the manifesto of Lunalilo, and for such consultation upon civil matters and such expression of opinion as might be appropriate. After the meeting was organized, two resolutions were passed, referring to the vacancy of the throne and the proposed election, and calling upon all citizens of the district to assemble at the polls, according to the suggestion of the manifesto, on the 1st day of January to choose their king. The second resolution recommended that a committee of thirteen be chosen, who should make all necessary arrangements for the election, which was immediately acted upon, and the committee, including both natives

*Arrangements
For Plebiscite
to Committee*



*This man received a unanimous vote to the throne from the
Legislature, and well-nigh as much from the people*

Lunatic.

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and foreigners, was appointed by acclamation. A third resolution was then offered which read as follows:

“Resolved, that this meeting, acknowledging the justice of the claims of His Highness Prince W. C. Lunalilo to the Throne of the Hawaiian Islands as the successor of His late Majesty Kamehameha V. and approving of his guarantee to restore the Constitution of the Hawaiian Islands, and to ‘fully maintain the rights and liberties of the people’ as stated in his manifesto of the 16th of December, 1872, express their hearty support of His said Highness Prince W. C. Lunalilo, as a candidate to the Throne of the Hawaiian Islands.”

*Claim Called
Just; Support
Is Expressed*

After several speeches, this was passed with much applause. Next followed a motion by Mr. Whitney, editor of the *Kuokoa*, a native weekly newspaper: “Resolved, that we the people do hereby instruct our four Representatives in the Legislative Assembly to vote for Prince W. C. Lunalilo for King, and for no one else.” This was instantly adopted with the most uproarious enthusiasm.

Mr. Whitney then related an incident of the infancy of the Prince: Mr. Bingham, who was about to perform the ceremony of baptism, asked “What shall we call the child?” “Kanaina,” the father replied, “William Charles Kanaina.” “No,” objected his mother, the noble Kekauluohi; “he is the highest chief in all the islands, therefore his name shall be Luna-lilo,” or “out of sight above,” as Mr. Whitney translated it.

*Whitney Tells
How Lunalilo
Received Name*

This little narrative "brought down the house" in a wonderful manner; all present stood up, swinging hats and handkerchiefs and shouting in the most tumultuous way. The work of the meeting being then satisfactorily accomplished, with three grand cheers for Lunalilo, the great audience broke up. The effect of this assembly was healthy in its influences upon the politics of the time. It was significant of the earnestness of the people and helped to silence those who ridiculed the idea of a popular election for a king.

*Manifesto Now
Is Issued
by Kalakaua*

Two days after the meeting, a manifesto was issued by Colonel Kalakaua, copies of which were liberally distributed in Honolulu and forwarded to the other islands. It was worded in the old figurative and poetical style and is interesting as a specimen battle call of the Hawaiian pre-civilized age. The following is a translation of this document:

"O my people! My countrymen from Old! Arise!
This is the voice!

"Ho! all ye tribes. Ho! my own ancient people!
The people who took hold and built up the Kingdom of
the Kamehamehas; from the first blow struck at the
water Keomo, to the complete union of the islands at
the sea beach of Kuloloia (Honolulu). Arise! This is the
voice! Ho! Maui of Kuimeheua the great! Ho!
Maui of Kamalalawalu of Kihapiilani also! Ho!
Molokai lofty of Hina! Ho! land of Kaulu! Ho!
Kauai of Mano, of my ancestors gone! Arise! Turn
ye! Here is the voice!

"Ho! the relatives of Keaweheulu, of Kameeiamoku
and Kamanawa, they who met the hardships, the hunger,
and the weariness of the spear and the implements of

war. Our blood flowed first and our bodies were scarred in the creation of this House, and the securing of the peace now enjoyed. We created this Government. **HERE IS THE VOICE! ARISE AND LISTEN!**

"At this time, while the night watch and the sacred mourning of affection is held over the corpse of our House-finder, our last Lord, the last one of the Kamehamehas—behold the sacred threshold of Liloa is shaken, the symbolic chain of Ahaula is broken, it is dragged down by the unworthy, it is overthrown and lies face downward, its tabus are trodden on; its sleeping great one, who sleeps the long sleep—his tabus are broken. Thus while we are mourning comes a voice grating on the ear as of a howling crowd; disturbing the thoughts of the hearer, distracting the mind; it pours out thus: 'Ho! the Hawaiian nation! William C. Lunalilo, the son of Kekauluohi, the daughter of Kamehameha I.,' &c. A vote to be taken on the first day of January, 1873, for a King for the throne of the Kamehamehas.

"O Uli (thou god)! Regard not this! It is not we who have sprung forward to mock and to treat with contempt the corpse of our beloved King who now sleeps. It is those who treat thee with contempt, and we bid them farewell forever.

"Let me direct you, my people. Do nothing contrary to the law or against the peace of the Kingdom. Do not go and vote, and do not trammel the labors of your representatives; it will be opposing their authority and powers on the 8th of January, on which day the legislature is to meet and choose a successor to the throne. Do not be led by foreigners; they had no part in our hardships in gaining the country. Do not be led by their false teachings, as a hog with a string in his nose is led ignorantly along to the oven prepared to cook him. Stand fast! Stand firm! Be men and fearless! Give not up your rights and privileges to others. The reign of the Kamehamehas is ended; the country, the government which we labored and strove to create has returned to us. Be patient and wait, my people, until Kamehameha V. is entombed. The one absorbing affair before us,—our last Lord. The land is full of bitterness of grief;

*Night Watch
Is Held Over
House-finder*

*Warns Against
Leadership
of Foreigners*

*Gospel Quoted
as Applying
to Situation*

the chiefs are the same. For this reason I will be silent and still, but my mind is full of conflicting emotions to see the things that are done in despite of our King. Before his beloved body is out of sight, behold how his bones are mocked. Beware, or the words of the Gospel may apply to us. 'They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots.'

"I shall not now speak of the senseless things that are being done, but as you have earnestly pressed me to present my views as to the condition of affairs and for the good of the Hawaiian people; and because I have an ancient right to the throne, from the birth of Keaweikekahialii over Maui of Kama, Oahu of Kakuihewa down to Kauai of Manokalanipo: therefore, I ask you to hear me: I am of the first-born, you are of the second-born of the same ancestors.

"The Platform of My Government!"

"1. I shall obey the advice of our ancestor of Keaweahu, my grandfather, which he gave to Kamehameha I., to be a rule for his government:

" 'The old men, the old women and the children shall lie in safety on the highways.'

"2. To preserve and increase the people, so that they shall multiply and fill the land with chiefs and common people.

"3. To repeal all the personal taxes, about which the people complain.

"4. To put native Hawaiians into Government offices, so as to pay off the national debt.

"5. The amending of the Constitution of 1864. The desires of the people will be obtained by a true agreement between the people and the occupant of the throne.

"Beware of the Constitution of 1852 and the false teachings of the foreigners who are now grasping to obtain the control of the government if W. C. Lunalilo ascends the throne. In this way the country narrowly escaped in 1853, shortly after the passage of the Constitution of 1852. It was when Kamehameha III. was sick that he was urged to sign the transfer of the country to America. Do not listen to the deceiver! Do not slight

*Personal Taxes
to Be Repealed
and Debt Paid*

my words! As we are now in a time of mourning, I am therefore brief, not to tire you, and that you may be sure of the warning voice which now echoes on all sides. After my lamented lord and father is buried, I shall again issue my views with bravery and without flinching and subserviency.

"Let the sound of voices be hushed.

"Rest ye, oh people;

"The tabu is kept.

"Wait until my voice is again raised, and ponder well upon what is here said. Ho! ye women, my family, turn ye your husbands and tell them not to part with the rights of our ancestors. And tell them to be ready when I call again!

"In the inspiring words of our forefathers, a call to guard well our rights now threatened, then

"Arise O people!

"To the front!

"Drink the waters of bitterness!

"DAVID KALAKAUA."

"Honolulu, Dec. 28, 1872."

It was of no use. This elaborate message fell upon the community without effect. It was a failure as a proclamation and only valuable as a curiosity. The time had passed for attempts of such a nature against the widespread feeling for Lunalilo. After his master stroke—his liberal manifesto—with his previous popularity, something more than a printed circular was essential for successful opposition. This effort of the colonel, made just before the 1st of January, was without doubt intended to defeat, if possible, the carrying out of the election on that day.

*Sole Value of
Manifesto Is
as Curiosity*

The committee of thirteen were not idle after their appointment at the meeting of the 26th of

*Citizenship
Is the Only
Qualification*

December. Prominent advertisements and posters in both languages proclaimed to the people of the district the necessary information and called upon all Hawaiians, native-born and naturalized, over twenty years of age, the age of majority for men, to cast their ballots for their king at the polls of the people, upon the 1st of January. In the late *regime*, a property qualification had been a condition of the voting privilege, but on this occasion citizenship was the only requirement.

There were still, on the eve of the election, enemies and skeptics who sneered at the enterprise and prophesied a failure. They asserted that the people would not respond, with the exception of a few partisans, and that their vote, even though unanimous, would express nothing as regarded national sentiment. These individuals, molded under the ideas of the late despotic reign, were unable to appreciate the principle of civil power originating with the people, or to understand the force of united popular will; and they doubted the influence of the election, even if it should be universally attended.

*Usual Festival
of New Year's
Is Neglected*

The 1st of January arrived, and, being a national holiday, the only business carried on was that of voting. Even the usual festive observances of the day were neglected for the one matter of absorbing interest. Early in the forenoon, a crowd had gathered at the polling place and the balloting went quietly and rapidly on, and in a manner full of earnestness and determination, many prominent citizens and high officials of the government

depositing their ballots along with humble Hawaiians fresh from their ancestral taro patches. In the afternoon, the voting slackened somewhat, and the crowds around the polls were alternately instructed and amused by the delphic utterances of impromptu stump orators who found it easy work to sway the popular mind in favor of the hero of the day. There was little or no open electioneering for Colonel Kalakaua, and the supporters of Prince Lunalilo seemed to have things all their own way. About the middle of the afternoon, a company of the Household Troops marched to the polls and deposited their ballots. At five o'clock the voting ceased, and the crowd, having passed the day in unflinching good nature, remained to hear the result. Every minute increased its numbers, till at half-past six, when the counting of the ballots was completed, the street was filled with a dense mass of people, natives and foreigners, quietly waiting for the announcement of the vote.

When the judges of the election came out at last and proclaimed the casting of a number of ballots, larger than had ever been polled in the district during the late reign, and all for Prince Lunalilo, the feelings of the listening crowd broke forth in repeated and enthusiastic shouts which rang from the street, where they stood almost unobservable in the gathering darkness of the night, and proclaimed the news of the victory far and wide over the city. The excitement of the people was intense and they were in a mood to finish the

*Every Ballot
Cast Is Given
to the Prince*

work of conferring royalty by immediately marching in a body to the residence of the prince, in order to carry him to the Palace of Iolani and install him there as king by popular acclamation. But the prince, having feared some manifestation of this kind, had sent word to the judges of election that they should request the people to go quietly home and wait till the election in the Legislative Assembly, after which he would be happy to receive them at the Palace. An uproarious cheer was their answer; and then the main part of the concourse started off through the streets, hallooing and singing, as noisy and demonstrative a rabble as the town had ever seen. The returns from the other islands exhibited similar unanimity and enthusiasm in almost every elective district. The whole nation, with but a few scattering exceptions, had united in nominating Lunalilo for king.

*Kalakaua Plans
Influence on
Legislature*

As the 8th of January drew near, rumors began to circulate to the effect that Colonel Kalakaua was making every effort to influence the legislators in his favor, and much uneasiness was felt lest the election of the 1st should be reversed by the action of the Legislature, in which case there seemed little doubt but that serious civil disorder would ensue. On the afternoon of Monday, the 6th, these rumors developed into definite reports, and it was stated that the Honorable Mr. Kipi, a member from Hawaii of considerable influence, had been gained over by Colonel Kalakaua. Later in the evening, several more members were reported to have followed Mr. Kipi. Kalakaua had

staked his hopes on the legislative election. It does not appear that he entered the election of the 1st of January as a candidate, but simply strove, by his proclamation and in other ways, to cause its failure.

Tuesday had been appointed for the funeral of the late King, but after the troops and people began to assemble for the procession, the clouds which had been gathering on the mountains through the morning, darkened the whole sky and poured down a copious shower, which scattered the gathered mourners and caused the funeral to be postponed until Saturday. In the evening, the accounts of the recreancy of representatives became more definite and alarming, and it seemed doubtful whether the election of the prince could be carried, especially as it was believed that a considerable number of the nobles was unfavorable to him. The excitement in the city of Honolulu, both among natives and foreigners, was great; and the morrow was awaited with anxious foreboding.

The 8th of January opened with a bright, calm morning. All business was given up to the one work of the day—the settlement of the succession to the throne. During the forenoon, the streets were filled with groups of people of all classes and races, eagerly talking over the coming event. The latest rumors as to the position of the different representatives were discussed with discouraging conclusions. The nobles were weighed in the balance of public opinion, but without brightening the prospect. Actual fighting was regarded as inevitable, should

*Rain Postpones
the Funeral of
Kamehameha*

*Fighting Would
Follow Defeat
of Lunalilo*

the election reverse the vote of the 1st. Many prepared themselves for emergencies by arming.

*How the Prince
and Kalakaua
Spend Morning*

Early in the morning, Prince Lunalilo, with a number of his friends, debated the prospects of the day and the possible results. Little satisfaction was gained from this consultation. They were unable to count enough undoubted supporters in the Assembly to insure the election. The prince was grave and anxious. He was aware of the spirit of the people and that it was their resolute determination to greet him as king that day. No one could divine all that might happen.

At the same time, quite a different scene was taking place at Kalakaua's house. The gallant colonel was preparing himself and his friends for the fortunes of the day over the viands of a well-appointed breakfast, to which a number of the representatives and others had been invited. The affair was generally regarded as a political move, but whatever may have been the intention, the meal passed off in an ordinary manner and little was said about the claims of the rivals to the throne. The number present was small.

*Current Sets
to Courthouse
Near Midday*

Noon was the time fixed for the sitting of the Legislature, and as it drew near, the current of movement in the streets tended toward the courthouse; many of the crowd were armed with stones and cudgels and some with revolvers, borne with a grim determination to see the question settled immediately and their choice proclaimed as king in one way, if not in another. They thronged into the

courthouse square and surrounded the building, where they quietly waited for such instruction as events might afford. When the doors of the audience division of the legislative hall were opened, those nearest thronged in and filled it at once. At noon the Assembly was called to order. Nearly all of the members were in their seats. A few moments later, a tumultuous cheering from the crowd outside announced the arrival of the prince, who had walked over from his residence with two or three friends. When he entered the hall, the audience arose and welcomed him with hearty shouts.

Business was opened by the presentation and reading by the cabinet of the late King of documents relating to his demise and to their subsequent official action. The motion was then made that the Legislature proceed immediately to the election of a king from among the chiefs of the kingdom, according to the provision of the constitution for a vacancy in the succession; when this was passed, Lunalilo left the hall, and awaited the result in an adjoining room. As the members had taken their seats, they had each received an autographed letter from Colonel Kalakaua, stating his claim to the throne as being a member of an ancient and honorable line of Hawaiian chieftains, and requesting their votes in the ensuing election. The letter was manly in its tone and couched in simple and appropriate language, quite different from his gorgeous manifesto of the 28th of December. He was not present through the proceedings, but remained at the Palace with the military on guard over the still

*Two Candidates
Absent Selves
From the Hall*

*Paper Suggests
Legislators
Sign Ballots*

unburied corpse of the late King. Another paper printed over the signature of "The People" was also distributed among the members, reminding them of the national decision of New Year's day and suggesting that they should all sign their names to their ballots that it might be known who, if any, should try to thwart the wishes of the people.

For the more successful carrying out of this suggestion, Mr. Simon Kaai, member from Hawaii, made the extraordinary motion that each member should sign his name to the back of his ballot. After some trifling opposition from Mr. Kipi and one or two others, the motion was carried with little or no dissent in the show of hands. It is undeniable that the threatening and determined aspect of the concourse of people in and around the building awed the positive opposition, which certainly existed, into apparent compliance.

*Great Crowd Is
Still as Votes
Are Being Read*

The balloting took place immediately upon the passage of this resolution. The members, being called off by the clerk, went up one by one to the table and deposited their votes. Then one of the tellers read them off with the signatures indorsed upon them. It was a thrilling moment. The audience in the hall and the great crowd outside were as silent as the grave and almost breathless with excitement. The first ballot was told off "Lunalilo for king." The next was the same; and the next. As each one was reported, the result was signaled by those who thronged the open windows to the people below. So the telling went on in the hushed stillness of the great assembly, till, as the number

reached a bare majority and thus far all for Lunalilo, a cheer came up from the grounds, and, gathering strength, burst in a deafening roar which rose and fell like the crisis of a storm; the outskirts of the crowd took up the refrain and the streets leading into the square sent on their answering shouts. Never before had the capital been the scene of equal enthusiasm. The whole city echoed with the triumphant acclamations, and suburbanites miles away listened to the hearty welcome of the new King.

When the counting of ballots was over in the hall, showing a unanimous vote for Lunalilo, the audience arose and hailed the result in a manner which was an echo of the outside enthusiasm. In a few minutes, the King appeared on the western balcony of the courthouse and was vociferously welcomed by the dense throng of his new subjects below. He made a short speech both in the Hawaiian and English languages; and then, dispensing with the carriages that were awaiting him, set out for Iolani, the Palace, on foot; but he did not go alone; there was, indeed, no military *cortege*; no drums and bugles announced his progress; no uniforms and feathers lent their glory to this triumphal march. Bareheaded and reverently, the King walked, with the chancellor of the Kingdom at his side, while the people did him honorable escort. The great crowd, who gave him his first welcome as King, surged around him in solid mass as he went, and thus the imposing procession moved through the streets, citizens all, vanguard and rearguard,

*Unanimous Vote
For Lunalilo
Evokes Acclaim*

*Huzzahs and
Torchlights
Roar and Flash*

and heralded only by the hearty hurrahs of the populace. When night came, the town blazed with illuminations, and a huge torchlight procession, organized by the patriotic German club, wound its dazzling way through the place for hours.

The thirty days are almost over. Their work is accomplished. Hawaiian citizenship is vindicated. A step upward is achieved. It remains but to mention the attendant ceremonies of the opening of the new *regime* and the closing of the old.

The morning comes with the usual tropic brilliancy. The whole community is astir. Everybody is out for the grateful work of the day. Flags flutter gaily from staffs and masts. The interior of the great stone church shines with flags and flowers. The people, their guests—the commissioners, navy men and strangers from other lands—their nobles and rulers, themselves, the king-makers, with their wives and children, gather in the pews and galleries and throng the aisles and fill the churchyard. The soldiery of the kingdom make a lane to the church door. At noon the King, with a few officials of high rank and attended by the glittering staff of the late King, comes on foot to the church and passes up the aisle to the platform; his arrival is greeted with acclamations. The ceremony is rather like the inauguration of a president than the coronation of a king. The Hawaiians have no ancestral crown, but the splendid emblem of sovereignty, the royal feather robe, is laid over the throne, and seated upon its shining folds, Lunalilo the King receives the glad recognition of his subjects, while dis-

*Prince Becomes
King Seated on
Feather Cloak*

charges of artillery from Punchbowl and the men-of-war add their loud acclaim. After the oath of office is sworn, the King delivers addresses to the Legislature and to the people in both languages. It is an impressive scene; the young King, dressed in plain black, with his fine and commanding figure and dignified bearing, surrounded by the attendant officials in brilliant uniforms, and the enthusiastic assembly in holiday attire. The aid and blessing of the King of Kings is besought in earnest words of prayer, and then the venerable old church is left to its own week-day solitude. Again the city is wholly given up to rejoicing. Again, as the sun goes down, lights flash from villa and cottage; and the army of torches drives the night before it through the streets.

One more day. The remains of His late Majesty are on the way to their unseasonable burial. The procession is imposing with military display, and well-appointed arrangements. Home and foreign officials tread the dead march in their places with manner of appropriate solemnity. Stately *kahilis* move in gloomy majesty around the funeral car. Out from under the black pall, which half hides the splendid coffin, flashes the golden sheen of the royal feather cloak. The national band laments the dead in classic strains from the old masters. And yet few unofficial mourners follow the pageant. The people are there as spectators mainly and line the roadside instead of making a part of the procession. Joy rather than sorrow is the popular expression, and as the new King passes as chief mourner,

*Belated Burial
of Kamehameha
Finally Held*

*Shouts of Joy
Hardly Quieted
During Funeral*

scarce can the shouts of the roadside throngs be restrained in spite of the solemnity of the occasion. When the funeral ceremonies are ended, the last prayer said, the volleys fired, the black *kahilis* placed standing before the mausoleum door, then the prevailing joy and gladness break forth; and Lunalilo rides back to his palace and the duties of his reign with the jubilant acclaim of a spontaneous ovation of his subjects.

DEATH OF THE KING.

LUNALILO, the people's choice, the liberal minded, amiable and generous-hearted King of Hawaii is no more. After a lingering illness of some four months, during which he was visibly declining from day to day under the ravages of pulmonary disease, the King expired without pain at ten minutes before nine o'clock on the evening of February 3d.

There were present in the bed-chamber the attending Physicians, the Hon. Mrs. Bishop, His Highness C. Kanaina, the King's Father; Her Ex. R. Keelikouani, His Ex. Robert Stirling, Minister of Finance, and the Hon. Mrs. Naea.

Although the demise of the King had been hourly anticipated for days, its announcement on Wednesday morning was received with profound sorrow by the whole community, while the native subjects of the deceased high chief, following their ancient custom, gave vent to their feelings in loud wailings that, echoing through the still air of early daylight, had a peculiarly mournful effect.

Thus, for the second time, within a period of fourteen months, is the Throne left without an occupant, for His late Majesty, like his predecessor Kamehameha V., failed to nominate or proclaim a successor.

Under the Constitution, the duty devolves upon the Cabinet of the late King, immediately to call a

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—Advertiser, Honolulu, February 7, 1874.



Queen Emma was regarded by the Americans as pro-British, so they planned and compassed her defeat by Kalakaua

Emma

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CHAPTER II

DAVID KALAKAUA ELECTED AS KING

At King Lunalilo's death on the 3rd of February, 1874, Queen Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV, and David Kalakaua became active candidates for election to the throne. In accordance with the law, immediately upon the King's death, an election of a sovereign by the Legislature was called by the cabinet, which held the sovereign authority during the interregnum. The members of this cabinet were: Charles R. Bishop, minister of foreign affairs; Edwin O. Hall, minister of the interior; Robert Stirling, minister of finance; and Albert F. Judd, attorney-general.

*Kalakaua and
Queen Emma
Are Candidates*

Lunalilo had shown himself to be a liberal and democratic ruler, but during his brief reign of about a year, without a regular session of the Legislature, he had hardly had an opportunity of effecting much in the way of reform. In the early days of his reign, he had considered favorably the scheme of abrogating the constitution proclaimed by Kamehameha V at the beginning of his rule, and of reinstating the previous constitution, which had been adopted in 1852, in the reign of Kamehameha III. Yielding to conservative advice, he gave this up and instead looked forward to a revision of the existing constitution with the assistance

of the first regular session of the Legislature following his elevation to the throne. Such purpose had been defeated by his death before the legislative session.

*Heir to Throne
Not Named by
King Lunalilo*

Although the law provided for the selection of an heir to the throne by the reigning sovereign and the privy council, in case the sovereign was without a child, this had not been done, as Lunalilo, with his democratic sentiments and influenced by the fact that he himself had been elected, decided to take no action. Lunalilo, preceding his election by the Legislature, had publicly called for a plebiscite, which was well responded to by the Hawaiians, resulting in a substantially unanimous vote for him, which, of course, was without legal effect. The election in the Legislature following the plebiscite was unanimous in his favor.

*Kalakaua Cause
Given Support
of Americans*

In the situation following the death of Lunalilo, Queen Emma was to all appearances the popular candidate. This was clearly the case on the Island of Oahu, though the American residents took up the cause of Kalakaua. Fear that, in case Queen Emma were elected, she would, with her British sympathies, tend to favor British rather than American interests in the kingdom, was the only thing against her in their minds. She was recognized as a woman of fine character.

To assure the election of Kalakaua, the leading Americans arranged for the gathering of the members of the Legislature from their homes in different parts of the group as speedily and quietly as

possible, in order to deprive Queen Emma's following on the other islands of an opportunity of expressing their choice publicly, through mass meetings or otherwise. The *Kilauea*, the only coasting steam vessel here, was controlled by Samuel G. Wilder, an American; and it was arranged that she should immediately leave Honolulu and steam rapidly from island to island where legislators were living, and gather them on board with as little delay and publicity as possible. This was done very successfully; and the Legislature met, as convened by the cabinet, without any popular expression from the other islands having been received or made known. But on the Island of Oahu, where the public was advised of the convening of the Legislature, there was considerable political activity, many enthusiastic meetings being held among the Hawaiians in support of Queen Emma's candidacy.

*Quiet Maneuver
Collects Men
of Legislature*

Although there were signs, in connection with these political meetings, that the coming election might possibly be attended with some outbreak of lawlessness, there was little serious apprehension of such a happening; yet there was enough misgiving on the part of the authorities for them to take the precaution, on the day of the election, to call the Honolulu Rifles, a volunteer military company, to assemble at their armory, which was situated on the second floor of the old Brewer Building on Queen Street at the foot of Nuuanu, within 200 yards or so of the courthouse, where the Legislature was to sit. They also, through the American

*Military Held
in Readiness
For "Pilikia"*

minister resident, Mr. Henry A. Pierce, arranged for a display of signals between a vessel lying at one of the wharves and the two American war vessels lying in the harbor, in Naval Row, for a landing party in case of need. These vessels were the *Tuscarora* and the *Portsmouth*. A British gunboat, the *Tenedos*, was also at anchor in Naval Row. The officers of these vessels had taken pains to get in touch with the situation, as much as possible, during the previous week, and were of the opinion that a riot was probable.

The court room of the supreme court, in those days, was used as the legislative hall. It was on the second floor of the then Government House, now the American Factors warehouse, containing, beside the court room, the office of the clerk of the court and the room of the chief justice on the upper floor, and offices of the attorney-general, the other justices of the supreme court, and the police court room downstairs. An inner stairway, near the front door, led to the second floor, while an outside stairway led directly to the legislative hall.

The special session of the Legislature for the business of choosing a king was called to sit at noon on February 12, 1874. During the forenoon of that day, business was generally suspended in Honolulu, and a large crowd of men, mainly Hawaiians, assembled in the courthouse grounds and the adjacent streets, numbering between two and three thousand. Admiral Southerland, who was a member of the landing party from the *Tuscarora* in the afternoon, speaks of "several thousand natives."

*Many Hawaiians
Await Result
Near Courthouse*

The election went for David Kalakaua, with a few votes for Queen Emma. As soon as this became known to the crowd around the building, they at once became excited over the result. At first a rather cheerful mob, they rapidly became more threatening, and by common consent seemed actuated by a fixed purpose to punish the legislators who had voted for Kalakaua. A committee of the Legislature was appointed to convey officially to Kalakaua, who was not present at the balloting, but had remained at the Palace or at some place adjacent thereto, news of his election. This committee, made up of several members, headed by Major Moehonua, proceeded from the courthouse to a carriage near at hand. As they were entering it, the crowd made the first demonstration of lawlessness. They seized the carriage, holding it beyond the strength of the horses to draw it away, handled the committee roughly, pulling them out of the vehicle, but permitting them to retreat back into the courthouse. An Englishman, whose name I do not remember, squared off to resist this attack on the committee. He was immediately knocked down, when the British commissioner, arriving on the scene, warned the rioters off, to which demand they cheerfully responded.

*Crowd Becomes
Threatening
After Election*

From this time on, the excitement of the mob increased with every moment. The front and rear doors of the courthouse had been closed. The legislative hall had been cleared of spectators through the efforts of C. R. Bishop, minister of finance, and of G. H. Dole; and the outside doors had been

*Attempts Made
to Force Doors
of Courthouse*

closed and fastened. The people there, being separated from the crowd on the grounds, had not reached the same degree of excitement. Then the mob pressed to both the front and rear doors, pushing against them to force them, ignoring the remonstrances and slight resistance of those inside. Mr. David Dayton, the deputy marshal, an officer well liked by the Hawaiians, about this time went out among the crowd, endeavoring to pacify them by his influence and protests, but his efforts were without effect. Gently they lifted him high above their heads and passed him out horizontally to the outskirts of the crowd.

An entrance into the building was gradually forced by means of clubs and improvised battering-rams. The rioters first thronged into the police court room, throwing almost all its contents through the side door into the yard. Judge Harris, formerly attorney-general under Kamehameha V, was conspicuous in the defense of this room. As the conflict swung into the grounds, a rioter hurled a chair or chair leg at him, whereupon he picked it up and politely handed it back to the one who had thrown it. That unexpected action appeared for the moment to puzzle the rioters, who gradually allowed themselves to become interested in other directions.

*Men Assaulted
and the Hall
Is Ransacked*

The mob, once inside the building, proceeded to attack the legislators who had voted, or who they understood had voted, for Kalakaua, wherever they could find them. The rooms in the lower story were ransacked, furniture was damaged, and books and papers were scattered about. Legislators,

where they could be found—some behind doors, some in book cupboards—were savagely beaten. Meanwhile part of the mob, remaining outside, returned to the legislative hall by the outside stairway, battered in the doors with an *o-o* (whaling spade) and a piece of timber, and made a flank movement on the lawmakers there, who were already assailed by those thronging up the inside stairway. Since there was little teamwork among the rioters, the greater number of the king-makers, one by one, ran the gantlet of their enemies by way of the inner stairs and out through the front doors, being relentlessly followed and mercilessly beaten all the way. Friends and noncombatants were on hand out of doors to take them in charge.

The fury of the mob seemed equally directed toward the legislators and the innocent implements of their official action; furniture was broken to pieces, thus indirectly furnishing missiles and weapons for the retributive campaign. Papers were scattered to the winds, books were torn to pieces, inkstands and mucilage bottles were smashed, and a large quantity of *debris* was thrown out of the window spaces—the windows themselves having already disappeared—upon the pile of wreckage under one of the windows. One, if not two, of the members was thrown out bodily; at least one man died of his injuries a few days later.

During the height of the riot, I was requested by someone—probably someone in authority, although I cannot now remember who he was—to call upon Queen Emma and suggest that she show herself at

*Hall Is Gutted
and Legislator
Is Thrown Out*

*Seeks Aid From
Emma; Fails to
See the Queen*

the courthouse and use her influence over her supporters to bring about a cessation of their mad outbreak. I went to her residence, which was near the present site of the Liberty Theater, at Nuuanu and Beretania Streets, and found her attendants in a state of intense excitement approaching hysteria. It was impossible to talk with them, or to enlist any assistance from them in my purpose of seeing the Queen. I thereupon returned to the courthouse, where I found the disturbance going on without hindrance.

*Blood Splashes
on the Walls;
Floor Littered*

About this time, I missed my brother, who, without my knowledge, had gone to the armory in the expectation that the Honolulu Rifles, of which he was a member, would be called out to suppress the rioting. In search of him, I entered the courthouse and went up the inner stairs. The low story had been well cleared of legislators. There were evidences everywhere of the work of the mob. Things were in confusion; furniture was smashed and scattered around with a litter of tattered manuscripts and broken stair railings. The plastered wall along the stairway was scratched and marred, and here and there splashed with blood.

As I entered the legislative hall, an exciting drama was being enacted amid a most fitting environment. Not an article of furniture remained in the hall; chairs, benches, tables, the railing which had marked the bar inclosure of the court—all were gone except a few scattered remnants. Some of the windows had been demolished. The floor was a waste of scattered and torn papers and a

few legs of chairs and tables and pieces of the bar railing—still useful as clubs and missiles. Pools of ink and splashes of blood were here and there, and in the air a thin mist of dust lingered.

The bench of the supreme court—a raised platform surrounded by a strong railing—was still intact. Within this small inclosure were two members of the Legislature, father and son, the Honorable Thomas Martin of Kau, Hawaii, and his son Henry. Below, on the floor, were three or four men armed with clubs, rushing them in their stronghold. Back of these, toward the middle of the room, was a curved line of perhaps six or eight men, who were hurling missiles, chair legs, ink-stands, anything, over the heads of the nearer attacking party, at the two men within the railing, who were shielding themselves with chairs. I called upon the rioters to desist; somewhat reluctantly, those in the middle of the room gradually did so. The two legislators immediately took advantage of this slackening of the attack and made for the door of the room, eventually escaping through the hallway to the inner stairway; but were furiously followed out of the room and attacked by the smaller party, armed with clubs, while the Martins defended themselves with their very effective chair shields.

Just after this incident, the sailors and marines from the American men-of-war were seen marching up Fort Street from the wharf, the signal calling for their assistance having been given. It was rather late in the affair for calling them; the fury

*Father and Son
Defend Selves
Against Attack*

*United States
Forces Arrive
to Quell Riot*

of the mob had largely spent itself; the courthouse was thoroughly sacked, except the office of the clerk of the supreme court, which had been left untouched. Probably every member of the Legislature who had voted for Kalakaua had been well beaten, but still the naval forces were of service. Forming in the midst of the crowd, they began to make arrests, as one after another of the rioters was pointed out. A giant sergeant of marines greatly impressed all spectators, the rioters especially. He advanced, holding a helpless native with one hand and perhaps a second native with the other, calling out in high spirits, "Bring on your gonakas!" He was fully capable of holding two average men with one of his enormous hands. About this time, a force from the *Tenedos* approached from the wharf. Admiral Southerland says it was "within half an hour" of the arrival of the American forces. The British marines, received with cheers by many Hawaiians, were detailed to guard the residence of Queen Emma. The American troops occupied the courthouse, armory, and prison; and with the men of the *Tenedos*, patrolled the town for a few nights. All were withdrawn to their ships in about a week.

*Giant Sergeant
Has Hankering
For "Gonakas"*

Why the Honolulu Rifles were not promptly called out to suppress the riot at its beginning, or why the force from the warships was not signaled for earlier, has never been publicly understood. In the assembling of the Honolulu Rifles at the armory, the native members failed to turn out, probably from political sympathy with the Queen Emma faction, rather than from timidity.

Upon the restoration of order, in the afternoon of the riot, Kalakaua was looked up and assured as to the safety of the throne. On the morrow, the question of the oath of office arose. The King at first desired to have it postponed to some future time, when it could be done with appropriate ceremony, perhaps having a coronation function in his mind. He was dissuaded from this, and it was finally arranged to have the oath in Kinau Hale, one of the buildings adjacent to the Palace, at noon, in the presence of the diplomatic corps, the cabinet, the privy council, and members of the Legislature. Kalakaua also suggested that Chief Justice and Chancellor Allen be commissioned to prorogue the Legislature in his place. There was opposition to this proposal from those about him, and he at length consented to act in person. The prorogation came off with due pomp and ceremony two days after the riot. The members assembled, with the exception of a few whose injuries prevented. The greater number of those who appeared gave evidence of rough treatment, some with bandaged heads, others with arms supported in slings, and some with both. Various rioters were tried in jury sessions of the supreme court, the majority of those brought to trial being convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for longer or shorter terms, according to their prominence in the riot.

After the rioting ended, there was no further demonstration against the election of Kalakaua.

Kalakaua Given Assurance That Throne Is Safe

Rioters Hear Prison Sentences; Trouble at End

CHAPTER III

HOW THE 1887 CONSTITUTION WAS HAD

*Constitutional
Evolution in
Island History*

Previous to the constitution of 1887, the fundamental law of Hawaii had passed through different stages. In 1839 Kamehameha III proclaimed a bill of rights. It was followed, in 1840, by the first constitution, which was approved by the nobles and signed by the King and the premier. Both the constitution and the bill of rights were published in the English language, which was recognized as the basis of all judicial proceedings and the authority in possible variance of translations. In 1852 a new constitution was adopted by Kamehameha III and nobles and representatives assembled in a legislative council. In 1864, when Kamehameha V ascended the throne, he desired a new constitution, not being satisfied with that of 1852; and he called an election of delegates to a constitutional convention. The delegates were elected and assembled, but they were unable to agree with the King on certain points. After much sparring, the convention was dissolved by the King; and he proclaimed the constitution of 1864, unassisted by the convention of delegates. There was considerable adverse comment, throughout the islands, on this action, but there was no overt resistance; and the constitution of 1864 was practically accepted. It continued as the constitutional law of Hawaii until the constitution of 1887 was substituted.

Kalakaua began his reign with good counselors. Advised by them, he went to Washington to further the reciprocity treaty with the United States, then under consideration. His visit undoubtedly promoted the adoption of the treaty by the American Senate a few months later. As time went on, and the turbulent opposition of the supporters of Queen Emma's candidacy for the throne quieted, the King felt more secure in his position; he began, in one way and another, to seek an increase of his influence over public affairs; and he showed a tendency to gather subservient advisers about him and to delve into politics in efforts to control the elections and legislation. Under the existing constitution, the Legislature consisted of one house, nobles and representatives sitting together. The King had the prerogative of appointing members of the house of nobles. Besides that opportunity of increasing his support, he made a practice of conferring official positions upon representatives. The constitution was defective, in that it lacked restrictions on royal arbitrary power, if the sovereign was bent on attempting to exercise it. Judges of the supreme court, cabinet ministers, nobles, privy councilors, diplomatic agents, and military officers—all were appointed by the King, although an appointment had to be countersigned by a cabinet minister. The privy councilors and the members of the cabinet held office during the King's pleasure. No check existed on his power to veto a bill passed by the Legislature, except the necessary countersignature of a cabinet minister; and a veto was paramount throughout the session in which it occurred.

*Kalakaua Opens
Well; Furthers
Sugar Treaty*

*Royal Power
to Veto Bills
Is Extensive*

*Subservience,
Not Ability,
Is Criterion*

With the growing tendency of the King to base his selection of cabinet members on their subservience, rather than on their ability, much looseness crept into the administration of public affairs. Funds were transferred from one legislative appropriation to another; roads, landings, and wharves were neglected; appropriations were made for fantastic enterprises and for the personal aggrandizement of the royal family; little was done to promote the material prosperity of the kingdom, beyond support given to a reciprocity treaty with the United States, discussed above, and to the negotiation of a treaty with Japan for the immigration of Japanese laborers into Hawaii.

*Opposition in
Legislature
Begins in 1884*

The first organized opposition to Kalakaua's policies came to a head in 1884, when a minority opposition, small, but efficient, was elected to the Legislature. I was one of the minority leaders. As time passed, and as Kalakaua's nature and tendencies became more manifest, the opposition increased in vigor. The session of 1886 was protracted, due to the determined opposition of the minority members to measures that they regarded as inconsistent with the public welfare. One such measure was a bill to create a franchise to deal in opium. That franchise was to be sold to a person or firm, giving a monopoly of the business for the whole group of islands, the license to be granted, with the consent of the King in cabinet council, to someone applying therefor and paying \$30,000

to the minister of the interior for each year of the license, which was fixed by the act at four years. At length the bill was passed by the Legislature.

In this state of things, dissatisfaction grew. With no legal way of overriding the King's veto, there seemed no hope of carrying out desirable reforms by legislative methods; and a sentiment became widespread, in favor of a protest, backed by sufficient organized force to go farther, if necessary. Late in 1886, the feeling became so intense that a proposal to organize developed. Mr. L. A. Thurston, meeting me on the street, said that Dr. S. G. Tucker, a practicing physician of Honolulu, had urged upon him the importance of organizing, and suggested that it be done without delay. Arrangements were made for them to meet at my house, and for two or three others, similarly inclined, to be invited. Dr. Tucker, Mr. Thurston, W. R. Castle, and I attended the meeting; I do not remember whether others were present. A scheme for an organization was blocked out, and arrangements were made for another conference, with a larger number of participants.

*League Sprouts
From Remark
of Physician*

Nearly all the persons selected to be intrusted with the plan received it heartily. The adherents grew rapidly in numbers, and meetings were held frequently in different parts of the town. Delegates or agents, going to the other islands, extended information to chosen persons; and the response was cordial. So the Hawaiian League, as it was called, increased steadily in numbers through early 1887.

During its first months, the chief work at the meetings was the selection of men to be informed of the plans and offered membership. At a certain meeting, one name after another was suggested and voted on; at length the name of a prominent undertaker was offered. It was joyously acclaimed as the name of a member of whom we might have much need.

*Undertaker Is
Elected: May
Come in Handy*

As time passed, the government naturally became aware of the existence of a plot affecting it somewhat seriously, and sought to inform itself. Some effort was made by the police to gather information about the league meetings, which were generally held at evening and rarely twice in succession at the same place. When the plans became more definite and the support more assured, the league management took measures to arm its members. A considerable number was able to procure firearms and ammunition from Honolulu hardware stores. To fill the requirements, an order was made for the importation of ammunition and Springfield rifles. Upon the arrival of the invoice, the authorities, suspicious of its destination, refused to permit its passage through the customhouse, whereupon the directors of the league instituted proceedings of replevin in the courts, and thus, without further trouble, obtained delivery of the goods. A military organization of volunteers, young men of Honolulu, in several companies, a growth from the original Honolulu Rifles, was won to support the league, the commander, Colonel V. V. Ashford, becoming an enthusiastic advocate of its plans.

*Plan Supported
by Companies
of Volunteers*



*Mr. Jones and Judge Dole thought alike: they backed Lunalilo
for the throne; they quit the Hawaiian League together*

Peter Cushman Jones

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ANNUAL

Events moved rapidly during June; and the feeling of the league adherents became more tense. Undoubtedly the course of events was accelerated by news that the King, after negotiating with a Chinaman, named Aki, for the grant of the opium license, and receiving therefor \$71,000, had granted the license to another party for a similar consideration. In the community generally, there was a strong undercurrent of anxiety, a vague expectation that something serious impended; in the league, a vigorous sentiment, in favor of overthrowing the monarchy by force, appeared and increased, to an extent that caused two members to withdraw from the directorate: Mr. P. C. Jones and myself. This action occurred at a meeting one evening, when a crisis in league affairs was imminent, because of the policy of the radical wing. Members of the league on the other islands were generally in favor of a radical policy and of annexation to the United States.

*Opium Scandal
Accelerates
the Movement*

Finally the league adopted a plan of giving the King a chance to hold his position by acceding to its demands. A mass meeting accordingly was called at a large one-story building near the corner of Punchbowl and Beretania Streets, which was used as the armory of the volunteer companies. At this juncture, it became desirable, if arrangements could be made, that the volunteer companies be under arms and in control of the town. Of course such action, without authority, would be a revolutionary step. Fortunately, while it was under consideration, the authorities, recognizing the day to

*Mass Meeting
Called; Troops
Control Town*

be one of possible unrest, ordered the companies out, which relieved the situation for the time being: while the troops were patrolling the streets under nominal orders of the government, they were actually under orders of the league, until the crisis was over. The mass meeting, held in the afternoon of June 30, 1887, was largely attended by all classes and nationalities of Honolulu. Business was at a standstill for the afternoon, and the hall was filled to overflowing. The meeting was called to order; Mr. P. C. Jones was elected as chairman.

*Peter C. Jones
Is Chairman;
Outlines Aims*

Upon taking the chair, he addressed the meeting as follows, the quotation being from the *Daily Herald* of the next day: "Fellow citizens: I feel greatly honored in being called to preside over this, the largest and most important meeting ever held on these islands. We have assembled here this afternoon, in a constitutional manner, resolved to ask the King for good government, something which we have not had. Here are gathered people of all nationalities — Hawaiians, Americans, English, Portuguese and Chinese — and we can present our resolutions in a firm, determined and dignified manner, because we have determined to have what we ask. We have prepared resolutions, which will be presented by the Hon. L. A. Thurston, after which will be presented a letter received from the King, and then short speeches will be heard. We are so warmed up here by the large concourse and the excitement of the occasion that we want to make things short, sharp, and decisive."

The Honorable L. A. Thurston then read, in a voice that reached the outer limits of the assemblage, the following resolutions:

*Thurston Reads
Resolutions
Against Throne*

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 and 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.

*Walter Murray
Gibson Must
Be Dismissed*

"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."—*Hawaiian Islands. Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate . . . Transmitted to Congress from January 1, 1893, to March 10, 1894, page 1605. (Hereafter cited as Morgan's Report.)*

*Junius Kaae's
Dismissal From
Office Asked*

*Twenty-four
Hours Given
King for Reply*

The Honorable C. R. Bishop came forward and read the following letter, which he had received that day from the King:

*Surrender Is
Forthcoming
From Kalakaua*

"Thursday, June 30, 1887.

"Hon. C. R. Bishop, Member of the House of Nobles,
"Privy Councilor of State, etc.

"My Dear Sir:

"Reposing especial confidence in your loyalty and sound judgment as a councilor, and knowing your regard for our people, we are moved to call upon you in the present condition of affairs in our Government, to say that we have called upon the Hon. W. L. Green to form a Cabinet and a Ministry which he may select and which will be acceptable to the respectable and responsible majority of our people will be welcome to us, and any guarantees 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."

Mr. W. A. Kinney read the letter of His Majesty in Hawaiian. W. L. Green said: "The course of events has shown me that a speech from me is almost unnecessary. I have felt the last few days that it was impossible for me to prepare a speech. I knew no more than any of you about this letter from the King. But here it is. It is in order for you to speak out what you mean, but keep your language firm and temperate. Three years ago I remember there was a meeting—I think it was at the Lyceum—to protest against the bad administration of Walter Murray Gibson's Cabinet. Then

*Be Temperate
and Firm, Says
New Premier*

*Government
Grows Worse,
Intolerable*

you passed a number of resolutions expressing condemnation of the Cabinet, and hoping that things would be better. I wrote a letter that I thought the Government was getting worse and worse. We are here today because, notwithstanding that protest, and notwithstanding all the advice given the King, the Government has been getting worse and worse and is now something intolerable. Let your attitude be firm; your united front for the past few weeks has induced His Majesty to resolve to turn over a new leaf. If he ultimately decides—for we never know what is going to happen in this country—if it should ever happen that I should head a Ministry, I shall conduct it not only for His Majesty, but for the country.”

*Husband of
the Princess
Bernice Speaks*

Other short addresses were made, some in Hawaiian, by W. A. Kinney, J. A. McCandless, L. A. Thurston, Alexander Young, S. B. Dole, R. J. Greene, H. Waterhouse, Dr. S. G. Tucker, Cecil Brown, Paul Isenberg, H. S. Swinton, L. C. Ables, E. M. Walsh, C. W. Ashford, W. H. Rice, and J. D. Tucker. [J. M. Vivas also spoke, and read the resolutions in Portuguese.—*Editor.*] All of the speeches, except one or two, exhibited a firm determination to force the issue, if necessary, without delay. All of them would be interesting in this connection, but not all were reported. I feel, however, that it is well to give space to the reported address of Charles R. Bishop, one of the most conservative of men. He 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 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 came here as a Hawaiian, not for any class or clique. If it was any class or clique, I would not come here at all."

*King Largely
to Blame For
the Situation*

The resolutions were adopted with absolute unanimity. The committee immediately called on the King, presented him with a certified copy, and informed him that he was given twenty-four hours in which to make reply. He gave oral reply that it was not necessary to wait; that he would accede now to all the demands. The committee said to the King that the meeting had given him twenty-four hours, and the committee would not change the requirement. Moreover, the committee stated, they wished a reply in writing. Mr. W. M. Gibson, the

*A Visionary
and Skilled
in Intrigue*

premier of the late cabinet, was arrested and sent from the country in a sailing vessel. Since he had had much to do with the reactionary state of the government, being visionary, skilled in intrigue, of an attractive and winning address, ambitious of power, without practical administrative ability, he would be better gone.

In these days of substantial martial law, without the name, an incident occurred, with a rather humorous ending, but significant of the control of affairs exercised by the league. A liner from the Colonies had arrived, bringing a lot of small arms; and suspicion was aroused that they had been ordered for the late government. A squad of volunteer soldiers, under order of the league, went immediately to the wharf, where they captured a dray-load of guns, and took them up the street under guard. The arms turned out to be old-fashioned shotguns, imported for rice planters to protect their crops from the rice-eating birds.

*Constitution
Is Pushed by
Day and Night*

The work of drafting the new constitution was pushed day and night by those members who were, by common opinion, assigned to the task. At one time, when the work was being pressed, a member of the league, who had been on guard duty, interrupted the proceedings in the middle of the night, stating that a body of hostiles was reported to be approaching the Government Building, the present courthouse, which was then the headquarters of the volunteer companies. The meeting immediately adjourned, and the members returned to their homes, armed themselves, and started for the Gov-

ernment House to assist in repelling the expected attack. Before reaching their destination, however, they were met with the information that the story of the impending hostile movement was a false alarm. Within a few days, less than a week, the draft of the new constitution was completed. I was asked to take it to Mr. Grieve's printing establishment, in the second story of a building on Merchant Street. The time was about midnight; the moon was shining brightly; the quiet of the streets was impressive: they were deserted. I do not remember meeting a single person, policeman or otherwise, during my walk to the printing establishment and back.

In a day or two, the draft of the new constitution was ready for the King, who thereupon signed it and took the oath of maintenance. It was countersigned by Mr. W. L. Green, the new minister of finance. Generally this constitution was liberal, following somewhat the constitutions of various American states, and somewhat the preceding Hawaiian constitution, giving full and reasonable recognition to the royal status of the King, and fully providing for a continuance of the Monarchy. It provided that the nobles, instead of being appointed by the King, should be elected by the voters, and that, to be eligible for election as a noble, one should (beside other usual requirements) own taxable property worth \$3,000, or should receive an income of not less than \$600 a year. The same financial status was required as a qualification for electors of nobles. To be eligible as a representa-

*Kalakaua and
Premier Green
Sign the Draft*

*Citizenship
Not Required
of Electors*

tive, one had (besides the usual requirements) to own real estate worth \$500, or have an annual income of at least \$250. Although citizenship was one of the necessary qualifications of both nobles and representatives, it was not required of electors of either house. No property qualification was required of electors of representatives, but all voters had to be of Hawaiian, American, or European birth or descent; had to know how to read and write in Hawaiian, English, or "some European language," and had to take an oath to support the constitution and laws. Under this constitution, the two houses of the Legislature sat separately, and the veto of any bill by the King might be overruled by a two-thirds vote of the elective members.

*Royalists Not
Too Happy;
"Pilikia" Near*

The members of the new cabinet were: W. L. Green, minister of finance; L. A. Thurston, minister of the interior; Godfrey Brown, minister of foreign affairs; and C. W. Ashford, attorney-general. Now the excitement of the recent crisis rapidly subsided; public works had attention; and public affairs were much more satisfactory than they had been for a long time. The King was never enthusiastic at the new constitution; among his friends, there was a good deal of irritation. This feeling gradually led to an attempt to break up the existing status. That effort will make the subject of the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE WILCOX INSURRECTION OF 1889

Some time after the adoption of the constitution of 1887, Princess Liliuokalani, sister of the King and heir presumptive, and Queen Kapiolani, the wife of King Kalakaua, both of whom had been visiting in England and the United States, returned to Hawaii. Several young men who had been sent by the government to Italy, for military training in the schools of that country, also returned; among them were Robert Wilcox and Robert Boyd, both part-Hawaiians. Princess Liliuokalani was much exercised over the course of events in connection with the new constitution, which had occurred in her absence from the islands. Dissatisfaction existed among others close to the throne. Robert Wilcox, who now plumed himself on his military training, became active in fomenting dissatisfaction among such Hawaiians as he hoped to enlist in a scheme for some kind of a political change; exactly what change was intended, or hoped for, no one seemed to know then, nor has it since become clear with the passage of the years.

Gradually, on one pretext or another, Wilcox obtained adherents, who assembled with him from time to time, generally at night, in a large dwelling house belonging to Liliuokalani, situate in Palama, a suburb of Honolulu. Little was known of these

*Voyagers Home
From Europe;
Resent Changes*

*Liliuokalani's
House Is Used
to Hatch Plot*

*Robert Wilcox
Leads Armed
Men to Palace*

gatherings by the public, although rumors of the activities were abroad, without arousing much serious apprehension in the authorities. It was, therefore, a great surprise to the community when, early in the morning of July 30, 1889, the news spread through the town that Robert Wilcox, with an armed force, was in possession of the Palace grounds. They covered several acres and at that time were surrounded by a massive wall of masonry from seven to eight and one-half feet high, according to the grade of the land. On the four sides, there were gates of timber, in which were inserted small entrance doors of boiler iron.

*Church and
Opera House
Spit Bullets*

The cabinet immediately called out the volunteer military companies, stationing a part of the force in the Royal Hawaiian Hotel grounds, diagonally opposite the Palace, and another part at Punchbowl and Queen Streets, a block beyond, and on the opposite side of the Palace. A number of citizens not belonging to military organizations volunteered to aid in suppressing the uprising. Some of them were stationed in a small two-story house on Richards Street, nearly opposite the Richards Street entrance of the Palace grounds; others were in the tower of Kawaiahao Church, and a third party was in the upper part of the Opera House on King Street, on the site of the present Federal Building, facing the Palace front. The insurgents, numbering several hundred, were in full possession of the Palace grounds, but not of the building, which was occupied by the Royal Household Guards, under command of Robert Waipa Parker. The King,

on hearing of the approach of the Wilcox party, retreated with a small detachment of troops to his boathouse in the harbor, situate where the Navy docks now are, leaving instructions with Parker to permit Wilcox to take possession of the grounds, but not of the Palace itself. The insurrectionists used their time in procuring breech-loading field pieces and ammunition from the royal barracks—strangely, without opposition from the Household Guards, who were quartered there. Two of the guns were stationed in front of the Palace, one being on the east side and one on the west side. An attempt was made by Mr. S. M. Damon, minister of finance, to ascertain the attitude of Robert Wilcox. He went to the front entrance of the Palace grounds, but was denied admission. A few “outside” men, some of them armed, were in the streets surrounding the Palace precincts. As one of them was passing near the eastern entrance, on Likelike Street, some of those within, opening the gate and rushing out, captured him and took him inside.

In the growing excitement, someone fired a musket—for what reason, nobody seemed to know; and general firing began immediately. The two field pieces in front of the Palace opened with a broadside, their target being the Opera House, the facade of which was scarred from top to bottom with shrapnel. Some of the shells, passing through the windows, exploded inside the building, but did not injure anyone. That was the first and last discharge of the insurgent battery, for the crews were promptly driven away by rifle fire. Among those

*King Kalakaua
Quits Palace
For Boathouse*

*Field Pieces
Open in Reply
to Rifle Shot*

*Sharpshooters
Kill and Wound
Artillerymen*

serving the guns, Mr. Robert Boyd and Mr. George Markham were seriously wounded; and a Hawaiian at the gun on the west side of the Palace was killed, with the lanyard in his hand, evidently on the point of firing a shot. Considerable musket fire ensued. The men in the Palace grounds were exposed to it, from the position of the sharpshooters in the buildings mentioned, which overlooked the grounds; and the insurgents were driven from one part of the grounds to another, and finally into the Palace and the bungalow, a large wooden building north of the Palace, where they remained for the rest of the day, exposed to occasional rifle bullets, against which the bungalow gave little protection. Those who took refuge in the Palace basement surrendered to Robert Parker; he telephoned to the government, asking instructions. He was instructed to send them, one at a time, through the front gateway, where they should surrender. Out they came on a dead run.

*Capitol Also
Taken in Hand
by Insurgents*

Early in the day, a small detachment of the insurgents had taken possession of the Government Building. One of them, while in the front grounds, was killed. The others soon gave up the fight, disappeared across Queen Street in the rear, and made their escape; and the building was taken over by government men. Some time after the event, Mr. B. H. Kahananui, who commanded that detachment of insurgents, recited to me the experience of his party, substantially as follows: "At 6 A. M. I was sent over to the Government Building by Wilcox with twelve men to take care of it. The janitors had begun work. They locked all the doors

and we let them go, we being outside. We stayed in the yard, guarding the gates and the building. About 7 A. M. I spoke to five prisoners" [meaning government trustees from the jail] "who were in the mule yard, and asked them whether they favored the doings of that day, and whether they would go over into the Palace yard, and they assented. I took them over. About 8 or 9 A. M. I went to the *mauka* gate of the Palace yard and along Palace Walk" [now Hotel Street], "finding two riflemen and one policeman at the junction of Palace Walk and Punchbowl Street. They were on guard and made ready as if to fire on me. I turned and came down Likelike Street, and met the finance minister, S. M. Damon, east of the front entrance of the Palace grounds. We conversed; and while we were talking, a gun was fired — I don't know where from, but I think from the Opera House. Damon was excited. I came at once into the Government Building yard and brought Kelelua with me, but he insisted on stopping halfway, behind a palm tree. I stayed on the front veranda with three men. As soon as I got there, the firing became rapid, and Kelelua was hit and fell without crying out. About 11 A. M. my men had all disappeared, and I went around the east side of the building and *makai* to Queen Street and so escaped. I was shot at while going away. While we were on guard, Judge McCully was refused admittance at the front gate. I heard that Judge Judd was also refused. After the first gun was fired, there may have been three or four rifle shots, and then the field pieces began firing."

*Jail Trustees
Favor Doings
at the Palace*

*Firing Rapid;
Man Hit, Falls
Without a Cry*

I reached the Opera House after the broadside from the field pieces, remaining there for the rest of the day. An interesting incident occurred about noon. A man, dressed in white, left the Palace and walked slowly toward the Likelike Street gate. Our men immediately opened fire on him, but he continued deliberately, apparently paying no attention to the fusillade. Evidently he was a noncombatant, and orders were given to cease fire; before that could be effected, he turned about, and deliberately retraced his steps to the Palace, which he reached unscathed. Afterward we learned that he was the King's steward and was taking the noon lunch to the King's boathouse, where His Majesty was spending the time.

*Men Must Eat,
Though Other
Men Are Dying*

No attempt was made by the insurgents against the Palace, which was held by Robert Parker and sixteen men from the barracks. As the afternoon wore on, however, with no demonstrations from the insurgents, it was felt that they would resume possession of the field guns at nightfall and renew the conflict, perhaps with serious results to life and property. A scheme was devised, late in the afternoon, by members of the company of volunteers stationed in the Royal Hawaiian Hotel grounds, to bombard the bungalow. Bombs were made with dynamite, a stick being tied to an iron spike for weight, and a fuse adjusted. A baseball catcher, Mr. Hay Wodehouse, son of the British commissioner and consul general, was assigned to throw the bombs from Palace Walk, over the wall, to the bungalow roof. It was covered with corrugated

*Bomb-tossing
Owes a Debt
to Baseball*



He received his military education in Italy; soon after his return to Hawaii, he tried both training and uniform

Robert W. Wilcox

iron; when the bombs exploded, one by one, with almost the explosive power of field pieces, tearing the roof in a threatening manner, the insurgents soon rushed out, with a sheet as a white flag. Thereupon the company in the hotel grounds marched over, received the surrender of the insurgents, and took them to the police station. A small number had been killed, and several had been wounded.

*White Flag Up;
Insurrection
Thing of Past*

After such an affair, the cabinet felt that the masonry wall about the Palace was a menace to the public peace, since it offered some protection to outbreaks against law and order, and also offered some encouragement to such efforts. Accordingly the cabinet decided that the wall should be removed. Kalakaua opposed that decision very strenuously, but the cabinet members, who were the responsible government under the new constitution, insisted on the measure and prepared, in case the King persistently refused his assent, to move upon the Palace with an armed force and suppress all opposition. Kalakaua finally submitted, however, and a crisis was averted.

Kalakaua was never quite happy under the new constitution. He had sworn to it, but had done so under pressure, which might explain his lack of enthusiastic loyalty to the instrument. Matters moved smoothly after the insurrection, but the King, before many months, began to develop symptoms of ill health. In 1890 he made an informal visit to California, the United States tendering him the warship *Charleston*, commanded by Captain Brown, for that purpose. [Acting Rear Admiral

*Last Passage
Through the
Golden Gate*

George Brown commanded the Pacific Station; the *Charleston* was his flagship.—*Editor.*] In California he was pleasantly entertained by friends and acquaintances for several weeks. At length the symptoms of his malady increased in severity, and he succumbed in San Francisco early in 1891.

The remains of the King were conveyed to Honolulu by the same ship in which he had made the voyage to California. There was no cable to Hawaii in those days, and the appearance of the *Charleston*, passing Diamond Head with her yards aslant and her flag at half-mast, was the first intimation of his death received in Honolulu. When the *Charleston* reached the wharf, a *cortege* was organized from the officers and crew of the U. S. S. *Pensacola*, then anchored in the harbor, and the royal remains, placed upon a gun carriage, were taken slowly and solemnly through the streets to the Palace. As the procession entered the gate, a rainbow stood arched over the building, which was noticed and commented on by many persons. Many will remember the pathos of the grief of Queen Kapiolani, who stood on the upper veranda over the Palace entrance, as the remains were brought in. After a ceremonious lying-in-state, in accordance with the Hawaiian custom for royal obsequies, the remains were conveyed to the Royal Mausoleum with all of the usual imposing insignia of mourning. Thus ended the reign of Kalakaua. He was succeeded by his sister Liliuokalani, the officially appointed heir apparent, the King having left no children, and having duly appointed her as his successor.

*Yards Aslant
Inform Hawaii
of His Death*

*Liliuokalani,
King's Sister,
Ascends Throne*

CHAPTER V

OVERTHROW OF HAWAIIAN MONARCHY

A day or two after the remains of the late King had been brought to Honolulu, Princess Liliuokalani, in the presence of the judges of the supreme court and other officials, was sworn in as queen. The ceremony took place in the blue room of the Palace. A question arose almost immediately between the Queen and the ministers under Kalakaua, who insisted that they held over under the laws, but the supreme court, to which the point was submitted for settlement, decided in favor of the Queen's right to select a new cabinet. Its members were: Samuel Parker, minister of foreign affairs; Charles N. Spencer, minister of the interior; Hermann A. Widemann, minister of finance; William A. Whiting, attorney-general. In the course of that year, John O. Dominis, the husband of the Queen, died, whereby she lost a level-headed adviser. Not long after the advancement of Liliuokalani, Robert Wilcox, supposed to have been in sympathy with her in the uprising of 1889, already narrated, was engaged with others in a movement to enlist support of the Hawaiians in a revolution to supplant the Queen and establish a republic, of which Wilcox was not slow in announcing himself as a candidate for president. Public meetings were held, and the plans and the hopes of revolutionists were publicly discussed. The government, mind-

*She Takes Oath
of Her Office
in Blue Room*

*Robert Wilcox
Gets Ambitious
in New Manner*

ful of Wilcox's former attempt, eventually arrested him and over a dozen of his associates on the charge of treason. A justice of the supreme court sat as committing magistrate. Wilcox, with several others, was committed for trial before a jury, at which trial Mr. Wilcox was acquitted.

*More "Pilikia"
in Legislature
Over Lottery*

A protracted session of the Legislature occupied a considerable portion of the next year and extended over into 1893. There was a great want of harmony between the opposition and administration parties, partly because of official appointments and partly because of schemes advanced by the government, which were distasteful to the opposition. The most important of these was a plan to establish a license for a lottery enterprise, with headquarters in Honolulu. The government was dazzled by the promises of the lottery promoters that they could pay the government a princely annual tax for the license. A vote of want of confidence in the ministry was passed by the Legislature in August. The new ministry, announced a fortnight later, included two members of the cabinet lately dismissed. This action on the part of the government increased the firmness of the opposition; in November the cabinet was voted out, and then the Queen seemed willing to take the obvious course, and she appointed ministers from the opposition, but not all of them were members of the Legislature. The members of the new ministry were: George N. Wilcox, minister of the interior; Mark P. Robinson, minister of foreign affairs; Peter C. Jones, minister of finance; Cecil Brown, attorney-general.

The administration of public affairs took on a more businesslike character under the new cabinet, but that did not wholly please the Queen. She favored the lottery; she wanted to have personal control of the government; and the loss of royal prerogative, resulting from the constitution of 1887, was a grief to her. As the year drew to its close, there was much intrigue between the Palace and the Legislature, which had continued in session beyond all precedent. Members were getting tired of the slow progress of legislative work and the constant wrangling and acrimonious debates; some of them needed to return home for attention to their own affairs. The Queen promoted the delay until, in the absence of several members of the opposition, an opium license and the lottery bill were passed. On the 13th of January, 1893, with one defection from the opposition, a vote of want of confidence in the G. N. Wilcox ministry was introduced and carried; and Liliuokalani, after the appointment of a new cabinet, was ready to prorogue the Legislature, which was done on the following day. The new ministers were as follows: Samuel Parker, minister of foreign affairs; J. F. Colburn, minister of the interior; W. H. Cornwell, minister of finance; A. P. Peterson, attorney-general.

The public was much disturbed at this turn of events, particularly at the lottery franchise law and the change of ministry. Rumors filled the air during the next forenoon, to the effect that the Queen was bent on planning some radical step, perhaps

*Businesslike
Administration
by New Cabinet*

*Opium License
and Lottery
Bills Passed*

*Feather Cloak
Seats Royalty
For Last Time*

even a *coup d'etat* with reference to the constitution. At noon the Legislature was prorogued with the usual ceremony: a royal salute from the Punch-bowl battery as the Queen left the Palace for the legislative hall, where the Household Guards were drawn up for an honorary welcome. She entered the hall attended by the ministers, the court chamberlain, court ladies, and *kahili* bearers; she was elaborately dressed, with a coronet of diamonds on her head. The royal feather cloak covering her chair made a regal throne. With great dignity, she read the address of prorogation. It was an impressive function. There was, however, only a slim attendance of legislators. As the ceremony ended, the Queen's chamberlain announced to many present, local officials and foreign representatives included, that a meeting would be held in the Palace that afternoon, to which they were invited.

*Devil to Pay
and No Pitch
Hot at Palace*

I did not attend the afternoon meeting, feeling that events were likely to occur which I could not countenance, and that I probably should not have an opportunity to oppose them by protest or otherwise. So I spent the afternoon in giving a boat trip off the harbor to a party of school boys, to whom I had promised the treat. Upon returning late in the afternoon, I was informed at the wharf that exciting events were occurring at the Palace. Seemingly the Queen had planned to proclaim a new constitution, but had been thwarted by the unwillingness of her ministers (of a day's service) to support her; and she had dismissed a gathering of Hawaiians, after ineffectual hours with the cabinet, promising,

in a vehement address, to carry out her scheme "within a few days." The meeting at the Palace had been opened by the arrival of a considerable deputation of Hawaiians, bearing a draft of a constitution, with their petition that she substitute it for the existing one, but it met with the failure outlined above.

Liliuokalani was intensely disappointed at the unwillingness of her ministers to support her; and the course of the events of the afternoon became at times exceedingly stormy. At one point in the discussion, the ministers, or some of them, deemed it prudent to retire to other parts of the city for a period, seeking counsel in their difficult situation, and eventually returning to the Palace. Some of the Hawaiian leaders, being sorely cast down at the failure of the movement, were disposed to go to turbulent extremes; at least two of them made inflammatory speeches from the steps of the Palace to the crowd in the grounds, threatening the ministers with immediate punishment.

*Violent Talks
by Hawaiians;
Threats Made*

An alleged draft of this constitution is published in *Blount's Report*. It corresponds almost word for word with a draft taken from the Queen's residence at the time of her arrest in 1895, which is apparently a working draft, being made up of printed matter from the constitution of 1864, pasted in, with marginal amendments, supplemented by written matter in the same handwriting as the marginal notes. The draft in *Blount's Report*, however, contains a preamble of three "whereases" and the Queen's announcement, which do not appear in

the supposed working draft. These "whereases" criticize the then-existing constitution as inconsistent, ambiguous, contradictory, and subversive of popular rights, and refer to popular pressure for a new constitution and to the need of one to restore order. There is every reason to believe that this is the original form from which the draft presented to the Queen by the procession of Hawaiians on the 14th of January was prepared, which draft has undoubtedly been destroyed. I find in Professor Alexander's *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, page 36, the following:

*Need Stressed
of Another
Constitution*

"In a letter to Mr. S. M. Damon, dated January 31, 1893, the Queen declared that the original of her new Constitution and all the copies thereof had been destroyed. In Commissioner Blount's Report (pp. 581-590), however, appears a document, certified to by Messrs. Parker, Peterson, and Cornwell of her last Cabinet, as substantially identical with the one she presented to them on the 14th day of January, 1893. Its correctness is confirmed by a draft now in the hands of the Government, partly written by J. Nawahi, and endorsed on the outside in the Queen's handwriting."

Without much doubt, this draft is the same one referred to above, that being indorsed in the Queen's handwriting: "Constitution of January 14, 1893." The following were the important innovations. Article 2 provided that the cabinet "shall be appointed by the Queen and hold office during the Queen's pleasure, subject to impeachment, or upon a vote of want of confidence passed by a majority of all the members of the legislative assembly." This

*Ministers Hold
Office During
Her Pleasure*

would have done away with the existing provision in Article 41 of the constitution, which permitted the ministers to be removed "only upon a vote of want of confidence passed by a majority of all the elective members of the Legislature," or for felony or upon impeachment. Under Article 49 a bill passed over the Queen's veto by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature could not become law without her signature, thus destroying the existing power of the Legislature to override a veto. By Article 56 the power to appoint the nobles was restored to the throne, the positions being elective under the constitution. By Article 65 the existing provision that the pay of justices of the supreme court "shall not be diminished during their continuance in office," was omitted. The provision of Article 78 of the constitution, that whenever any act was to be done by 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," was left out. The practice under the constitution of 1864, of having the nobles and representatives sit together as one house, was restored.

*Overriding of
Royal Veto
Would Be "Pau"*

As I went up the street from the wharf, after landing from my afternoon sail, I found the office of W. O. Smith, on Fort Street, thronged with persons apprehensive of trouble from the events occurring at the Palace, and considering what action could best be taken to prevent extreme proceedings on the part of the Queen, or otherwise what could be done to remedy the situation. Both Hawaiians

*Events Begin
to Focus Upon
the Deposition*

and white men were represented at this meeting. The feeling was earnest and tense, showing no disposition to brook any effort by the Queen to tamper with the constitution or in any wise to impair its recognition of equal rights and the sovereignty of the people. There was free expression of impatience at the Queen's rule and some manifestation of an inclination to have done with it. One of those present, the late Charles M. Cooke, before signing his name to the instrument calling for action, inquired: "Does it mean no more Queen?" Upon being answered in the affirmative, he put down his name. The meeting organized a "committee of public safety," charging it with further consideration of the situation.

*Mean No More
Queen? Assured,
Mr. Cooke Signs*

During the evening of that day, I attended a small meeting at the home of Mr. Thurston on Judd Street, the others present being Mr. Thurston, Mr. W. O. Smith, Mr. F. W. Wundenberg, Mr. W. R. Castle, Mr. C. L. Carter, and Mr. A. S. Hartwell; there may have been some more besides. The projects of taking action by force against the Queen's plans and of setting aside the monarchical form of government were considered. Some difference of opinion as to radical action developed, and an expression of doubt as to whether we were strong enough to carry out such a program. The feeling in favor of using force against the Queen finally prevailed. We knew that the United States minister was in sympathy with us. I do not remember that there was then a conclusion in favor of changing the form of government. The commit-

*To Use Force;
U. S. Minister
Sympathetic*

tee of safety met on the next morning (Sunday, January 15), and decided to call a mass meeting on Monday, to ask it to confirm the appointment of the committee of safety, and authorize it to take whatever measures it might consider necessary to protect the public interests.

The mass meeting, held at the armory on Monday, was very large and harmonious. William C. Wilder, one of the committee of safety, was chairman. A report of the committee, briefly narrating the events of the previous Saturday and suggesting a public condemnation of the action of the Queen and her followers and confirmation of the authority of the committee of safety, was read. After addresses by L. A. Thurston, H. F. Glade, Alexander Young, C. Bolte, H. P. Baldwin, J. Emmeluth, and R. J. Greene, a resolution was adopted unanimously by a standing vote and with much cheering. As a counterinfluence to this mass meeting, the Queen called one for the same day, which was held at Palace Square. It adopted a resolution accepting her "By Authority" announcement of the same date, that the action "in regard to the promulgation of a New Constitution, was under the stress of Her native subjects," and "any changes in the fundamental law of the land will be sought only by methods provided in the Constitution itself." There was speech-making, some of it moderate, some violent.

*Mass Meeting
and Counter;
Which Rules?*

In the afternoon, the committee of safety, realizing that the community was in a state of unrest, requested the United States minister, Mr. Stevens,

*Sailors and
Marines Land
From "Boston"*

to land a force from the U. S. S. *Boston*, then in the harbor. That was acceded to, and a body of sailors and marines under Lieutenant Commander Swinburne came ashore late in the afternoon. They marched out King Street past Alapai Street, where they halted for a while, and then retraced their steps, finally staying in the Gibson premises next to the Opera House, and sending a guard to the United States legation.

Sunday and Monday were spent by the committee of safety in active preparation. Arms and ammunition were collected, and those in sympathy were informed of the plans. Many volunteered for the emergency; and the committeemen ascertained that a force known as the "*Drei Hundert*," captained by Charles Zeigler, was ready to support the movement. On Monday evening, the committee of safety held a meeting in the building at Nuuanu and School Streets, which was attended by a number of supporters of the cause. Mr. Bolte called at my house in the evening. Much to my surprise, he informed me that the committee of safety wished me to take the lead in the scheme to suppress the monarchy and organize a new government in its stead. I declined and suggested that Mr. Thurston was the logical man for the position. Mr. Bolte replied that Mr. Thurston was sick abed. He then asked me to go over to the meeting and hear what the committee had to say. I assented.

*Committee of
Safety Asks
Dole to Lead*

I found the meeting unanimously in favor of setting aside the monarchy and establishing a repub-

lican form of government, with the view of eventual annexation to the United States. I suggested, instead of such a scheme, that the Queen be deposed and Princess Kaiulani be installed as queen, and that a regency be established to govern the country during her minority, but I was informed very positively that the supporters of the movement were unanimous in the feeling that no more trial should be accorded to the Kalakaua family or any of its members, and that such a scheme would receive no support and was wholly impracticable. After some further discussion, I told them that I would consider their proposition overnight, and give my decision in the morning to the executive committee, which had been created by the committee of safety.

*Kaiulani Is
Suggested
For Throne*

During the night, I gave the subject much thought, and in the morning felt favorably disposed toward the proposition of the committee of safety, looking forward, if a new government should be established, to annexation to the United States in a few months, and so an end to our difficulties. Early in the morning of Tuesday, January 17, I called on several friends to talk the matter over. I remember going to the residences of Mr. W. T. Brigham, Mr. Hartwell, and Mr. Thurston. At Mr. Hartwell's, I found Mr. W. A. Whiting. While I was at Mr. Thurston's, Mr. H. F. Glade came in. I found that all these gentlemen were favorable to my acceptance of the proposal of the committee of safety. Mr. Hartwell referred to the Lord George Paulet episode, wherein the Hawaiian *status quo* was restored after an interval of several months, and ten-

*Judge Decides
to Take Lead
Against Queen*

tatively discussed a similar outcome in our situation, possibly weighing in his mind the seriousness of a permanent effacement of the Hawaiian monarchy. I returned home to breakfast, with my mind fairly well made up to accept the position.

In the forenoon, I went to the courthouse to dispose of some pending official matters, wrote my resignation as one of the associate justices of the supreme court, and sent it to the cabinet; and then went to the headquarters of the committee of safety in Mr. W. O. Smith's office and informed them that I would accept the position they wished me to take. We then arranged to meet in the same place at two o'clock that afternoon and carry out our plans. After lunch I went to Mr. Thurston to get the draft of the intended proclamation, which he and others had been preparing. On my way down town, I called on Mr. Stevens, the American minister, and gave him a duplicate draft of a letter I hoped to be able to send to him during the afternoon, announcing the abrogation of the monarchy and the organization of a new government in its place. As I left him, after a few minutes' conversation, he said: "I think you have a great opportunity."

*Opportunity
Is Great One,
Says Stevens*

Upon reaching Mr. Smith's office, I found the committee assembled, with several additional persons who had accepted positions in the proposed executive and advisory councils, which were to combine the executive and legislative powers of the future government. Arrangements had been made for the volunteers from the armory to arrive at the

Government Building about the same time as the committee of safety was expected to be there. Several preliminary matters were quickly attended to—the signing of some commissions, including one making Mr. John H. Soper commander of our forces. Upon receiving it, he hurried off to hasten the volunteers to the Government Building. Then we had to give time for their movement, while members of our party were restive and eager to start. I asked Mr. Albert S. Wilcox to go over to the Government Building and ascertain the condition of things. He returned in a few minutes and reported that everything was quiet, and that the steps of the Opera House were occupied by a lot of Hawaiians. While we waited, I stepped to the front door of the office; across the street were four or five big Hawaiian policemen. They or others had been there a good part of the day, watching our headquarters. Those were certainly critical moments for both sides. What were the plans of the government regarding us? Why had no arrests been made? The Queen's opportunities for checking the movement against her royal status were fast slipping by, while the venture of the revolutionists, till then in suspense, was nearing solid ground.

While I was standing at the front door, a shot was fired near the junction of Fort and King Streets, a block above our position. In the excited state of public feeling, the report acted like a magnet, drawing all within its sound to the locality. The big policemen opposite us disappeared up the

*John H. Soper
Given Command
of the Forces*

*Revolver Shot
Draws Crowd
Up the Street*

*Only Clerks
Hold Capitol;
Cabinet Away*

street; and we, taking advantage of this removal of their scrutiny, immediately started through Merchant Street for the Government Building, about twenty in all. We found the Opera House steps deserted by the crowd that had occupied it a few minutes before, the shot at Fort and King Streets having drawn them down town. With the exception of the clerks of the different departments, the Government Building was deserted, the cabinet ministers being all at the police station, the temporary headquarters of the government.

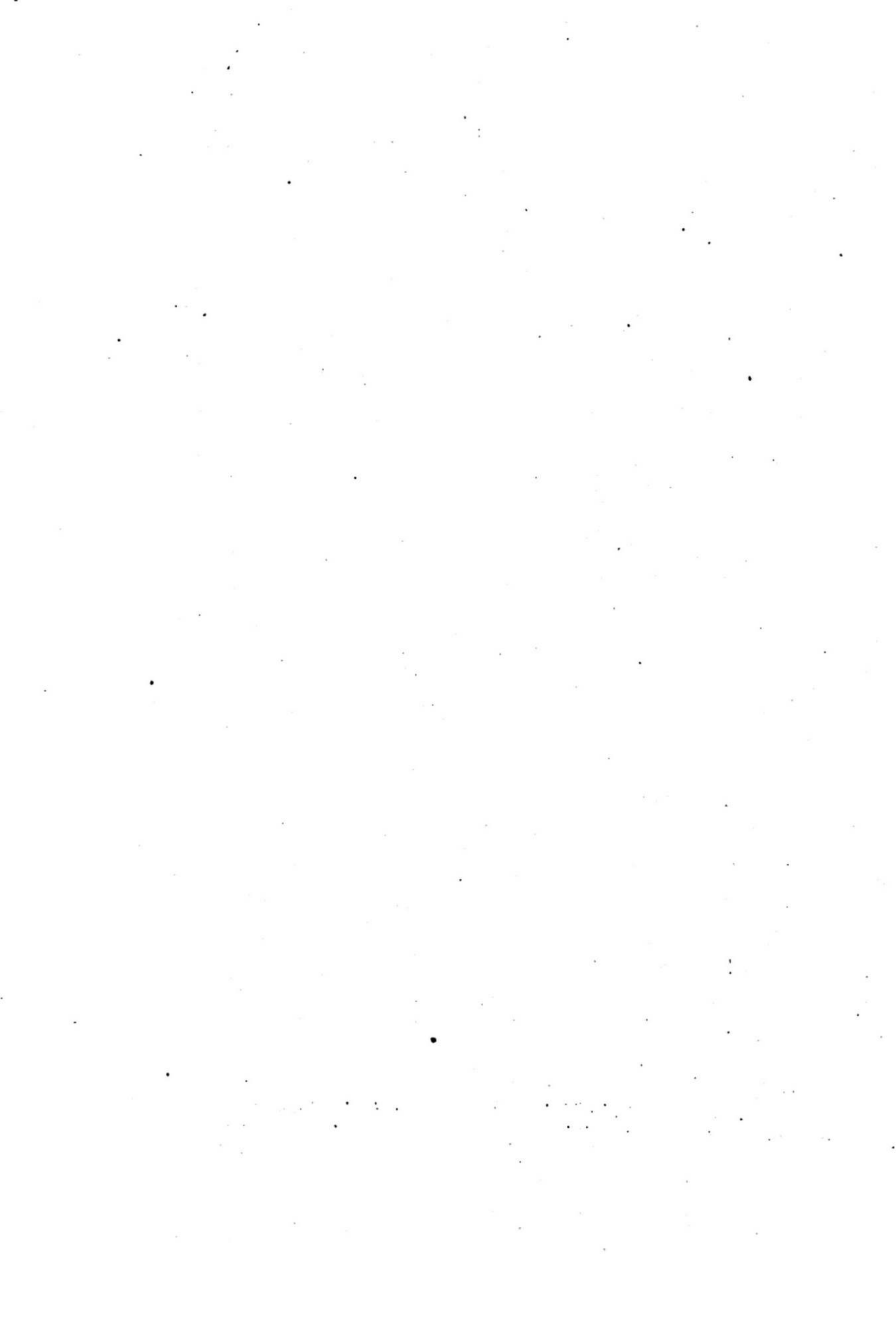
*Captain Good's
Prompt Action
Saves the Day*

The affair at Fort and King Streets happened in this way. A wagon, loaded with ammunition for our forces, drove out of the rear entrance of E. O. Hall's store, on the south corner of Fort and King Streets, and up Fort Street. As it left the gate, government policemen followed in an endeavor to capture it, one man at length seizing the reins at the horse's head. Captain Good, who had charge of the party and was sitting on the front seat of the wagon, immediately shot the policeman in the shoulder with his revolver. That prompt action broke up all attempt to interfere with the expedition. To the quick decision and courage of Captain Good is undoubtedly due, in large measure, the success of the bold and unhampered movement that resulted in the promulgation of the order which accomplished the overthrow of the monarchy and ultimately led to the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. I am informed by Mr. James W. Pratt, who was with the government forces in the police station, that Marshal Wilson ordered him



A captain of the United States Navy, by landing forces from the "Boston," January 16, 1893, started endless debate

G. C. Wiltse



over to E. O. Hall's to prevent the departure of this ammunition wagon, and that he started on his mission with two big revolvers. When he reached the corner of Merchant and Fort Streets, the shot was fired, and the incidents relative to the attempted capture of the wagon occurred and were over without an opportunity on his part to interfere.

Upon our arrival at the Government Building, we found only one volunteer present: Mr. Oscar White. We also found Mr. C. J. McCarthy awaiting our arrival. He had been detailed by the government to take command of a force of armed men to be sent there from the police station, and to oppose the revolutionists. Fortunately for us, the force did not arrive, the authorities having changed their plan. Mr. McCarthy tells me that he has never known why they did so. Mr. Wilson, then marshal, was ready and anxious to have the plan carried out. He says he does not know why it was given up, only that the cabinet were unwilling at the last moment. Mr. Pratt thinks that they were deterred by the presence of the naval force in the town. Mr. Wilson says that that fact made no impression on his mind, as to any probability of naval interference in the issue between the government and the revolutionists. In this connection, the following correspondence is of interest, it being remembered that January 17 was the day on which the plans of the revolutionists were put in operation:

*Why Do Forces
of Royalists
Fail to Come?*

*Does the Navy
Landing Party
Deter Cabinet?*

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

"Honolulu, January 16, 1893.

"Mr. C. B. Wilson,
"Marshal of the Kingdom, etc.

"Dear Sir,

"I believe that it would be advisable to send up to the Government Building after dark about 20 stand of arms, and about 300 or 400 rounds of ammunition, with the idea of storing them in the office of the Attorney-General, in case of necessity.

"I have sufficient employees here to take care of the building in case of attack.

"Yours respectfully,

"C. J. McCARTHY."

[On the same page, the following note appears in pencil—the date was unwittingly written "1903" instead of "1893"]:

"Capt. Parker was detailed for this duty. Was there all night. Peterson stopped its continuance this morning, Jan. 17th, 1903.

"C. B. WILSON."

*Offices Are
Surrendered
to Committee*

Mr. Hassinger, the clerk of the interior department, Mr. Hastings, the clerk of the foreign office, and subordinate clerks were called together in the entrance, informed of our mission, and requested to surrender the offices of the executive departments. They acceded without protest, and were requested to continue their official duties as usual, and to that they assented. Mr. Henry E. Cooper, chairman of the committee of safety, then read a proclamation deposing Queen Liliuokalani, abrogating the monarchy, and establishing the Provisional Government, to exist until annexation to the United States was consummated. The volunteer supporters of the movement soon began to arrive, some in formation and some straggling in. As

the reading of the proclamation neared its end, Mr. Charles L. Carter was sent with my letter, announcing our action, to Minister Stevens, who responded with a letter of recognition of the Provisional Government. After this communication was received, I sent a written request to him, that the United States forces act with ours for the preservation of order for the night. (This note was published in *Blount's Report*, page 99.) The request was refused. Also, earlier in the afternoon, I sent a note to Mr. Swinburne, who was in command of the United States troops near the Opera House, asking him to come to the Government Building. Captain Wiltse, of the U. S. S. *Boston*, came over and refused my oral request for assistance from his forces.

*Provisional
Government
Is Recognized*

The proclamation abrogating the monarchy was as follows:

“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.

*Encroachments
Upon People's
Rights by King*

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

*Promises Made
by King Only
to Be Broken*

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.

*Liliuokalani
Ases Example
of Her Brother*

“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.

*Responsible
Government
Impossible*

"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 in 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:

*Monarchical
System Now
Is Abrogated*

"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, and 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."

—*Two Weeks of Hawaiian History*, quoted in *Blount's Report*, p. 124.

*Marshal and
Cabinet to Go
With the Queen*

*Kawananakoa
Helps to Draft
Formal Notices*

We had much on our hands during the remainder of that day. Other foreign representatives, beside the United States minister, were notified of our action. We found Mr. Hastings, of the office of foreign affairs, of great assistance in this duty, because of his familiarity with diplomatic forms and usage; and soon, with the ready assistance of Prince Kawananakoa, the notes were ready, and the remaining diplomats and all consuls received notification during the evening. We had replies from almost all of them before midnight, recognizing the Provisional Government as fully as was within the powers of such officers. The office of the interior department, on the left of the entrance hall, was first used as the executive office of the new government. As we moved into this room, we found Miss Vida, the stenographer of the late government, sitting there in tears. Deserted by her employers, she had apparently been forgotten, but had pluckily remained at her post, awaiting orders. We promptly released her from her vigil and, I am happy to say, continued her in the employ of the Provisional Government to the time of her marriage. Later in the evening, the executive and advisory councils occupied a large room in the rear of the building, which had been used as the office of the minister of finance.

The surrender of the police station had been demanded of the late cabinet. Negotiations were pending with the cabinet and with the Queen. Members of her ministry called on us, and Mr. S. M. Damon, one of the advisory council, called on

the Queen, who was considering the situation with some of her ministers and friends. Governor Cleg-horn called, and we arranged to have the Household Guards evacuate the barracks early the next morning. Commander Soper, occupying the room that the councils had abandoned, was busy during the night in organizing our volunteer forces and arranging a patrol of the town. Shortly after dark, the Honorable W. H. Cornwell, minister of finance in the Queen's cabinet, brought in her written surrender. It contained a protest against the presence of the American forces on shore, and professed to yield her authority to these forces until such time as the United States should, upon its investigation of the affair, reinstate her as monarch. That paper was signed by the Queen and all of the members of her cabinet. In conformity with the Queen's action, the force in the police station surrendered the building and war material to the Provisional Government.

*Queen Yields;
Protests U. S.
Forces Ashore*

The new government issued two orders that evening. One called upon those favorably inclined toward its authority to furnish the government such arms and ammunition as they might have in their possession, in order to increase its facilities for the promotion of the public peace; the other was a proclamation of martial law and the suspension of the right of the writ of habeas corpus on the Island of Oahu. Between nine and ten o'clock, leaving Captain King, minister of the interior, in command at headquarters, the executive and advisory councils adjourned till the next day. The next morning

*Martial Law
Proclaimed on
Oahu Island*

the barracks were given up to our forces, and we installed a garrison therein under command of Captain Good. Early in the forenoon, the royal standard was seen floating from the Palace flagstaff, probably the routine work of the Palace janitor. A messenger boy was sent over to have it lowered. For a considerable period, the pressure of public matters required all-day sessions of the councils daily. In a few weeks, this rule was relaxed to afternoon sessions every day, and later to meetings once or twice a week, the members of the advisory council serving without pay.

*Commission Is
Hurried East
For Annexation*

Two days after the inception of the new government, a commission to negotiate a treaty of union with the United States left Honolulu for the mainland on the *S. S. Claudine*. The commission agreed with President Harrison on a treaty of annexation, which was sent to the Senate for ratification, but in view of the fact that the term of the President-elect, Mr. Cleveland, was due to begin on the 4th of March, then near at hand, the Senate delayed consideration, awaiting action or an expression of policy by the incoming President. On March 7, 1893, Mr. Cleveland requested the Senate to surrender the draft of the treaty to him, which the Senate did; and that was the last of the treaty.

In the meantime, the Provisional Government was busy in various ways. Its military force was more fully organized. Considerable necessary legislation was enacted, embracing the powers of the government, laws against sedition and treason, for the creation of a National Guard made up of four

companies, one of which was to be a permanent force under pay, and three volunteer companies, and laws for control of the importation of firearms and explosives. The lottery and opium acts enacted by the last legislature of the monarchy were promptly repealed. A law was enacted creating the position of vice president of the Provisional Government, to be selected from the membership of the advisory council. Appropriation bills were passed, and a national loan was authorized. The old statute, providing for governors for each of the larger islands, was repealed, the positions having become substantially sinecures. Legislation in relation to the public health, to land matters, and miscellaneous subjects occupied much attention by the councils until the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii.

*Lottery and
Opium License
Soon Repealed*

After the 17th of January, there was naturally considerable unrest in Honolulu for a time. Frequent rumors of threatening action against the public order were heard; inflammatory newspaper articles appeared. The business of the town, however, moved as usual. The administration of public affairs proceeded smoothly, but still a feeling existed in the councils that conditions were unsatisfactory and that a more quieting influence than was possessed by the Provisional Government was desirable. With this object in view, a motion was adopted in the councils favoring a request to the American minister that he assume a quasi protectorate of the Hawaiian Islands. Mr. Stevens assented to this request, and on the 1st of February,

*Council Gets
American Quasi
Protectorate*

raised the United States flag over the Government Building, and the guns of the *Boston* fired a salute. His brief proclamation stated that such action was taken at the request of the Provisional Government for the protection of life and property and the occupation of public buildings and Hawaiian soil, so far as might be necessary for that purpose, but not interfering with the administration of public affairs by the government. A company of United States marines was stationed in the Government Building, and a force of sailors was given the C. R. Bishop residence and grounds, occupying the area now taken up by the Kauikeolani Building and the *makai* portion of Bishop Park. Under this protectorate, matters quieted down; the volunteer soldiers were allowed to return to their regular occupations. On the 5th of February, the order for martial law was rescinded, and the right of the writ of habeas corpus was restored.

*Islands Quiet
With American
Forces Ashore*

CHAPTER VI

BLOUNT INVESTIGATION OF OVERTHROW

On the 29th of March, 1893, the Honorable James H. Blount, otherwise known as "Paramount Blount," arrived at Honolulu as the commissioner of President Cleveland to report the "status of affairs" in Hawaii. The powers conferred upon him by his commission gave him paramount authority over all United States officers in Hawaii. As Mr. Blount landed, Minister Stevens informed him that a residence had been procured for him with servants, carriage and horses, etc.; the annexation committee invited him to accept accommodations that they had provided; lastly, the Queen's chamberlain offered to convey him to his hotel in her carriage. To all these flattering invitations, Mr. Blount turned a deaf ear. On the next day, he made an official call on me, and the usual felicitations, suitable to such occasions, were exchanged. The letter from President Cleveland to me, accrediting Mr. Blount, was as follows:

*Blount Sent
by Cleveland
to Investigate*

"GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND—

"I have made choice of James H. Blount, one of our distinguished citizens, as my special commissioner to visit the Hawaiian Islands and make report to me concerning the present status of affairs in that country. He is well informed of our sincere desire to cultivate and maintain to the fullest extent the friendship which has so long subsisted between the two countries, and in all

*Sincere Desire
to Cultivate
Good Relations*

matters affecting relations with the Government of the Hawaiian Islands his authority is paramount. My knowledge of his high character and ability gives me entire confidence that he will use every endeavor to advance the interest and prosperity of both Governments and so render himself acceptable to your excellency.

"I therefore request your excellency to receive him favorably and give full credence to what he shall say on the part of the United States and to the assurances which I have charged to him to convey to you of the best wishes of this Government for the prosperity of the Hawaiian Islands.

"May God have your excellency in His wise keeping.

"Written at Washington this 11th day of March, in the year 1893.

"GROVER CLEVELAND.

"By the President:

"W. Q. GRESHAM,
"Secretary of State."

—*Morgan's Report*, p. 1277.

On the next morning, Mr. Blount called again and introduced the subject of the United States protectorate. His proposal was to lower the United States flag on the Government Building, and return the sailors and marines, who were stationed on shore, to the *Boston*, and he proposed to have it done that afternoon. I made no objection to his plan, except to ask him to defer it one day. He readily consented, and the movement was carried out on the 1st of April. The Hawaiian flag was raised on the Government Building immediately after the Stars and Stripes came down, and a company of Provisional Government soldiers occupied the building as the United States marines marched out.

*American Flag
Down; Hawaiian
Flag Is Raised*

During the stay of Mr. Blount in Honolulu, he was busy collecting evidence concerning the termination of the Hawaiian monarchy and the founding of the Provisional Government. He examined a considerable number of witnesses of those events, and collected written statements on political and social conditions. He was particular, in conversation, not to express any opinion of his own about the issues he came to investigate. These were, especially, whether or not Minister Stevens had assisted the revolutionists in overthrowing the monarchy and establishing the revolutionary government, and also, if any assistance had been given, what influence it had in the success of the revolutionists.

*Many Witnesses
Are Questioned
by Mr. Blount*

Mr. Blount's work was embodied in a printed volume, which also included a message to Congress by President Cleveland, dated December 18, 1893; an official letter of the same date from Mr. Gresham, secretary of state, to President Cleveland; and letters from Mr. Gresham to Mr. Willis, successor to Mr. Blount. The report proper included considerable correspondence between Mr. Blount and Mr. Gresham. In this correspondence, Mr. Blount does not hesitate to express his opinion on local questions. His "connected report," addressed to Mr. Gresham, as "indicated in your instructions" (see *Blount's Report*, pp. 101-139), is an elaborate argument favoring the theory that Minister Stevens not only was in sympathy with the movement against the monarchy and had agreed to recognize the Provisional Government as soon as it was proclaimed, but also that he had agreed to

*Says Stevens
Agreed to Give
Military Aid*

support it with the United States troops, if necessary. The report, published in a thick octavo volume, is marred by the absence of an index or a table of contents. No official copy of it was furnished the Provisional Government before November of that year.

Mrs. Blount had accompanied her husband to Honolulu. She was tall and handsome and was much entertained socially by the Honolulu ladies. They were also considerably entertained together, although Mr. Blount's close attention to the business of his mission, and his desire not to commit himself in any way in favor of either side, were something of a bar to his acceptance of social invitations. His residence was thronged with callers from both sides. When Mr. Blount had substantially completed his investigations, he asked his home government to permit him to return, as his interruptions in Honolulu were so constant that he found himself unable to work satisfactorily on his report. In May, 1893, Mr. Blount, without previous information to the Provisional Government as to his instructions from the Washington administration or of his intention to do so, published such instructions in the newspapers of Honolulu in a letter entitled, "To the people of the Hawaiian Islands," which concluded as follows: "While I shall refrain from interference between conflicting forces of whatever nationality for supremacy, I will protect American citizens not participating in such conflict." During his stay in Honolulu, his relations with the Provisional Government were

*Will Protect
Americans Who
Stay Neutral*



A "paramount" commissioner investigated the deposition for Grover Cleveland, but the Queen remained deposed

James H. Blount

W. V. V. V.
SUBSTITUTION

uniformly pleasant, and his attitude toward me was always one of courtesy.

When he took his departure early in the fall, the Hawaiian Band played on the wharf and a considerable crowd assembled. As the mooring cables were cast off, Herr Berger, the bandmaster, led the band in the stirring strains of the Civil War air of "Marching Through Georgia." Since Mr. Blount had served in that war as a Confederate colonel, and since he hailed from Georgia, the crowd was somewhat electrified and did not unfavorably criticize Mr. Berger for his selection. Whether the latter introduced this air into his program by design as something apropos to the occasion, I have never learned. [Herr Berger, a German, was unacquainted with American history, and the significance of "Marching Through Georgia." He knew that it was a song about Georgia, and knowing that Mr. Blount was from that state, he played the air as a compliment to that gentleman. I have since understood, however, that Mr. Blount considered it a wanton insult to himself.—*Lorrin A. Thurston.*]

*Henri Berger
Plays Curious
Music at Ship*

*Blount Regards
the Blunder as
Wanton Insult*

During the summer, I had to take a vacation on account of my health. This I spent at an isolated live stock ranch in the uplands of the Island of Hawaii. I remained there about seven weeks, during which I spent a few days at a hunting lodge on the eastern slope of Mauna Kea.

CHAPTER VII

ATTEMPT TO RESTORE LILIUOKALANI

*Willis Sent to
Restore Queen
to the Throne*

Within a few weeks after Mr. Blount's departure, Mr. Albert S. Willis arrived from Washington to take his place, or (more particularly) to arrange and carry out the Cleveland policy for the restoration of Queen Liliuokalani. This plan is shown in the instructions given to Mr. Willis. A letter to him from Mr. Gresham, secretary of state, dated October 18, 1893, after reciting President Cleveland's conclusions, arrived at from his reading of *Blount's Report*, contains the following:

"On your arrival at Honolulu you will take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the Queen of this determination," [not to send the proposed treaty back to the Senate] "making known to her the President's sincere regret that the reprehensible conduct of the American minister and the unauthorized presence on land of a military force of the United States obliged her to surrender her sovereignty, for the time being, and to rely on the justice of this Government to undo the flagrant wrong.

*Magnanimity
Expected of
Liliuokalani*

"You will, however, at the same time inform the Queen that, when reinstated, the President expects that she will pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, including persons who are, or have been, officially or otherwise, connected with the Provisional Government, depriving them of no right or privilege which they enjoyed before the so-called revolution. All obligations created by the Provisional Government in due course of administration should be assumed.

"Having secured the Queen's agreement to pursue this wise and humane policy, which it is believed you will speedily obtain, you will then advise the executive of the Provisional Government and his ministers of the President's determination of the question which their action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that they are expected to promptly relinquish to her her constitutional authority.

*Then Will Ask
Dole Ministers
to Quit Office*

"Should the Queen decline to pursue the liberal course suggested, or should the Provisional Government refuse to abide by the President's decision, you will report the facts and await further directions."

In a telegram of November 24, 1893, sent to Mr. Willis by Mr. Gresham, there occurs the following: "The brevity and uncertainty of your telegrams are embarrassing. You will insist upon amnesty and recognition of obligations of the Provisional Government as essential conditions of restoration. All interests will be promoted by prompt action." (*Morgan's Report*, p. 1272.) A later telegram from Mr. Gresham to Mr. Willis, dated December 3, is as follows:

"Your despatch, which was answered by steamer on the 25th of November, seems to call for additional instructions.

"Should the Queen refuse assent to the written conditions, you will at once inform her that the President will cease interposition in her behalf, and that while he deems it his duty to endeavor to restore to the sovereign the constitutional government of the islands, his further efforts in that direction will depend upon the Queen's unqualified agreement that all obligations created by the Provisional Government in a proper course of administration shall be assumed and upon such pledges by her as will prevent the adoption of any measures of proscription or punishment for what has been done in the past by those setting up or supporting the Provisional Government. The President feels that by our original inter-

*Queen's Assent
to Conditions
Held Essential*

*Only Congress
Can Authorize
Use of Force*

ference and what followed we have incurred responsibilities to the whole Hawaiian community, and it would not be just to put one party at the mercy of the other.

“Should the Queen ask whether if she accedes to conditions active steps will be taken by the United States to effect her restoration or to maintain her authority thereafter, you will say that the President cannot use force without the authority of Congress.

“Should the Queen accept conditions and the Provisional Government refuse to surrender, you will be governed by previous instructions. If the Provisional Government asks whether the United States will hold the Queen to fulfillment of stipulated conditions, you will say, the President, acting under dictates of honor and duty as he has done in endeavoring to effect restoration, will do all in his constitutional power to cause observance of the conditions he has imposed. GRESHAM.”

—*Morgan's Report*, p. 1272-3.

*Move to Palace
and Prepare It
Against Attack*

Previous to Mr. Willis' arrival, the executive headquarters of the government were moved to the Palace, now the Capitol, the throne room thereafter being occupied by the executive and advisory councils. This move was made on account of the superior position of the Palace for defense against possible attack. The permanent garrison was moved from the barracks and quartered in the basement of the Palace, and a platform was placed in the moat which runs around the building, making a banquette upon which riflemen could stand and fire over the raised edge of the moat.

The Provisional Government was entirely ignorant of Mr. Willis' instructions and the nature of his mission. Mr. Willis and his wife, upon their arrival, at once adopted a policy of nonacceptance of social favors. He shortly made an official call on me at the Capitol in the first week of November,

to present his credentials. The exchange of felicitations on this occasion are interesting in view of Mr. Willis' instruction, given above, and his subsequent actions. Here follows the text of the Willis credentials:

"GROVER CLEVELAND,

"President of the United States of America.

"To His Excellency

"Sanford B. Dole,

"President of the Provisional Government

"of the Hawaiian Islands.

"GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND:

"I have made choice of Albert S. Willis, one of our distinguished citizens, to reside near the government of your excellency in the quality of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America. He is well informed of the relative interests of the two countries and of our sincere desire to cultivate, to the fullest extent, the friendship which has so long subsisted between us. My knowledge of his high character and ability gives me entire confidence that he will constantly endeavor to advance the interests and prosperity of both Governments, and so render himself acceptable to your excellency.

"I therefore request your excellency to receive him favorably and to give full credence to what he shall say on the part of the United States, and to the assurances which I have charged him to convey to you of the best wishes of this Government for the prosperity of the Hawaiian Islands.

"May God have your excellency in His wise keeping.

"Written at Washington, this 27th day of September, in the year 1893.

"Your good friend,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

*Friendship Is
Affirmed Again
by Cleveland*

"By the President:

"ALVEY A. ADEE,

"Acting Secretary of State."

—Alexander's *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, p. 95.

Mr. Willis, in presenting President Cleveland's letter, spoke as follows, after referring to Mr. Blunt's resignation while absent and his appreciation of courtesies received:

*Willis Praises
Civilization
of the Islands*

"I am directed by the President to give renewed assurances of the friendship, interest and hearty good will which our government entertains for you and the people of this Island realm. Aside from your geographical position, and the consequent commercial interests which center here, the present advanced civilization and Christianization of your people, together with your enlightened codes of law, stand today beneficent monuments of American zeal, courage and intelligence.

"It is not surprising, therefore, that the United States were the first to recognize the independence of the Hawaiian Islands and welcome them into the great family of free, equal and sovereign nations; nor is it surprising that this historic tie has been strengthened from year to year by important mutual reciprocities and agreements, alike honorable and advantageous to both governments.

"Invoking that spirit of peace, friendship and hospitality which has ever been the shield and sword of this country, I now, upon behalf of the United States of America, tender to your people the right hand of good will, which I trust may be

as lasting as I know it to be sincere, expressing the hope that every year will promote and perpetuate that good will to the honor, happiness and prosperity of both governments."

For the greater part of the year, since the establishment of the Provisional Government, its supporters in Hawaii had been without information as to the intentions of the American administration in regard to the treaty of annexation, which President Cleveland had recalled from the Senate, and in regard to the policy of the administration toward the Provisional Government. Our minister in Washington was kept in complete ignorance of the American attitude toward us. The local curiosity, as to the intentions of the American administration, deepened as the year wore on toward its end. Mr. Blount's mystic utterances and refusal to discuss anything, and the general trend of his investigations, fostered an undercurrent of feeling that the administration was not wholly friendly and might be scheming against us. Still we knew nothing and went on hoping for favorable eventualities in regard to annexation, and we gave our attention to the administration of the affairs of our government.

*Revolutionists
Kept in Dark
as to U. S. Aim*

Shortly after Mr. Willis' arrival, rumors began to appear in Honolulu to the effect that the United States government would restore Liliuokalani. Admiral Skerrett, in authority over the two American men-of-war in the harbor and in sympathy with the Provisional Government, was removed, and Admiral Irwin put in his place. We learned that Mr. Willis, with his secretary, was holding interviews

*Rumors Heard
of Intent to
Restore Queen*

*Royalists Have
Information
Denied Cabinet*

with the Queen, and the fact was increasingly evident that the royalists had means of information as to the plans of the American administration that were unattainable by the officers of the Provisional Government. Our first definite news of such plans came in a newspaper from Australia. It appeared that the *Chicago Evening Post* of November 7, 1893, published a statement to the effect that the Queen was to be restored to her throne, if that could be accomplished by the administration. Mr. Gresham was asked by our representative in Washington whether such statement was true, and he replied that it was unauthorized and unfounded.

*Stevens Course
Held Adequate
Reason to Act*

On the 11th of November, the *Washington Post* published a letter from Mr. Gresham to President Cleveland, dated October 18, 1893, recommending the restoration of the Queen and opposing annexation. This was done without previous notice to the Hawaiian legation. The letter was based on *Blount's Report* and on the theory, stated as a fact, that "the Provisional Government was established by the action of the American Minister and his promise to support it by United States troops from the warship in the harbor;" and this, Secretary Gresham submitted, was sufficient reason why the United States should suppress the Provisional Government and reinstate the monarchy. There was no cable communication at that time between Honolulu and the mainland, and considerable time passed before the Provisional Government received information from the Hawaiian legation of Mr. Gresham's letter. Upon its receipt, the following

letter, dated November 29, 1893, was sent by me to Mr. Willis:

"Having received from our minister at Washington, Hon. Lorrin A. Thurston, accredited to the Government of the United States of America, information of an official letter from Secretary of State, Hon. Walter Q. Gresham, to President Cleveland, which is of an unfriendly nature toward this Government, recommending hostile action by the President towards us, alleged copies of which letter have been published in the American press, I desire to inquire of you whether the published reports of such letter of Secretary Gresham are substantially correct? If they are, I feel that it is due this Government that it should be informed of the intentions of your Government in relation to the suggestions contained in the said letter of Mr. Gresham."

*Dole Inquires
Intentions of
United States*

Mr. Willis replied on the 2nd day of December, as follows:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 29th ultimo inquiring as to the authenticity of a letter of Hon. W. Q. Gresham, Secretary of State, upon the Hawaiian question, and stating that if the 'published reports of such letter are substantially correct' you 'feel that it is due this (your) Government that it should be informed of the intentions of your (my) Government in relation to the suggestions contained in the said letter of Mr. Gresham.'

"As to the letter of Mr. Gresham, I have the honor to call your attention to the fact, as shown by you, that it is a communication from a member of the Cabinet to the President of the United States, and, being a domestic transaction, is not the subject of diplomatic representation.

"Answering your note further I must express my sincere regret that it is not in my power at present to inform you of the views or intentions of the United States. The President earnestly desires a speedy settlement of your troubles, and will, in my opinion, be ready to make known his purposes as soon as he is informed of certain matters recently submitted to him." . . . —*Morgan's Report*, p. 2103.

*Interviews Are
Held by Willis
and the Queen*

Matters in Honolulu became more interesting daily through the first half of December. Mr. Willis' interviews with Liliuokalani were publicly known to be taking place. Perhaps about this time, as nearly as I can remember, she requested the Provisional Government to give her protection from some undefined danger which she feared. A guard was furnished her. During this period, the government fortified the Executive Building, the former Palace, placing sandbags upon the parapet of the moat, referred to as surrounding the building, and along the railing of the verandas of both stories, and also at suitable places on the roof; all of these constructions were arranged with narrow apertures through which riflemen, well protected, could deliver their fire. The rumors of the nature of Mr. Willis' negotiations with the Queen at length became so definite as to their hostile character, that on the 18th of December I wrote him as follows:

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

"I appreciate fully the fact that any such action upon your part in view of your official relations with this Government would seem impossible; but as the information has come to me from such sources that I am compelled to notice it, you will pardon me for pressing you for an immediate answer."—*Morgan's Report*, p. 2120.

*Dole Presses
Minister For
Prompt Reply*

To this missive Mr. Willis replied two days thereafter, as follows: "I have the honor to inform you that I have a communication from my Govern-

ment which I desire to submit to the President and Ministers of your Government at any hour to-day which it may please you to designate." . . . Mr. Willis' reply was dated December 19, but apparently was not delivered till the 20th, when it was brought by Mr. Mills, who was informed that we would be ready at half-past one o'clock to receive Mr. Willis' communication. Mr. King, minister of the interior; Mr. Damon, minister of finance; Mr. Smith, attorney-general; and Mr. Jones were present with me when Mr. Willis called. Mr. Willis asked: "Will Mr. Jones be present at this interview?" I replied, "We wish to have him present, if you have no objection." Mr. Willis inquired: "Is he a stenographer?" To that I answered in the affirmative, whereupon Mr. Willis remarked: "No objection at all." He then read to us the following paper:

*Willis Wishes
Meeting With
Dole Cabinet*

"Mr. President and Gentlemen:

"The President of the United States has very much regretted the delay in the consideration of the Hawaiian question, but it has been unavoidable. So much of it as has occurred since my arrival has been due to certain conditions precedent, compliance with which was required before I was authorized to confer with you. The President also regrets, as most assuredly do I, that any seeming secrecy should have surrounded the interchange of views between our two Governments. I may say this, however, that the secrecy thus far observed has been in the interest and for the safety of all your people. I need hardly premise that the President's action upon the Hawaiian question has been under the dictates of honor and duty. It is now, and has been from the beginning, absolutely free from prejudice and resentment, and entirely consistent with the long-established friendship and treaty

*Honor and Duty
Dictate Policy
of Cleveland*

ties which have so closely bound together our respective Governments.

“The President deemed it his duty to withdraw from the Senate the treaty of annexation which had been signed by the Secretary of State and the agents of your Government, and to dispatch a trusted representative to Hawaii to impartially investigate the causes of your revolution, and ascertain and report the true situation in these islands. This information was needed, the better to enable the President to discharge a delicate and important duty.

“Upon the facts embodied in Mr. Blount’s reports, the President has arrived at certain conclusions and determined upon a certain course of action with which it becomes my duty to acquaint you.

“The Provisional Government was not established by the Hawaiian people or with their consent or acquiescence, nor has it since existed with their consent.

“The Queen refused to surrender her powers to the Provisional Government until convinced that the Minister of the United States had recognized it as the *de facto* authority and would support and defend it with the military force of the United States, and that resistance would precipitate a bloody conflict with that force. She was advised and assured by her ministers and by leaders of the movement for the overthrow of her Government that if she surrendered under protest her case would afterwards be fairly considered by the President of the United States. The Queen finally yielded to the armed forces of the United States then quartered in Honolulu, relying on the good faith and honor of the President, when informed of what had occurred, to undo the action of the Minister and reinstate her and the authority which she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

“After a patient examination of Mr. Blount’s reports, the President is satisfied that the movement against the Queen, if not instigated, was encouraged and supported by the representative of this Government at Honolulu; that he promised in advance to aid her enemies in an effort to overthrow the Hawaiian Government and set

*Revolution Did
Not Occur by
People’s Will*

*Stevens Pledge
to Dole Group
Is Reaffirmed*

up by force a new Government in its place, and that he kept this promise by causing a detachment of troops to be landed from the *Boston* on the 16th of January, and by recognizing the Provisional Government the next day when it was too feeble to defend itself and the Constitutional Government was able to successfully maintain its authority against any threatening force other than that of the United States already landed.

"The President has therefore determined that he will not send back to the Senate for its action thereon the treaty which he withdrew from that body for further consideration on the 9th day of March last.

*Cleveland Will
Not Submit the
Treaty Again*

"In view of these conclusions, I was instructed by the President to take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the Queen of this determination and of his views as to the responsibility of our Government. The President, however, felt that we, by our original interference, had incurred responsibilities to the whole Hawaiian community, and that it would not be just to put one party at the mercy of the other. I was, therefore instructed, at the same time, to inform the Queen that when reinstated, that the President expected that she would pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, including persons who are or who have been officially or otherwise connected with the Provisional Government, depriving them of no right or privilege which they enjoyed before the so-called revolution. All obligations created by the Provisional Government in due course of administration should be assumed.

"In obedience to the command of the President I have secured the Queen's agreement to this course, and I now read and deliver a writing signed by her and duly attested, a copy of which I will leave with you."

[The agreement was here read.]

"I, Liliuokalani, in recognition of the high sense of justice which has actuated the President of the United States, and desiring to put aside all feelings of personal hatred or revenge and to do what is best for all the people of these Islands, both native and foreign born, do hereby and herein solemnly declare and pledge myself

*Liliuokalani
Seeks End to
Hate, Revenge*

*Constitution
of 1887 Will
Be Respected*

that, if reinstated as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands, that I will immediately proclaim and declare, unconditionally and without reservation, to every person who directly or indirectly participated in the revolution of January 17, 1893, a full pardon and amnesty for their offenses, with restoration of all rights, privileges, and immunities under the constitution and the laws which have been made in pursuance thereof, and that I will forbid and prevent the adoption of any measures of proscription or punishment for what has been done in the past by those setting up or supporting the Provisional Government.

“I further solemnly agree to accept the restoration under the constitution existing at the time of said revolution and that I will abide by and fully execute that constitution with all the guarantees as to person and property therein contained.

“I furthermore solemnly pledge myself and my Government, if restored, to assume all the obligations created by the Provisional Government, in the proper course of administration, including all expenditures for military or police services, it being my purpose, if restored, to assume the Government precisely as it existed on the day when it was unlawfully overthrown.

“Witness my hand this 18th of December, 1893.

“Liliuokalani.

“Attest: J. O. Carter.’

“It becomes my further duty to advise you, sir, the executive of the Provisional Government and your ministers, of the President’s determination of the question, which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that you are expected to promptly relinquish to her her constitutional authority. And now, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Provisional Government, with a deep and solemn sense of the gravity of the situation and with the earnest hope that your answer will be inspired by that high patriotism which forgets all self-interest, in the name and by the authority of the United States of America, I submit to you the question, ‘Are you willing to abide by the decision of the President?’”

—Alexander’s *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, pp. 106-108.

As he finished reading the paper, I said to him: "The government will take the matter under consideration and answer you as soon as they are ready." About that time, the two American warships in the harbor were put in a condition of preparation to make a hostile landing at a moment's notice. Residents of Honolulu, who were freely allowed to visit the vessels, found their boats moored alongside and furnished with ammunition and some of them carrying machine guns. On the decks of the ships, military rifles were stacked. That state of things continued until the arrival of the next mail from San Francisco, about December 20. In the meantime, a reply to Mr. Willis' demand was drafted, and on the 23rd of December was submitted to the councils for their action thereon, and was approved by them with some brief modifications. At midnight of the same day, the reply was delivered to Mr. Willis; he immediately forwarded it to San Francisco by the U. S. revenue cutter *Corwin*, which had been waiting for it. The reply was as follows:

*U. S. Warships
Begin to Take
Ominous Course*

*Revenue Cutter
Sent Posthaste
With the Reply*

"Sir:

"Your excellency's communication of December 19, announcing the conclusion which the President of the United States of America has finally arrived at respecting the application of this Government for a treaty of political union with that country, and referring also to the domestic affairs of these islands, has had the consideration of the Government.

"While it is with deep disappointment that we learn that the important proposition which we have submitted to the Government of the United States, and which was at first favorably considered by it, has at length been rejected, we have experienced a sense of relief that we are

now favored with the first official information upon the subject that has been received through a period of over nine months.

*Refuse to Give
Up All Hope
of Annexation*

"While we accept the decision of the President of the United States, declining further to consider the annexation proposition, as the final conclusion of the present administration, we do not feel inclined to regard it as the last word of the American Government upon this subject, for the history of the mutual relations of the two countries, of American effort and influence in building up the Christian civilization which has so conspicuously aided in giving this country an honorable place among independent nations, the geographical position of these islands, and the important and, to both countries, profitable reciprocal commercial interests which have long existed, together with our weakness as a sovereign nation, all point with convincing force to political union between the two countries as the necessary logical result from the circumstances mentioned. This conviction is emphasized by the favorable expression of American statesmen over a long period in favor of annexation, conspicuous among whom are the names of W. L. Marcy, William H. Seward, Hamilton Fish, and James G. Blaine, all former Secretaries of State, and especially so by the action of your last administration in negotiating a treaty of annexation with this Government and sending it to the Senate with a view to its ratification.

"We shall therefore continue the project of political union with the United States as a conspicuous feature of our foreign policy, confidently hoping that sooner or later it will be crowned with success, to the lasting benefit of both countries.

*Interference
With Domestic
Affairs Is New*

"The additional portion of your communication referring to our domestic affairs with a view of interfering therein, is a new departure in the relations of the two governments. Your information that the President of the United States expects this Government 'to promptly relinquish to her (meaning the ex-Queen) her constitutional authority,' with the question, 'are you willing to abide by the decision of the President?' might well be dismissed in a single word, but for the circumstance that your communication contains, as it appears to me, mis-



*Cabinet of the Provisional Government: J. A. King, minister of the interior; Sanford B. Dole, president
and minister of foreign affairs; William O. Smith, attorney-general;
P. C. Jones, minister of finance*

10. 11. 11
11. 11. 11

statements and erroneous conclusions based thereon, that are so prejudicial to this Government that I cannot permit them to pass unchallenged; moreover, the importance and menacing character of this proposition make it appropriate for me to discuss somewhat fully the questions raised by it.

"We do not recognize the right of the President of the United States to interfere in our domestic affairs. Such right could be conferred upon him by the act of this government, and by that alone, or it could be acquired by conquest. This I understand to be the American doctrine, conspicuously announced from time to time by the authorities of your Government.

"President Jackson said in his message to Congress in 1836: 'The uniform policy and practice of the United States is to avoid all interference in disputes which merely relate to the internal government of other nations, and eventually to recognize the authority of the prevailing party, without reference to the merits of the original controversy.'

*Jackson Quoted
as Authority
on U. S. Policy*

"This principle of international law has been consistently recognized during the whole past intercourse of the two countries, and was recently reaffirmed in the instructions given by Secretary Gresham to Commissioner Blount on March 11, 1893, and by the latter published in the newspapers in Honolulu in a letter of his own to the Hawaiian public. The words of these instructions which I refer to are as follows: 'The United States claim no right to interfere in the political or domestic affairs or in the internal conflicts of the Hawaiian Islands other than as herein stated (referring to the protection of American citizens) or for the purpose of maintaining any treaty or other rights which they possess.' The treaties between the two countries confer no right of interference.

"Upon what, then, Mr. Minister, does the President of the United States base his right of interference? Your communication is without information upon this point, excepting such as may be contained in the following brief and vague sentences: 'She (the ex-Queen) was advised and assured by her ministers and leaders of the

movement for the overthrow of her government that if she surrendered under protest her case would afterward be fairly considered by the President of the United States. The Queen finally yielded to the armed forces of the United States, then quartered in Honolulu, relying on the good faith and honor of the President, when informed of what had occurred, to undo the action of the minister and reinstate her and the authority which she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.' Also, 'it becomes my further duty to advise you, sir, the Executive of the Provisional Government, and your ministers, of the President's determination of the question which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that you are expected to promptly relinquish to her her constitutional authority.'

"I understand that the first quotation is referred to in the following words of the second, 'which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him' (the President of the United States), and that the President has arrived at his conclusions from Commissioner Blount's report. We have had as yet no opportunity of examining this document, but from extracts published in the papers and for reasons set forth hereafter, we are not disposed to submit the fate of Hawaii to its statements and conclusions. As a matter of fact, no member of the executive of the Provisional Government has conferred with the ex-Queen, either verbally or otherwise, from the time the new Government was proclaimed until now, with the exception of one or two notices which were sent to her by myself in regard to her removal from the palace and relating to the guards which the Government first allowed her and perhaps others of a like nature.

"I infer that a conversation which Mr. Damon, then a member of the advisory council, is reported by Mr. Blount to have been had with the ex-Queen on January 17th, and which has been quoted in the newspapers, is the basis of this astounding claim of the President of the United States of his authority to adjudicate upon our right as a government to exist.

"Mr. Damon, on the occasion mentioned, was allowed to accompany the cabinet of the former Government, who had been in conference with me and my associates,

*Not Disposed
to Submit Fate
to Mr. Blount*

to meet the ex-Queen. He went informally, without instructions and without authority to represent the Government or to assure the ex-Queen 'that if she surrendered under protest her case would afterwards be fairly considered by the President of the United States.' Our ultimatum had already been given to the members of the ex-cabinet who had been in conference with us. What Mr. Damon said to the ex-Queen he said on his individual responsibility, and did not report it to us. Mr. Blount's report of his remarks on that occasion furnished to the Government its first information of the nature of those remarks. Admitting for argument's sake that the Government had authorized such assurances, what was 'her case' that was afterwards to 'be fairly considered by the President of the United States?'

"Was it the question of her right to subvert the Hawaiian constitution and to proclaim a new one to suit herself, or was it her claim to be restored to the sovereignty, or was it her claim against the United States for the alleged unwarrantable acts of Minister Stevens, or was it all these in the alternative; who can say? But if it had been all of these, or any of them, it could not have been more clearly and finally decided by the President of the United States in favor of the Provisional Government than when he recognized it without qualification and received its accredited commissioners, negotiated a treaty of annexation with them, received its accredited envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, and accredited successively two envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to it; the ex-Queen in the meantime being represented in Washington by her agent who had full access to the Department of State.

"The whole business of the Government with the President of the United States is set forth in the correspondence between the two governments and the acts and statements of the minister of this Government at Washington and the annexation commissioners accredited to it. If we have submitted our right to exist to the United States, the fact will appear in that correspondence and the acts of our minister and commissioners. Such agreement must be shown as the founda-

*Damon Lacked
Power to Give
Such Assurance*

*Recognition by
America Cited
as Conclusive*

tion of the right of your Government to interfere, for an arbitrator can be created only by the act of two parties.

*Liliuokalani's
Representative
Denied Passage*

"The ex-Queen sent her attorney to Washington to plead her claim for a reinstatement in power, or failing that for a money allowance or damages. This attorney was refused passage on the Government dispatch boat, which was sent to San Francisco with the annexation commissioners and their message. The departure of this vessel was less than two days after the new Government was declared, and the refusal was made promptly upon receiving the request therefor either on the day the Government was declared or on the next day. If an intention to submit the question of the reinstatement of the ex-Queen had existed, why should her attorney have been refused passage on this boat? The ex-Queen's letter to President Harrison dated January 18, the day after the new Government was proclaimed, makes no allusion to any understanding between her and the Government for arbitration. Her letter is as follows:

" 'HIS EXCELLENCY BENJAMIN HARRISON,
" 'President of the United States:

*Queen Asserts
She Submitted
to U. S. Force*

" 'My Great and Good Friend: It is with deep regret that I address you on this occasion. Some of my subjects, aided by aliens, have renounced their loyalty and revolted against the constitutional Government of my Kingdom. They have attempted to depose me and to establish a provisional government in direct conflict with the organic law of this Kingdom. Upon receiving incontestible proof that his excellency, the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, aided and abetted their unlawful movements, and caused United States troops to be landed for that purpose, I submitted to force, believing that he would not have acted in that manner unless by the authority of the Government which he represents.

" 'This action on my part was prompted by three reasons: The futility of a conflict with the United States; the desire to avoid violence, bloodshed and the destruction of life and property, and the certainty which

I feel that you and your Government will right whatever wrongs may have been inflicted upon us in the premises.

“In due time a statement of the true facts relating to this matter will be laid before you, and I live in the hope that you will judge uprightly and justly between myself and my enemies. This appeal is not made for myself personally, but for my people, who have hitherto always enjoyed the friendship and protection of the United States.

*Appeal Not For
Self, But For
Island People*

“My opponents have taken the only vessel which could be obtained here for the purpose, and hearing of their intention to send a delegation of their number to present their side of this conflict before you, I requested the favor of sending by the same vessel an envoy to you, to lay before you my statement, as the facts appear to myself and my loyal subjects.

“This request has been refused, and I now ask you that in justice to myself and to my people that no steps be taken by the Government of the United States until my cause can be heard by you.

“I shall be able to dispatch an envoy about the 2d of February, as that will be the first available opportunity hence, and he will reach you by every possible haste that there may be no delay in the settlement of this matter.

“I pray you, therefore, my good friend, that you will not allow any conclusions to be reached by you until my envoy arrives.

“I beg to assure you of the continuance of my highest consideration.

“LILIUOKALANI R.

“Honolulu, January 18, 1893.’

“If any understanding had existed at that time between her and the Government to submit the question of her restoration to the United States, some reference to such an understanding would naturally have appeared in this letter, as every reason would have existed for calling the attention of the President to that fact, especially as she then knew that her attorney would be

*No Agreement
With the Queen
to Submit Case*

seriously delayed in reaching Washington. But there is not a word from which such an understanding can be predicated.

“The Government sent its Commissioners to Washington for the sole object of procuring the confirmation of the recognition by Minister Stevens of the new Government and to enter into negotiation for political union with the United States. The protest of the ex-Queen, made on January 17, is equally with the letter devoid of evidence of any mutual understanding for a submission of her claim to the throne to the United States. It is very evidently a protest against the alleged action of Minister Stevens as well as the new Government, and contains a notice of her appeal to the United States.

“The document was received exactly as it would have been received if it had come through the mail. The endorsement of its receipt upon the paper was made at the request of the individual who brought it as evidence of its safe delivery. As to the ex-Queen’s notice of her appeal to the United States, it was a matter of indifference to us. Such an appeal could not have been prevented, as the mail service was in operation as usual. That such a notice, and our receipt of it without comment, should be made a foundation of a claim that we had submitted our right to exist as a government to the United States had never occurred to us until suggested to us by your Government. The protest is as follows:

“I, Liliuokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a provisional government of and for this Kingdom.

“That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, his excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu, and declared that he would support the said Provisional Government.

“Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the Constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

*Power Yielded
Until America
Undoes Stevens*

“LILIUOKALANI, R.

“SAMUEL PARKER.

“Minister of Foreign Affairs.

“WILLIAM H. CORNWELL,

“Minister of Finance.

“JOHN F. COLBURN,

“Minister of the Interior.

“A. P. PETERSON,

“Attorney-General.

“S. B. Dole, Esq., and others.

“Composing the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.’

“(Indorsed:) ‘Received by the hands of the late cabinet this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893. Sanford B. Dole, chairman of the executive council of Provisional Government.’

“You may not be aware, but such is the fact, that at no time until the presentation of the claim of the President of the United States of his right to interfere in the internal affairs of this country, by you on December 19, has this Government been officially informed by the United States Government that any such course was contemplated. And not until the publication of Mr. Gresham’s letter to the President of the United States on the Hawaiian question had we any reliable intimation of such a policy. The adherents of the ex-Queen have indeed claimed from time to time that such was the case, but we have never been able to attach serious importance to their rumors to that effect, feeling secure in our perfect diplomatic relations with your country, and relying upon the friendship and fairness of a government whose

*Gresham Letter
First Reliable
Intimation Had*

dealings with us had ever shown full recognition of our independence as a sovereign power, without any tendency to take advantage of the disparity of strength between the two countries.

*Dole Inquires
Where Tribunal
Held Hearings*

“If your contention that President Cleveland believes that this Government and the ex-Queen have submitted their respective claims to the sovereignty of this country to the adjudication of the United States is correct, then, may I ask, when and where has the President held his court of arbitration? This Government has had no notice of the sitting of such a tribunal and no opportunity of presenting evidence of its claims. If Mr. Blount’s investigations were a part of the proceedings of such a court, this Government did not know it and was never informed of it; indeed, as I have mentioned above, we never knew until the publication of Secretary Gresham’s letter to President Cleveland a few weeks ago, that the American Executive had a policy of interference under contemplation. Even if we had known that Mr. Blount was authoritatively acting as commissioner to take evidence upon the question of the restoration of the ex-Queen, the methods adopted by him in making his investigations were, I submit, unsuitable to such an examination or any examination upon which human interests were to be adjudicated.

*Blount Course
in Examination
Is Criticized*

“As I am reliably informed, he selected his witnesses and examined them in secret, freely using leading questions, giving no opportunity for a cross-examination, and often not permitting such explanations by witnesses themselves as they desired to make of evidence which he had drawn from them. Is it hardly necessary for me to suggest that under such a mode of examination some witnesses would be almost helpless in the hands of an astute lawyer, and might be drawn into saying things which would be only half-truths, and standing alone would be misleading or even false in effect. Is it likely that an investigation conducted in this manner could result in a fair, full, and truthful statement of the case in point? Surely the destinies of a friendly Government, admitting by way of argument that the right of arbitration exists, may not be disposed of upon an *ex parte* and secret investigation made without the knowledge of such

Government or an opportunity by it to be heard or even to know who the witnesses were.

“Mr. Blount came here as a stranger and at once entered upon his duties. He devoted himself to the work of collecting information, both by the examination of witnesses and the collection of statistics and other documentary matter, with great energy and industry, giving up, substantially, his whole time to its prosecution. He was here but a few months, and during that time was so occupied with this work that he had little opportunity left for receiving those impressions of the state of affairs which could best have come to him, incidentally, through a wide social intercourse with the people of the country and a personal acquaintance with its various communities and educational and industrial enterprises. He saw the country from his cottage in the center of Honolulu mainly through the eyes of the witnesses whom he examined. Under these circumstances is it probable that the most earnest of men would be able to form a statement that could safely be relied upon as the basis of a decision upon the question of the standing of a Government?

“In view, therefore, of all the facts in relation to the question of the President’s authority to interfere and concerning which the members of the executive were actors and eye-witnesses, I am able to assure your excellency that by no action of this Government, on the 17th day of January last or since that time, has the authority devolved upon the President of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of this country through any conscious act or expression of this Government with such an intention.

*President Has
No Authority
to Interfere*

“You state in your communication—

“ ‘After a patient examination of Mr. Blount’s reports the President is satisfied that the movement against the Queen if not instigated was encouraged and supported by the representative of this Government at Honolulu; that he promised in advance to aid her enemies in an effort to overthrow the Hawaiian Government and set up by force a new government in its place; that he kept his promise by causing a detachment of troops to be

landed from the *Boston* on the 16th of January, 1893, and by recognizing the Provisional Government the next day when it was too feeble to defend itself and the Constitutional Government was able to successfully maintain its authority against any threatening force other than that of the United States already landed.'

"Without entering into a discussion of the facts I beg to state in reply that I am unable to judge of the correctness of Mr. Blount's report from which the President's conclusions were drawn, as I have had no opportunity of examining such report. But I desire to specifically and emphatically deny the correctness of each and every one of the allegations of fact contained in the above-quoted statement; yet, as the President has arrived at a positive opinion in his own mind in the matter, I will refer to it from his standpoint.

"My position, is briefly, this: If the American forces illegally assisted the revolutionists in the establishment of the Provisional Government that Government is not responsible for their wrong-doing. It was purely a private matter for discipline between the United States Government and its own officers. There is, I submit, no precedent in international law for the theory that such action of the American troops has conferred upon the United States authority over the internal affairs of this Government. Should it be true, as you have suggested, that the American Government made itself responsible to the Queen, who, it is alleged, lost her throne through such action, that is not a matter for me to discuss, except to submit that, if such be the case, it is a matter for the American Government and her to settle between them. This Government, a recognized sovereign power, equal in authority with the United States Government and enjoying diplomatic relations with it, cannot be destroyed by it for the sake of discharging its obligations to the ex-Queen.

"Upon these grounds, Mr. Minister, in behalf of my Government I respectfully protest against the usurpation of its authority as suggested by the language of your communication.

"It is difficult for a stranger like yourself, and much more for the President of the United States, with his

*Any Illegality
Private Matter
of Discipline*

pressing responsibilities, his crowding cares and his want of familiarity with the condition and history of this country and the inner life of its people, to obtain a clear insight into the real state of affairs and to understand the social currents, the race feeling and the customs and traditions which all contribute to the political outlook. We, who have grown up here or who have adopted this country as our home, are conscious of the difficulty of maintaining a stable government here. A community which is made up of five races, of which the larger part but dimly appreciate the significance and value of representative institutions, offers political problems which may well tax the wisdom of the most experienced statesman.

“For long years a large and influential part of this community, including many foreigners and native Hawaiians, have observed with deep regret the retrogressive tendencies of the Hawaiian monarchy, and have honorably striven against them, and have sought through legislative work, the newspapers, and by personal appeal and individual influence to support and emphasize the representative features of the monarchy and to create a public sentiment favorable thereto, and thereby to avert the catastrophe that seemed inevitable if such tendencies were not restrained. These efforts have been met by the last two sovereigns in a spirit of aggressive hostility. The struggle became at length a well-defined issue between royal prerogative and the right of representative government, and most bitterly and unscrupulously has it been carried on in the interests of the former. The King’s privilege of importing goods for his own use without paying the duties thereon was abused to the extent of admitting large quantities of liquors, with which to debauch the electorate. He promoted the election of Government officers, both executive and judicial, to the legislative assembly, and freely appointed to office elected members thereof.

“In the legislature of 1886, of which I was a member, the party supporting the Government was largely in the majority, and nearly every member of such majority held some appointment from the Government, and some of them as many as two or three, thereby effectually placing the legislative branch of the Government under

*Foreigners and
Natives Regret
Retrogression*

the personal and absolute control of the King. The constitutional encroachments, lawless extravagance, and scandalous and open sales of patronage and privilege to the highest bidder by Kalakaua brought in at length the revolution of 1887, which had the full sympathy and moral support of all the diplomatic representatives in Honolulu, including Minister Merrill, who was at that time President Cleveland's minister here.

*1887 Movement
Tended Toward
Independence*

"This revolution was not an annexation movement in any sense, but tended toward an independent republic, but, when it had the monarchy in its power, conservative councils prevailed, and a new lease of life was allowed that institution on the condition of royal fidelity to the new constitution, which was then promulgated and which greatly curtailed the powers of the sovereign. Kalakaua was not faithful to this compact, and sought as far as possible to evade its stipulations. The insurrection of 1889 was connived at by him, and the household guards under his control were not allowed to take part in suppressing it. The Princess Liliuokalani was in full sympathy with this movement, being a party to it, and furnished her suburban residence to the insurgents for their meetings. The arrangements were there made, and the insurgents marched thence for their attack upon the Government. The affair was suppressed in a few hours of fighting, with some loss of life to the insurgents, by the party which carried through the revolution of 1887.

*Former Queen
More Reckless
Than Brother*

"The ex-Queen's rule was even more reckless and retrogressive than her brother's. Less politic than he, and with less knowledge of affairs, she had more determination and was equally unreliable and deficient in moral principle. She, to all appearance, unhesitatingly took the oath of office to govern according to the constitution, and evidently regarding it merely as a formal ceremony began, according to her own testimony to Mr. Blount, to lay her plans to destroy the constitution and replace it with one of her own creation.

"With a like disregard of its sanctions, she made the most determined efforts to control all of the appointments to office, both executive and judicial. The session of the legislature of 1892 was the longest that had ever

occurred in our history, and was characterized by a most obstinate struggle for personal control of the Government and the legislature on the part of the Queen; this was strenuously resisted by the opposition.

"During this contest four ministerial cabinets were appointed and unseated, and the lottery-franchise bill, which had been withdrawn early in the session for want of sufficient support, was at the last moment, when the opposition was weakened by the absence of several of its members, again brought forward and passed through the exercise of improper and illegitimate influences upon the legislators, among which were personal appeals on the part of the Queen to them. The cabinet which represented the opposition and the majority of the legislature which the Queen had been compelled to appoint was unseated by similar means, and with a new cabinet of her own choice the legislature was prorogued. This lottery franchise was of a character corresponding with similar institutions which have been driven out of every State of the American Union by an indignant public sentiment. If it had been established here it would in a brief period have obtained full control of the Government patronage and corrupted the social and political life of the people.

"Although the situation at the close of the session was deeply discouraging to the community, it was accepted without any intention of meeting it by other than legal means. The attempted *coup d'etat* of the Queen's followed, and her ministers, threatened with violence, fled to the citizens for assistance and protection; then it was that the uprising against the Queen took place, and, gathering force from day to day, resulted in the proclamation of the Provisional Government and the abrogation of the monarchy on the third day thereafter.

"No man can correctly say that the Queen owed her downfall to the interference of American forces. The revolution was carried through by the representatives, now largely reinforced, of the same public sentiment which forced the monarchy to its knees in 1887, which suppressed the insurrection of 1889, and which for twenty years had been battling for representative government in this country. If the American forces had

*Four Cabinets
Came and Went
During Contest*

*Sentiment of
1887 and 1889
Strong in 1893*

been absent the revolution would have taken place, for the sufficient causes for it had nothing to do with their presence.

"I, therefore, in all friendship of the Government of the United States, which you represent, and desiring to cherish the good will of the great American people, submit the answer of my Government to your proposition, and ask that you will transmit the same to the President of the United States for his consideration.

"Though the Provisional Government is far from being 'a great power' and could not long resist the forces of the United States in a hostile attack, we deem our position to be impregnable under all legal precedents, under the principles of diplomatic intercourse, and in the forum of conscience. We have done your Government no wrong, no charge of discourtesy is or can be brought against us. Our only issue with your people has been that, because we revered its institutions of civil liberty, we have desired to have them extended to our own distracted country, and because we honor its flag and deeming that its beneficent and authoritative presence would be for the best interests of all of our people, we have stood ready to add our country, a new star, to its glory, and to consummate a union which we believed would be as much for the benefit of your country as ours. If this is an offense, we plead guilty to it.

"I am instructed to inform you, Mr. Minister, that the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, respectfully and unhesitatingly declines to entertain the proposition of the President of the United States that it should surrender its authority to the ex-Queen.

"This answer is made not only upon the grounds hereinbefore set forth, but upon our sense of duty and loyalty to the brave men whose commissions we hold, who have faithfully stood by us in the hour of trial, and whose will is the only earthly authority we recognize.

"We cannot betray the sacred trust they have placed in our hands, a trust which represents the cause of Christian civilization in the interests of the whole people of these islands . . .

"S. B. DOLE" . . . —*Morgan's Report*, pp. 2122-2128.

*"No!" Hawaii
Replies to the
Willis Demand*

The threatening attitude of the warships continued, creating much anxiety in the town. The British legation was permitted to have a guard from a British man-of-war in the harbor. Bandages were prepared. The Japanese minister offered his legation to American families for refuge in case of hostilities. Rumors of intended landings by the American forces were numerous and definite, sometimes as to the hour. In view of the fact that the Executive Building could be attacked by cannon from a warship stationed at a certain place in the harbor channel, arrangements were made whereby the building could be quickly evacuated with the state papers, archives, treasury, etc., if occasion required. The plan, in such a case, was to move to the Royal Hawaiian Hotel and make that the government headquarters. The hotel building and grounds were too well surrounded by buildings to leave an opening for a possible attack from the harbor, while the position of the British consulate in their rear, and the Queen's residence farther back and almost in the same line, rendered an attack with small arms and machine guns from the front most unlikely.

*Threatening
Attitude of
Naval Craft*

*Royal Hawaiian
to Be Occupied
If Need Arises*

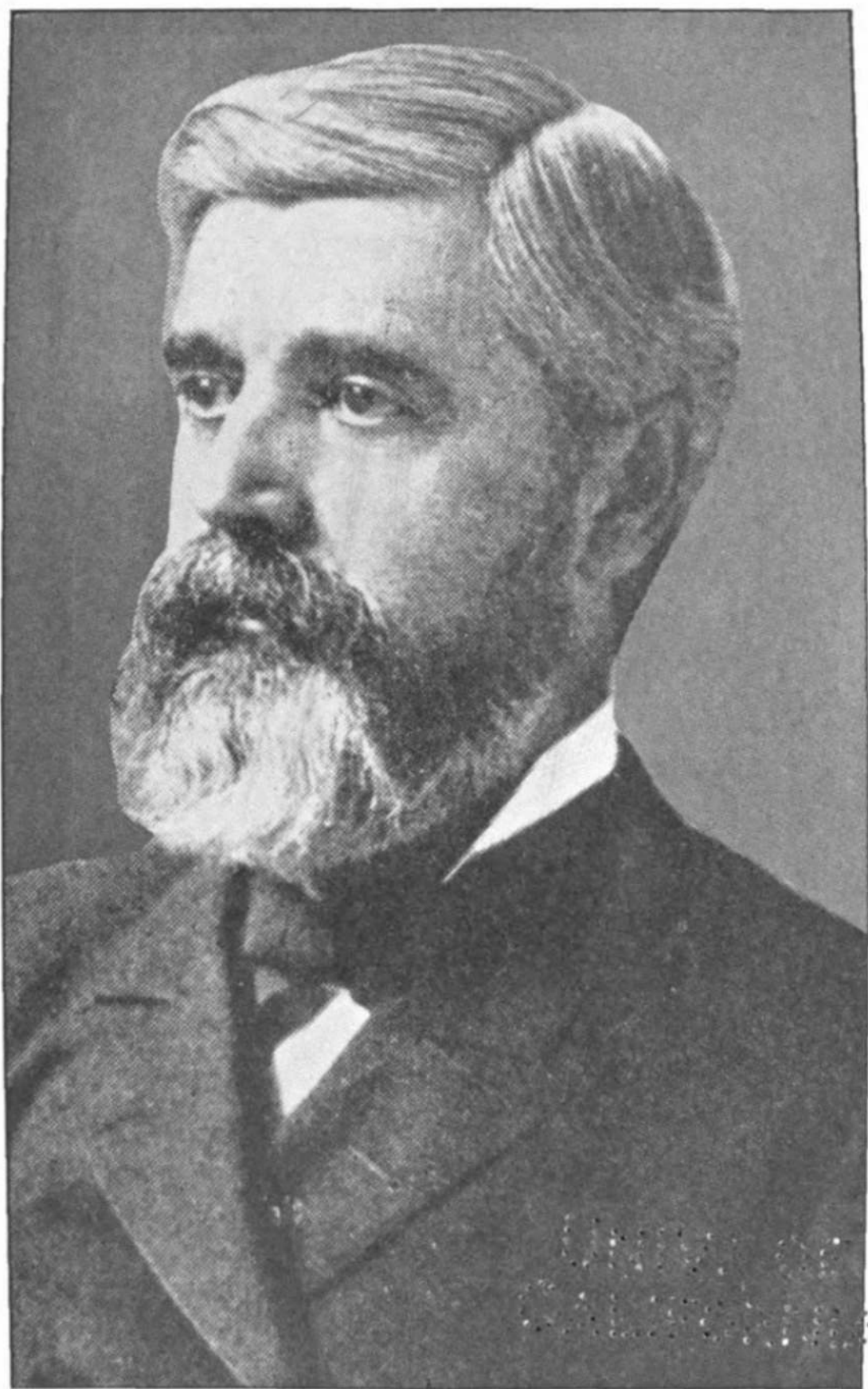
The attitude of the United States toward the Provisional Government, as exhibited by Mr. Willis' letter of demand, was so inconsistent with Secretary Gresham's letter of instructions to Mr. Blount (published by the latter in local papers in the previous May as a part of his letter to the people of the Hawaiian Islands), and so inconsistent with the expressions of friendship and good will both by

*Letter Drafted
to Send Willis
Packing Home*

President Cleveland and Mr. Willis toward the Provisional Government, that the question of our continuing to recognize Mr. Willis in his official capacity was considered by the cabinet; in fact, a tentative letter was drafted, which would, if made official and delivered, have announced to him that he was no longer *persona grata* to the Provisional Government. This question was finally decided in favor of continuing the existing status, the cabinet feeling confident that, although the American administration had decided on our destruction, so far as it could be brought about, American public sentiment and the prevailing feeling in Congress was with us. The following paragraph is the matter referred to in Gresham's letter to Blount:

*Hands Off! Is
U. S. Warning
to the Powers*

“While the United States claim no right to interfere in the political or domestic affairs or in the internal conflicts of the Hawaiian Islands otherwise than as herein stated, or for the purpose of maintaining any treaty or other rights which they possess, this Government will adhere to its consistent and established policy in relation to them, and it will not acquiesce in domestic interference by other powers.” No exception to such policy of non-interference is stated elsewhere in the letter. Conditions during that period, after the departure of the *Corwin*, and the arrival of the next mail from San Francisco, popularly known then as the “Black Week,” were such that on the 27th of December, 1893, I sent the following letter to Mr. Willis:



President Cleveland's secretary of state figures largely in the narrative of the Provisional Government of Hawaii

W. Q. Gresham

no. 1110
ANNALS

"Pending the further action of the Government of the United States upon the matters contained in your communication of December 19, and my reply to the same, dated December 23, I desire to call your excellency's most serious consideration to the dangerous and critical condition of this community, arising, I must respectfully submit, out of the attitude which you have assumed, and the language which you have used in public, and in communications to this Government, and also out of the published letter of the Secretary of State of the United States, and the President's message on the subject of the restoration of the monarchy.

*Willis Blamed
For Dangerous
Public State*

"I do not, however, claim or intimate that this unfortunate situation has been intentionally created by you, or by the Government which you represent, but arises from a natural construction of your attitude, and the ambiguous terms of the statements referred to.

"At the time of your arrival in this country the forces of this Government were organized and were amply sufficient to suppress any internal disorder.

"After your arrival you made communications regarding your policy which were ambiguous, and for several weeks you failed to disclose your intentions, and have only partially done so up to the present moment, leaving this Government to infer what they may ultimately be from the letter of Mr. Gresham and the President's message, in which it has been declared in very distinct language that the deposed Queen ought to be restored to the throne by the Government of the United States, and leaving us, further, to infer that this assumed obligation would be discharged. Your language expressed in public declared that you intended to perform some act when the proper time arrived, without disclosing what that act would be.

"Under these circumstances there arose at once a general feeling of disquiet. The natural inference, from your attitude, language, and refusal to disclose your purpose and from Mr. Gresham's letter and the President's message, was, and is, that you intended to use force in maintaining your policy. The fact is well known that you, as admitted by yourself in your com-

*Intent to Use
Force Natural
Inference*

munication of December 19, without the consent or knowledge of this Government, have held negotiations with the deposed Queen for the purpose of overthrowing this Government. The apprehension of both political parties, as well as that of persons who remain neutral in these matters, is that you hold instructions to use physical force for the restoration of the monarchy. I am not prepared to state that this Government entertains this opinion, although its want of information to the contrary has compelled it to act as if it was correct.

“In consequence of your attitude in this behalf, the enemies of the Government, believing in your intentions to restore the monarchy by force, have become emboldened. Threats of assassination of the officers of this Government have been made. The police force is frequently informed of conspiracies to create disorder. Aged and sick persons, of all nationalities, have been and are in a state of distress and anxiety. Children in the schools are agitated by the fear of political disturbances. The wives, sisters, and daughters of residents, including many Americans, have been in daily apprehension of civic disorder, many of them having even armed themselves in preparation therefor; citizens have made preparation in their homes for defense against assaults which may arise directly or indirectly from such conflict. Persons have begun to pack their valuables with a view of immediate departure; large quantities of bandages have been prepared. Unprotected women have received the promise of asylum from the Japanese representative against possible disturbance arising in consequence of American invasion. Rumors of the intended landing of your forces for offensive purposes have agitated the community for many days. The situation for weeks has been one of warfare, without the incident of actual combat. Even the ex-Queen has called upon this Government for protection, which was awarded to her. Owing to your attitude, the Government has been compelled by public apprehension to largely increase its military force, at great expense. Its offices have been placed and still continue in a condition of defense and preparation for siege; and the community has been put into a state of mind bordering on terrorism.

*Enemies Bold;
Assassination
Threats Made*

*Actual Combat
Lacking, But
State Warlike*

"This Government has most earnestly sought from you, and through our representative at Washington from your Government, some assurance that force would not be used, and has failed to obtain it. Your action has, unfortunately, aroused the passions of all parties, and made it probable that disturbances may be created at any moment.

"I am informed by military authorities that while the force at your command is sufficient to destroy this city it is insufficient to suppress any general rising and conflict of armed forces and insurrections, or to prevent the loss of life and property.

"This Government is reluctant to believe that this condition of affairs was contemplated or expected by yourself or by the President of the United States.

"I have therefore to ask you to inform me with the least delay whether you hold instructions to enforce your policy with the use of arms in any event.

"I trust that you will be able, in reply, to give assurances that will tend to allay the apprehensions existing in the community."—*Morgan's Report*, pp. 2074-75.

*Please Answer
Immediately:
What of Arms?*

This letter was answered by Mr. Willis in a letter dated the same day, but perhaps delivered on the following day, which was as follows:

"Your communication of this date was delivered at 4 p. m., and would have received an immediate answer except for the statements reflecting upon the President of the United States and upon his diplomatic agent in this country, which, in view of their gravity, should, I respectfully submit, be set forth with more particularity and certainty.

"In order, therefore, to answer your communication as it deserves to be answered, I beg leave to call your attention to the following clauses and sentences, which cannot be properly commented on or replied to until understood.

*Willis Says
Note Reflects
on President*

“(1) You refer in several places to ‘the attitude which you (the diplomatic agent of the United States) assumed,’ ‘the natural construction of my attitude,’ ‘the natural inference from your attitude,’ ‘in consequence of your attitude in this behalf,’ ‘owing to your attitude the Government has been compelled,’ etc.

“‘Attitude,’ as is well understood, is ‘essentially and designedly expressive,’ its object being ‘to set forth and exhibit some internal feeling.’

*When, Where,
How? Minister
Asks of Dole*

“If this is the accepted meaning of the word will you point out when, and where, and how, the representative of the United States ‘assumed’ any ‘attitude’ towards the supporters of the Provisional Government, or that Government itself, other than one ‘essentially and designedly expressive’ of peace.

“(2) You assert that ‘at the time of your (my) arrival in this country the forces of this (your) Government were organized and were amply sufficient to suppress any internal disorders.’ Will you inform me what connection this statement has or is desired to have with the Government of the United States or with the future action of its Representative?

“(3) You refer to the ‘language which you (I) have used in public, and in communications to this (your) Government,’ but you give neither the time, place or subject-matter of the ‘language’ or ‘communication.’

*Not Subject to
Diplomatic
Cognizance*

“(4) You call attention to the ‘published letter of the Secretary of State of the United States, and the President’s message on the subject of the restoration of the Queen,’ but you quote the words of neither, so that if I were at liberty to discuss with you, matters not properly subject to diplomatic cognizance, I have not sufficient data to do so, as the Secretary’s letter is not before me and the President has transmitted to the Congress two messages on the subject referred to, both of which, I assume, you were familiar with at the time you wrote your communication. May I ask, therefore, to which message do you refer, or do you include both?

“(5) You further state that ‘after your (my) arrival, you (I) made communications regarding your policy, which were ambiguous.’ May I ask to whom and when

these 'communications' were made and what were their contents?

"(6) You also say 'your (my) language, expressed in public, declared that you (I) intended to perform some act when the proper time arrived, without declaring what that act would be.' May I inquire, again, when and where and to what 'public' was such language used?

"(7) You further say: 'This Government has most earnestly sought from you . . . some assurance that force would not be used, and has failed to obtain it.' Will you inform me at what time and in what manner your Government 'earnestly sought' the 'assurance' referred to?

"In conclusion, I would ask your careful consideration of the following statement: 'Your (my) action has unfortunately aroused the passions of all parties and made it probable that disturbances may be created at any moment.' Before replying to the above, I think that your further attention should be drawn to it, as I refuse to believe that upon re-examination you will feel at liberty to affix your official signature to such an extraordinary declaration.

*"Extraordinary
Declaration,"
Willis Remarks*

"Hoping that you will enable me to reply 'with the least delay,' as requested, by giving me the desired information" . . . —*Morgan's Report*, pp. 2075-6.

On December 29 I replied to Mr. Willis:

"Your excellency's letter of December 27, referring to my communication of the same date, which requests information as to the nature of your instructions from your Government in regard to the use of force against this Government, and asking for a more specific statement of matters therein contained, has been received.

"I desire to state that the arrival of newspaper copies by the late mail, since my note to you was written, of the special message of the President of the United States to Congress on the Hawaiian matter, has rendered any further correspondence on the subject of my letter un-

necessary, as the message satisfactorily answers my question as to future action of the American administration towards this government, the whole Hawaiian matter having been referred to Congress by the President.

"If, however, you still desire the specifications requested I will be ready to furnish them."—*Morgan's Report*, p. 2076.

This brought the following answer from Mr. Willis, dated the same day:

"I received your note of this date in answer to one from me of the 27th inst.

"Am I to understand that your communication of the latter date is withdrawn? If this is your intention, as I hope it is, I would for the best interests of all, suggest that the whole correspondence on the subject be withdrawn, with the understanding that the original letters be returned to their authors and that no copies be given to the public or made a record by either government."—*Morgan's Report*, p. 2076.

*Hope Expressed
That Note Will
Be Withdrawn*

My reply to this was a letter of January 1, 1894, which was not signed through oversight. It is as follows:

"Your Excellency's communication of December 29, inquiring if my note amounted to a withdrawal of my communication on the subject referred to, has been received.

"It was not my intention to withdraw any of my letters, but merely to inform you that the arrival of newspaper copies of the special message of the President of the United States on the Hawaiian matter, made it unnecessary for me to press you for further answer to my question."—*Morgan's Report*, p. 2077.

A letter of Mr. Willis of the same date followed this, referring also to my letters of the 27th and 29th of December, and is here given:

"On the 27th ultimo, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I received a lengthy communication from you containing statements, which I am fully prepared to show are not warranted by the facts, seriously affecting the President of the United States and the representatives of the United States in this country. These charges and statements, if accepted as the official views of your Government, demanded prompt answer and equally prompt action on the part of the Government of the United States, to the end that the conditions of things herein described should be removed by the removal of the alleged causes.

*Statements
Unwarranted
by the Facts*

"In order more satisfactorily to answer your communication I immediately, in a letter written the same day, requested a more specific statement upon seven points at issue.

"I have the honor now to acknowledge the receipt on last Friday, December 29, at 1 p. m., of a letter from you stating that the last message of the President of the United States 'satisfactorily answers your question as to the future action of the American administration toward this (your) Government.'

"You further say: 'If, however, you still desire the specifications requested I will be ready to furnish them.'

"In reply to this last letter, I beg leave most respectfully to state that if your first communication on this subject had been confined to the single question above mentioned an immediate and satisfactory answer would have been given. That a different course was adopted, has been a source of sincere and profound regret to myself, as it will be, I know, to my Government, and this for several reasons, among which not the least is that it brings for the first time the official information that the warlike preparations described by you were caused by and intended for the diplomatic and military representatives of the United States.

*Profound and
Sincere Regret
of the Envoy*

"Your communications on this subject, being official in character, become a part of the permanent records of this legation, and are required to be transmitted to the Government at Washington.

"In view of these facts, and in the confident belief that upon fuller consideration you would realize the great

*Unfriendliness
Toward Dole
Is Disclaimed*

injustice of your statements, I wrote you a brief note, which was delivered at your residence on the night of Friday, December 29, expressing the hope that your letter of the 27th instant was intended as a withdrawal of your first communication, and stating that if such was the case I would 'for the best interests of all suggest that the whole correspondence on the subject be withdrawn, with the understanding that the original letters be returned to their authors and that no copies be given to the public or made a record by either Government.'

"Having received no reply to this note, I took occasion last night (December 31) to explain in an informal way to one of your ministers (Mr. Damon) that my note to you was prompted by no improper or unfriendly spirit, but was intended to continue the amicable relations heretofore existing.

"There was in your letter of December 29 no withdrawal or modification of the statements and charges complained of, but on the contrary an expression of 'readiness,' implying ability, to furnish the 'specifications requested.'

"I am just in receipt of your letter (which bears no signature) of this date, in reply to my last note, in which you say: 'It is not my intention to withdraw any of my letters, but merely to inform you that the arrival of newspaper copies of the special message of the President of the United States on the Hawaiian matter made it unnecessary for me to press you for further answer to my question.'

"Accepting the above as your decision, I have now to ask that you furnish me, at your earliest convenience, with the desired specifications, as I wish to make immediate answer.

"With renewed assurances, etc.,

"ALBERT S. WILLIS,

"Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary,

"United States of America."—*Morgan's Report*, pp. 2077-2078.

The renewed request, in the last letter, that the "desired specifications" be furnished Mr. Willis at

my earliest convenience, afforded the Provisional Government a much-appreciated opening for placing on record, more fully than we had had an opportunity of doing before, a statement of what had been our relations with the American administration since the annexation treaty had been recalled from the Senate by President Cleveland, and a statement of the attitude of the administration toward the Provisional Government. Mr. Thurston, who had been our minister at Washington since the annexation commissioners finished their mission, was present in Honolulu; and in view of his experience in Washington, his recent opportunity of examining *Blount's Report*, and his acquaintance with the events and correspondence occurring during the brief period since Mr. Willis' arrival, not to speak of his general qualifications for a work of such delicacy and importance, he was requested by me to draft such specifications. His draft speaks for itself, for it was adopted with but slight modifications. It is as follows:

*Dole Welcomes
Opportunity
to Tell Facts*

"Honolulu, January 11th, 1894.

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated January 1 instant, in which you refer to my communication to you dated December 27 as 'containing statements which I am fully prepared to show are not warranted by the facts, seriously affecting the President of the United States and the representatives of the United States in this country, and that these charges and statements, if accepted as the official views of your Government, demand prompt answer and equally prompt action on the part of the Government of the United States to the end that the condition of affairs therein described should be removed by the removal of the alleged causes.'

“You also refer to the intervening correspondence between us, stating that my above-mentioned communication, ‘being for the first time the official information that the warlike preparations described by you were caused by and intended for the diplomatic and military representatives of the United States.’

“You further state that, believing that upon further consideration I would realize the great injustice of my statements, you, on the 29th ultimo, wrote, suggesting the withdrawal of my communication of the 27th ultimo and your reply, and that no copies be given to the public or made a record by either Government; and on the 31st stated to Mr. Damon that your note to me ‘was prompted by no improper or unfriendly spirit, but was intended to continue the amicable relations heretofore existing.’

“You further state that, in my letter of December 29, there is no withdrawal or modification of the statements complained of, but, on the contrary, an expression of readiness, implying ability, to furnish the specifications requested.’

“You also acknowledge the receipt of my note to you, dated January 1, stating that it was not my intention to withdraw any of my letters, which note you state is unsigned by me. The omission of the signature was unintentional.

“You conclude by stating that ‘I have now to ask that you furnish me, at your earliest convenience, with the desired specifications, as I wish to make immediate answer.’

“I will comply with your request. Before doing so, however, I desire to say, in reply to your communication of the 1st instant, that I have made no ‘charges’ against the President of the United States or its representatives. On the contrary, in order that there might be no misapprehension concerning the matter, I specifically stated, in my communication to you of the 27th ultimo, that I do not claim or intimate that this unfortunate situation has been intentionally created by you or by the Government which you represent. I still disclaim any intention of charging you or your Government with intent to

*Judge Denies
That He Made
Any “Charges”*

produce the results and conditions described in my communication of December 27th.

"The object of my communication to you was to formally bring to your attention certain facts and conditions existing in this country; what, in my opinion, were the causes of the same, and to obtain from you such information and assurances as would tend to allay the prevailing excitement and apprehension.

*Information
Necessary to
Quiet People*

"Concerning your statement above referred to, that my communication of December 27th contains statements which you are fully prepared to show are not warranted by the facts, I would say that it would give me great pleasure to become convinced that the alleged conditions and facts referred to by me did not in truth exist. The matters hereinafter stated constitute, in part, the basis for my belief in the existence of the conditions referred to and the causes producing the same; but I shall be glad to receive from you any evidence tending to remove from my mind the belief that they or any of them did exist, and assuring you that upon becoming convinced that I am under misapprehension concerning any of such alleged facts, the allegations concerning the same will be immediately withdrawn.

"Concerning your statement that my letter of December 29 contains 'no withdrawal or modifications of the statements complained of,' you will pardon me if I say that I was not aware that any complaint had been made concerning any statement made by me, your reply having been primarily directed to eliciting more specific information concerning certain points.

"Referring to the suggestion contained in your note of the 29th and your interview with Mr. Damon, that I withdraw my communication of December 27, I would say that to do so would have been in the nature of an admission that the statements therein contained were incorrect, which, unfortunately, in the absence of the information which you say you are prepared to present and with certain other evidence before me, it was impossible for me to do so.

*Will Not Admit
His Statements
Were Incorrect*

"Allow me to assure you that it is with deep gratification that I received your assurance that your communication to me of the 29th December was prompted by no

*His Intention
to Continue
Good Relations*

improper motive or unfriendly spirit, but was intended to continue the amicable relations heretofore existing, and to further assure you that this and all other communications from this Government are written in the same spirit, and I trust that no statement presenting the claims and view of this Government concerning any matter of law or fact may by reason of its directness and distinctness be construed as otherwise than of a similar character.

“In compliance with your request for certain specifications concerning my letter of December 27, I reply thereto as follows:

“First. You inquire as to the meaning of the word ‘attitude’ as used in my letter.

“I reply that the word was used by me in its ordinarily accepted sense, meaning the bearing, the posture as indicating purpose, of those referred to.

“You further say: ‘Will you point out where and when and how the representatives of the United States assumed any attitude toward the supporters of the Provisional Government or that Government itself, other than one essentially and designedly expressive of peace?’

“In reply I would say that the attitude of a person is to be ascertained only by inferences drawn from the known words and acts of such person, and the conditions and circumstances under which they take place.

“Some of the words and actions of the United States and its representatives in this connection and the conditions and circumstances attendant thereupon, from which its intentions and attitude toward the Provisional Government must be inferred, are as follows:

“(1) A treaty of annexation had been negotiated between the Provisional Government and the United States Government and presented to the Senate for ratification. This treaty was withdrawn by President Cleveland immediately upon his entering office without prior notice to this Government or its representatives of his intention so to do, or of his reasons for such action.

“(2) Immediately thereafter the President appointed Hon. James H. Blount a special commissioner to Hawaii to investigate the condition of affairs at Hawaii.

*Reason For
Withdrawal
Not Explained*

“The knowledge of such appointment was withheld from the representatives of this Government at Washington. The press having announced the appointment, the Hawaiian representatives applied to the State Department for information concerning the same. The Secretary of State refused to state the objects of the mission or even to admit that a commissioner had been appointed.

*Information of
Blount Mission
Was Refused*

“(3) On the 19th day of June, 1893, Mr. Thurston, Hawaiian minister at Washington, addressed a communication to Mr. Gresham, Secretary of State, in which the following language is used, viz:

“I am directed by my Government to represent to you that, while the Hawaiian Government has full confidence in the good faith of the United States towards Hawaii in and concerning its treatment of the relations between the two countries, it seems proper that it should be informed as to the effect the present uncertainty as to the ultimate course to be pursued has upon the situation in Hawaii.

“The long-continued delay and uncertainty keeps the entire community in a feverish state of mind, by reason of which business is seriously affected; capital is rendered timid, thereby hampering all enterprises which are conducting their business on credit; the Government credit and ability to borrow is prejudiced; the expenses of the Government are largely increased by the necessity of maintaining a considerable armed force for the protection of public order, and the enemies of the Government are encouraged to conspire against law and order; all of which is highly prejudicial and injurious not only to the Hawaiians, but to the very large amount of American capital invested in Hawaii and the mutual trade now being conducted between the two countries.

*Community Is
Made Feverish
by Uncertainty*

“It is important for the Hawaiian Government to know the intention of the United States Government concerning annexation at as early a date as possible, as if annexation is not to take place the methods of treating local conditions in Hawaii must be radically different from those to be pursued if annexation is to take place.

“It is also important that whatever the intentions of the United States Government may be concerning the subject-matter, the Hawaiian Government be informed what such intentions are before the same are made public, in order that it may consider the situation with full knowledge of all its aspects and decide upon such course of action as may be necessary to preserve order and protect the interests of the people of Hawaii.

“For the reasons above stated I respectfully request that a decision may be arrived at and communicated as speedily as is consistent with the interests of the United States.’

“No reply has ever been made to such communication.

“(4) Upon the arrival of Mr. Blount in this country he did not communicate nor in any manner intimate to the Hawaiian Government that his investigations were to be directed toward the right of existence of the Government to whom he was accredited. All of his investigations and examinations were private, and such persons only were examined as he chose to call.

“(5) An examination of his report, since published, shows that there are statements made by approximately sixty Royalists and twenty supporters of the Provisional Government.

“That he has obtained no statements from the four members of the cabinet voted out three days before the revolutionary attempt of the Queen, although he has obtained exhaustive statements from their Royalist successors.

“That he has examined only two of the thirteen members of the committee of safety; one of the original four members of the executive council of the Provisional Government; three of the original fourteen members of the advisory council; two of the eight speakers who addressed the mass meeting called by the committee of safety on the day prior to the establishment of the Provisional Government, and but one of the eight field and staff officers, and none of the seventeen line officers in command of the forces of the Provisional Government and none of the five commissioners sent to Washington, although all of such men, omitted to be examined, were

*Most Witnesses
Before Blount
Were Royalists*

eye witnesses and active participants in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the Provisional Government, and are men of character and standing in the community, while a number of those examined on the Royalist side are irresponsible characters.

“(6) Upon the 15th day of May, 1893, Mr. Blount, without first communicating to this Government what his instructions were, or his intention so to do, published his official instructions in a Honolulu newspaper in the form of an address ‘To the people of the Hawaiian Islands,’ and concluded with the following words:

“‘While I shall refrain from interference between conflicting forces of whatever nationality for supremacy, I will protect American citizens not participating in such conflict.’

“(7) Although Mr. Blount’s report is official in character, vitally affects this Government, and is distinctly hostile to it in tone and conclusions, no request to this Government for explanation of the charges therein made was received nor opportunity to reply thereto or notice of its contents given prior to its publication. The first information concerning the contents of such report was obtained by this Government through published extracts in the American papers dated November 20, last, no official copy thereof being furnished the Hawaiian minister at Washington until November 25, and none received by this Government at Honolulu until December 22, last, such copies having been furnished only after several applications therefor at the State Department.

“(8) On November 7 you, having arrived in Honolulu, presented your credentials to this Government as American minister, with the usual declarations of friendship and regard and were duly received and acknowledged. Simultaneously therewith, Admiral Skerrett was suddenly and unexpectedly removed and Rear-Admiral Irwin appointed to the command of the American naval forces in Honolulu. Such change was almost universally interpreted by the press of the United States as having a bearing upon the contemplated execution of the announced policy of the President concerning Hawaii. The extract hereinafter contained from the New

*No Opportunity
Given Hawaii
to Make Reply*

*News Article
of the "Herald"
Is an Example*

York Herald is a sample of the interpretation placed thereon by the press of your own country favorable to such policy.

"I do not claim or intimate that the personnel of the commanding officer of the United States forces is of any concern to this Government, nor suggest that the interpretation placed thereon by the American press is correct, nor that your Government is responsible for such interpretations. This incident is mentioned simply as a part of the *res gestae* of the case which this Government had before it, and as one of the many things which it was obliged to consider in drawing its inferences as to what the intentions of your Government were.

"(9) Upon the 8th of November last the *New York Herald* published a statement from its Washington correspondent from which I make the following extracts:

" 'A diplomatic bombshell will burst within the next few days and the report will be heard throughout the entire world.

" 'The bomb will be thrown by an accredited representative of the United States Government, and he will hurl it against the badly conceived and worse managed Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

" 'If Minister Willis and Rear-Admiral Irwin arrived in Honolulu on schedule there would be even livelier times in the capitol city of the Hawaiian Islands to-day than there is in the metropolis of the United States. . . . Briefly stated, the present administration will do all in its power to restore the condition of affairs which existed in Hawaii at the time Minister Stevens . . . brought about the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani, . . .

" 'The same force, that of the United States Government, which made the Provisional Government possible has sustained them in power to this day. They could not have made the revolution of which they were the head center a success but for the support given them by the administration in Washington, and there is every reason to believe . . . that the Provisional Government would have gone down long ago but for this same support. . . .

" 'The fact that a new minister has been sent to Honolulu to succeed Minister Stevens and that Rear-Admiral

*Bomb Thrown
by an Accredited
Representative*



*He is depicted here as a colonel, commanding the Hawaii
National Guard after the overthrow of the monarchy*

John Soper

NO. 1000
ANNEX 100

Irwin has been sent to relieve Commander Skerrett has been accepted in many instances as an inkling of the administration's policy towards Hawaii. . . .

*Shift in Naval
Command Seen
as an Inkling*

"This means that the Queen will be restored to her throne and the Provisional Government, representing only a small part of the people of Hawaii, will soon be a thing of the past."

"I do not intimate that the U. S. Government is responsible for the utterances of the *Herald*, but cite the above as one of several instances in which information of intended acts on the part of your Government, vital to this Government, has been denied to this Government and first made known to it through the public press.

"(10) On November 11 the papers of the United States published a letter from the Secretary of State to the President, dated October 18, 1893.

"No previous notice had been given to this Government of the contents of such letter or of the intention to make it public.

"In that letter the Secretary, referring to the initiation of this Government, says:

"They relied on no military force of their own, for they had none worthy of the name. The Provisional Government was established by the action of the American minister and the presence of the troops landed from the *Boston*, and its continued existence is due to the belief of the Hawaiians that if they made an effort to overthrow it they would encounter the armed forces of the United States.

"The earnest appeals to the American minister for military protection by the officers of the Provisional Government after it had been recognized show the utter absurdity of the claim that it was established by a successful revolution of the people of the islands.

"These appeals were a confession by the men who made them of their weakness and timidity. Courageous men, conscious of their strength and the justice of their cause, do not act thus. . . .

*Weakness and
Timidity Among
Revolutionists*

"Should not the great wrong done to a feeble but independent State by an abuse of the authority of the United States be undone by restoring the legitimate

Government? Anything short of that will not, I respectfully submit, satisfy the demands of justice. . . . Our Government was the first to recognize the independence of the islands, and it should be the last to acquire sovereignty over them by force and fraud.'

"You have intimated in your communication dated December 2 that the foregoing letter, 'being a domestic affair, the transaction is not the subject of diplomatic representation,' which statement you have reiterated in your communication of January 1.

"I must submit, however, that an official communication from the chief of the Department of State to the President, in which he charges this Government and its officers with conspiracy, weakness, timidity, and fraud, and recommends its subversion, which letter is officially furnished to and published by the public press without any information concerning the same being afforded to this Government, is not a 'domestic transaction,' and is preeminently a proper subject for inquiry on the part of this Government as to the intentions of your Government concerning the subject-matter.

"(11) On November 14 Mr. Thurston, Hawaiian minister at Washington, called upon the Secretary of State and inquired if the above letter was authentic and was assured by Mr. Gresham that it was.

"Mr. Thurston then said: 'I wish, then, to further ask whether it is the intention of the United States Government to carry out the policy therein indicated by force; or, in other words, whether if the Provisional Government declines to accede to the request of the U. S. Government to vacate in favor of the Queen, U. S. troops will be used to enforce the request.'

"To which Mr. Gresham replied: 'I am not at liberty at present to answer that question. It is a matter concerning which I will speak to the President and talk with you more fully this afternoon.'

"In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Gresham further said to Mr. Thurston:

" 'I have already answered your first question, to the effect that the letter published (Secretary Gresham to the President) was authentic and a correct statement of

*More Queries
Whether Force
Will Be Used*

the policy of the United States. As to your second question, as to whether force is to be used by the United States to restore the Queen, all that I am at liberty to state is that Mr. Willis has no instructions to do anything which will cause injury to life or property of anyone at the islands. Further than this I am not at liberty to state what his instructions are. You can draw your own inferences from my statement and allay any apprehension which may have been caused by what has been published.'

*Injury to Life
and Property
Not Intended*

"Mr. Thurston further said to Mr. Gresham:

"Your answer does not convey the information which I requested. What I desire is to obtain information which will guide my Government in their action. If they know that force is to be used by you their course of action will necessarily be different from what it otherwise would be. The definite information from me that you intend to use force may be the means of preventing them from using force and causing bloodshed.'

"To which Mr. Gresham replied:

"Our relations in the past have been pleasant and I want them to continue to be so in the future, and to be perfectly courteous to you, but I cannot at present answer you more fully than I have.'

"(12) On the 16th of last November there was published in the Honolulu Star an interview with you, with the accompanying statement that the proof had been revised by you.

"The following are extracts therefrom, purporting to be statements made by you:

"You are authorized to say from me that no change in the present situation will take place for several weeks. I brought with me certain instructions. . . . Since my arrival here contingencies have arisen about which neither the United States Government nor myself were aware when I left Washington. . . . I forwarded my dispatches to Washington by to-day's steamer, and until I receive an answer to them no change will take place in the present situation *nor will any be allowed.*'

"What do you mean by the expression "nor will any be allowed"?"

*Good Order of
Community Will
Be Undisturbed*

“I mean just this; that until the time comes for me to carry out my instructions, the peace and good order of this community will be kept undisturbed in the interests of humanity. That any attempt made by any person or persons to make trouble will be promptly checked and punished. You may put the matter more plainly and say that even if the Provisional Government discharged the whole of its troops to-day, no lawlessness would be allowed for one moment under the present situation of affairs. . . .

“The whole Hawaiian question is now in abeyance and nothing the newspapers can say or do, will alter the situation one iota; . . . There is not the slightest necessity for any one to stay out of bed nights for fear of trouble of any kind, for none will be permitted.’

“In the Honolulu Bulletin of November 17, last, there is published what purports to be a letter signed by yourself in which you state concerning the above-mentioned interview:

*Saw Interview,
But He Failed
to Scrutinize*

“The interview in the Star was submitted to me but I did not scrutinize it carefully. It contains several expressions which are misleading; due, I am sure, not to any intention on the part of the writer.’

“There is no specification of what the ‘misleading’ portions are, although you have since verbally informed me in substance that you did not intend to use such words and had no intention of exercising authority inconsistent with that of the Government.

“(13) On November 29, last, the Hawaiian Star published a statement purporting to be a report of remarks made by you to a delegation of the American League, in which the following words are stated to have been used by you:

“I have my instructions which I cannot divulge. . . . But this much I can say: The policy of the United States is already formulated regarding these islands, and that nothing which can be said or done either here or there can avail anything now. I do not come here as did Mr. Blount. I come here as the executive officer. I come to act. When the proper time comes, I *shall* act. . . . I wish to state, positively, that any outside interference will not be tolerated by the United States.’

"I am not aware that you have ever disavowed the correctness of this report.

"(14) On November 29 last, having that day for the first time received information through the Hawaiian minister at Washington of the contents of Mr. Gresham's letter to the President, and of his statements concerning the same and his refusal to state whether it was the intention of your Government to carry out its policy by force, I called upon you in company with the Attorney-General, stated to you the substance of my information, and asked you what the intentions of your Government were in relation to Mr. Gresham's recommendations. You replied that you were not at liberty to tell us, but would do so as soon as you could.

"(15) Immediately thereafter, I addressed a communication to you, revoking the general permission theretofore granted to the United States forces to land for drill, and a further communication formally stating to you the information received by me concerning said letter of Mr. Gresham and asking you the following question:

"I desire to inquire of you whether the published reports of such letter of Secretary Gresham are substantially correct? If they are, I feel that it is due this Government that it should be informed of the intention of your Government in relation to the suggestions contained in the said letter of Mr. Gresham.'

"On December 2, you replied to such letter stating that 'as to the letter of Mr. Gresham, I have the honor to call your attention to the fact, as shown by you, that it is a communication from a member of the cabinet to the President of the United States, and being a domestic transaction is not the subject of diplomatic representation. Answering your note further, I must express my sincere regret that it is not in my power at present to inform you of the views or intentions of the United States.'

"(16) On December 4th last President Cleveland transmitted his annual message to Congress, in which the following language was used concerning Hawaii.

"Referring to Mr. Blount's report he said:

"Upon the facts developed it seemed to me the only honorable course for our Government to pursue was to

*Leave to Land
Men For Drill
Was Revoked*

undo the wrong that had been done by those representing us, and to restore, as far as practicable, the status existing at the time of our forcible intervention. With a view of accomplishing this result within the constitutional limits of executive power our present minister at Honolulu has received appropriate instructions to that end.'

"(17) On December 14 last, the U. S. Dispatch-boat *Corwin*, arrived in Honolulu from San Francisco bringing dispatches to yourself. No mail was allowed to be brought by her, but the press of Honolulu obtained from persons on board of her and published the above extract from the President's message. But for such accidental information no information concerning the same would have been obtained by this Government until the arrival of the *Alameda* on December 22.

"*Corwin*" Comes;
Preparations
Grow Warlike

"Up to the time of the arrival of the *Corwin* the U. S. naval officers in port were in the habit of coming ashore in citizen's dress, the crews received the usual liberty on shore, and no unusual warlike preparations were visible on board.

"Immediately after the arrival of the *Corwin* the liberty of the crews was stopped, as was that of most of the officers. Those who came on shore were in service uniform. Rifles were stacked, cartridge belts were filled with ball cartridges, and knapsacks, packed for immediate use, were conspicuous on the decks of the ships, and were seen there by visiting citizens, who in reply to their inquiry as to the meaning of such preparation, were informed by the officers that they were ready to land at a moment's notice. When asked if the landing would be to protect or fight us, the reply of the officers of the *Philadelphia* was that no one on board knew what orders would be received.

"(18) It was known at the time that several of the wives of U. S. naval officers temporarily in Honolulu were packing up their baggage preparatory for immediate removal in view of possible hostilities.

"(19) It was also known that you were in frequent communication with the ex-Queen, and leading royalists were constantly reiterating that you were going to immediately restore the Queen by force.

"As a sample of the innumerable assertions of this character is the following, made by Mr. J. O. Carter, the ex-Queen's most trusted councilor and confidant, a gentleman who was then known to be in consultation with you and the ex-Queen and who appears as the attesting witness, to the exclusion of the former members of her cabinet, to her proposition of amnesty hereunder referred to.

"Mr. Carter warned his nephew, Mr. C. L. Carter, a supporter of the Provisional Government, that restoration was certain; that force would be used by the United States for that purpose, and that he ought to consider the rights of his family and not risk his life in opposing the inevitable.

*Uncle Warns
Young Carter
to Play Safe*

"This information was from one of the sources from which numerous prophecies of future action on the part of the United States had *emanated*, with almost invariable correctness.

"(20) It was the almost well-nigh universal belief in the city that you were about to attempt to land the naval forces of the United States to enforce the execution of the President's policy.

"In anticipation thereof for a number of days the wharves were lined with crowds of people, among them prominent Royalists, waiting to see the United States troops land to restore the Queen.

"(21) On December 18, Mr. H. F. Glade, consul for Germany, called upon you and, in substance, asked if you could not speak out and relieve the public from the state of extreme tension they were in, which was becoming unbearable; to which you replied, in substance, that you were aware of the conditions and were making every effort to bring the matter to a speedy determination and would act within forty-eight hours.

"(22) On December 16, it being reported that the *Corwin* was at an early date to return to San Francisco, the attorney-general called upon you stating that there would be no regular mail for nearly three weeks and asked permission to forward Hawaiian Government dispatches by her, which permission you refused, stating that your instructions would not permit it.

*Right to Send
Mail by Cutter
Denied Hawaii*

"(23) On December 18, Maj. Wodehouse, the British minister, and Mr. Fujii, the Japanese diplomatic representative, both asked permission to land troops from their respective warships for the purpose of protecting their respective legations, which permission was granted by this Government.

*Japanese Envoy
Offers Shelter
to Americans*

"(24) In view of the existing conditions, Mr. Fujii, the diplomatic representative, sent word to a number of prominent American supporters of the Provisional Government offering the use of the Japanese legation as a refuge for their families in case of hostilities.

"(25) On December 18 last, I addressed to you a communication containing the following words:

"I am informed that you are in communication with Liliuokalani, the ex-Queen, with a view of reestablishing the monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands, and of supporting her pretensions to the sovereignty. Will you inform me if this report is true, or if you are acting in any way hostile to this Government. . . . You will pardon me for pressing you for an immediate answer.'

"(26) On December 19 you called upon and made a verbal address to me furnishing me with a manuscript copy of your remarks, from which I make the following extracts:

*Secrecy Was
in Interest
of the People*

"The President regrets, as I do, that any secrecy should have surrounded the interchange of views between our two Governments. I may say this, however, that the secrecy thus far observed has been in the interest and for the safety of all your people. . . .

"Upon the facts embodied in Mr. Blount's reports the President has arrived at certain conclusions and determined upon a certain course of action with which it becomes my duty to acquaint you.

"The Provisional Government was not established by the Hawaiian people or with their consent or acquiescence, nor has it since existed with their consent. . . . (Other reasons are set forth for the conclusions reached.)

"In view of these conclusions I was instructed by the President to take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the Queen of this determination, and of his views as to the responsibility of our Government . . . I

was instructed at the same time to inform the Queen that, when reinstated, that the President expected that she would pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her.

“In obedience to the commands of the President, I have secured the Queen’s agreement to this course. . . . It becomes my duty further to advise you, sir, the Executive of the Provisional Government and your ministers, of the President’s determination of the question which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that you are expected to promptly relinquish to her her constitutional authority. And now, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Provisional Government, with a deep and solemn sense of the gravity of the situation . . . in the name and by the authority of the United States of America I submit to you the question “Are you willing to abide by the decision of the President.””

“(27) Upon the 23d of December, I replied to the foregoing communication in the negative.

“Up to the time of sending you my communication of December 27, no further communication had been received by me from you and no assurance had been received that force was not to be used nor what your further intentions were concerning this Government.

“(28) During your nearly two months’ residence in this city you and your family have declined the customary social courtesies usually extended to those occupying your official position, on the specified ground that it was not deemed best under existing circumstances to accept such civilities.

“I do not for a moment intimate that such a course is improper or that it is a subject for criticism. It is simply referred to by me as an existing fact bearing upon your relations to this Government and germane in considering the question of your attitude thereto. It would not have been referred to by me except in response to your inquiry.

“In the absence of specific definite information as to the intentions of your Government, the foregoing are

*Usual Social
Courtesies
Were Declined*

some of the facts from which this Government has been obliged to infer what such intentions were, and which, considered as a whole, constitute the 'attitude' toward this Government.

*Essentially,
Designedly
Peaceful?*

"It may be that the proper logical deduction and inference from the foregoing facts is that the attitude of the United States and its representative toward the Provisional Government is and has been 'one essentially and designedly expressive of peace.' It will give us the greatest pleasure to receive assurances to that effect, but I submit that under the circumstances and in the absence of such assurances, they are capable of another construction, to a sufficient extent at least, to warrant the question which I have asked you in my communication of December 27.

"Your second request for information is as follows:

"'You assert that at the time of my arrival in this country the forces of this Government were organized and amply sufficient to suppress any internal disorder. Will you inform me what connection this statement has or is designed to have with the Government of the United States or with the future action of its representative?'

"I reply that there are two reasons for the said statement. First, that already stated in my letter of December, that 'in consequence of your attitude, the enemies of the Government, believing in your intentions to restore the monarchy by force, have become emboldened,' etc.; and, second, that by reason of my inability to ascertain whether your Government proposed to use force in support of its policy of restoration, I was obliged to act as though it did so intend; as a result of which this Government has been obliged to increase its forces, and has been, and now is, subjected to the necessity of increased watchfulness and large additional expense, which, but for such attitude, would have been unnecessary.

*Hawaii Forced
to Increase
Its Military*

"The effect which I had hoped this communication might have upon the future action of the representative of the United States was that he might give such assurances that such additional watchfulness and expense might be avoided.

"Your third request is for the time, place, and subject-matter of the 'language' used by yourself in public and in communication to this Government. The answer to this is covered by my reply to your first inquiry.

"Your fourth inquiry is as to what particular words in the published letter from Secretary Gresham and in the President's message, and which message of the President I referred to.

"I reply that certain of the words of the Secretary and the President which I deem pertinent to the subject-matter have already been quoted in my reply to your first inquiry, although there are others obviously bearing on the same subject.

"I have already replied to you that I referred to the President's first message in my letter dated the 27th, having actually been written on the 26th of December, and forwarded to you before I had knowledge of the contents of the second message.

"Your fifth inquiry is as to the time and contents of your communications which were 'ambiguous.'

"I have enumerated them in my reply to your first inquiry.

"The ambiguity consists in the reiterated statement that you proposed to do some act and carry out certain instructions which all the surrounding circumstances indicated were inimical to this Government, without stating what that act nor what those instructions were; and, while presenting and speaking assurances of friendship and amity, without the consent of this Government negotiating with its enemies for its subversion and declining to state what your intentions were.

"Such utterances and actions were so inconsistent, one with the other, with international rules of comity, and the past relations and international policy of the two Governments, as to be not only ambiguous but incomprehensible to this Government.

"Your sixth inquiry is as to when, where, and to whom you declared that you intended to do some act when the proper time arrived. The reply to your first inquiry covers this also.

*Other Words
Obviously Bear
on the Subject*

*Spoke Amity;
Negotiated
With Enemies*

"Your seventh inquiry is as to the time and manner when the Government has sought the assurance that force would not be used. The answer is contained in my reply to your first inquiry.

"You finally ask my 'careful consideration' of the following statement contained in my letter:

"'Your action has unfortunately aroused the passions of all parties and made it probable that disturbances may be created at any moment,' and say that you 'refuse to believe that upon reexamination you (I) will feel at liberty to affix your (my) official signature to such an extraordinary declaration.'

"In reply I beg to state that I have resided in this country for nearly fifty years and had intimate personal knowledge of the conditions prevailing during the riot of 1874 and the revolutions of 1887, 1889, and 1893, and with all deliberation I state of my own knowledge that during such period there has never been a time when the country has been subjected to such strain and excitement as during the eight days following the arrival of the *Corwin*. The business of the entire community was practically suspended and its time and energy devoted to an excited and absorbing consideration of the political situation and to military preparation to meet unknown contingencies; which state of things has since been fortunately allayed by advices from America furnishing in reports of the President's special Hawaiian message to Congress and his instructions to your excellency, information which made a satisfactory and favorable response to the inquiry of my letter to you of December 27.

"I also state with equal deliberation that such condition was produced and maintained by reason of your actions and declarations and the actions and declarations of your Government and the circumstances and uncertainties attendant thereupon, as detailed in my letter of December 27, and herein.

"I make this statement in no spirit of unfriendliness to you or your Government, but as an historical fact which, if not already known to you, should, in the interests of both countries, be made known to you.

"In conclusion, I beg to refer to the statement in your communication of January 1, wherein you state that it

*Excitement
Unprecedented
in Fifty Years*

*Willis Should
Be Informed of
Historical Fact*

is a source of 'sincere and profound regret' that my letter 'brings, for the first time, the official information that the war-like preparations described by you were caused by and intended for the diplomatic and military representatives of the United States.'

"In reply, I would say that such regret on your part at receiving such information cannot exceed the sincerity and profoundness of my own regret that such a condition should exist.

"Such regret on my part is only equaled by inability to understand how it has come about that a Government and a community which is to-day more closely connected with the United States by ties of commerce, friendship, and blood, than any other lying beyond its borders, which values your friendship above that of all other nations; which fully admits and appreciates the many and deep obligations which it is under to your Government and people, which has done you and your country no wrong, has been forced into a position where, in defense of their very right to exist, they have been obliged to take up arms to meet the possible hostility of that country whose flag they revere and whose principles of liberty they love.

*Ready to Fight
Revered Land
For Existence*

"I cannot but believe that it has arisen through a misunderstanding of facts on the part of your Government and a mutual misapprehension of motives and intentions which may, I sincerely hope, at an early day be cleared away.

"Allow me, in closing, to thank you, Mr. Minister, for your frequent expressions of personal regard and for the evident sincerity of purpose displayed by you under recent trying circumstances, and to assure you of my deep appreciation thereof.

"I have the honor to assure you, that, with highest consideration, I am,

"Your excellency's obedient servant,

"SANFORD B. DOLE,

"Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"His excellency, Albert S. Willis,

"U. S. Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary,

"Honolulu."

—*Morgan's Report*, pp. 2039-47.

CHAPTER VIII

HAWAIIAN CASE REFERRED TO CONGRESS

*Cleveland Asks
That Congress
Take Problem*

On receipt of the answer of the Provisional Government to the demand of Mr. Willis for its retirement in favor of the Queen's restoration, President Cleveland submitted the Hawaiian question to the "broader authority and discretion of the Congress," and the Senate referred the question to its committee on foreign relations, of which Senator Morgan was chairman, by the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That the Committee on Foreign Relations shall inquire and report whether any, and, if so, what irregularities have occurred in the diplomatic or other intercourse between the United States and Hawaii in relation to the recent political revolution in Hawaii, and to this end said committee is authorized to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths to witnesses." Under this authority, the committee collected and printed a considerable mass of oral testimony and affidavits, making a volume of over 2,200 pages, besides an appendix of many maps.

*Mr. Stevens
Criticized For
Protectorate*

The report entirely exonerated Mr. Stevens from all irregular and improper conduct as minister, excepting only his action in declaring a protectorate of the United States over Hawaii and in placing the United States flag upon the Government Building in Honolulu. No actual harm resulted from

that unauthorized act, but as a precedent it was not to be considered justified. In regard to the negotiation of a treaty of annexation by President Harrison, the report used the following language: "The committee finds nothing worthy of criticism in the negotiation of the treaty of annexation with the Provisional Government of Hawaii." As to the dealing of President Cleveland with Queen Liliuokalani and the Provisional Government, the report said: "The President of the United States has not, in this particular, in any wise been a party to any irregularity or any impropriety of conduct in his high office."

*Two Presidents
Are Found Free
of Wrongdoing*

Some members of the committee, Senators Sherman, Frye, Dolph, and Davis, expressed themselves as in entire accord with the "essential findings" of the report of the chairman, but offered an additional report condemning the appointment of Mr. Blount, without the confirmation of the Senate, as unconstitutional; and placing him, and then Mr. Willis, in command of the naval forces at Honolulu, as "without authority or warrant of law"; their relations with the Queen, conducted for the purpose of restoring her government, as "in violation of the constitution and of the principles of international law and . . . not warranted by the circumstances of the case." This minority report made also the following points:

*Civilians Put
in Command of
Naval Forces*

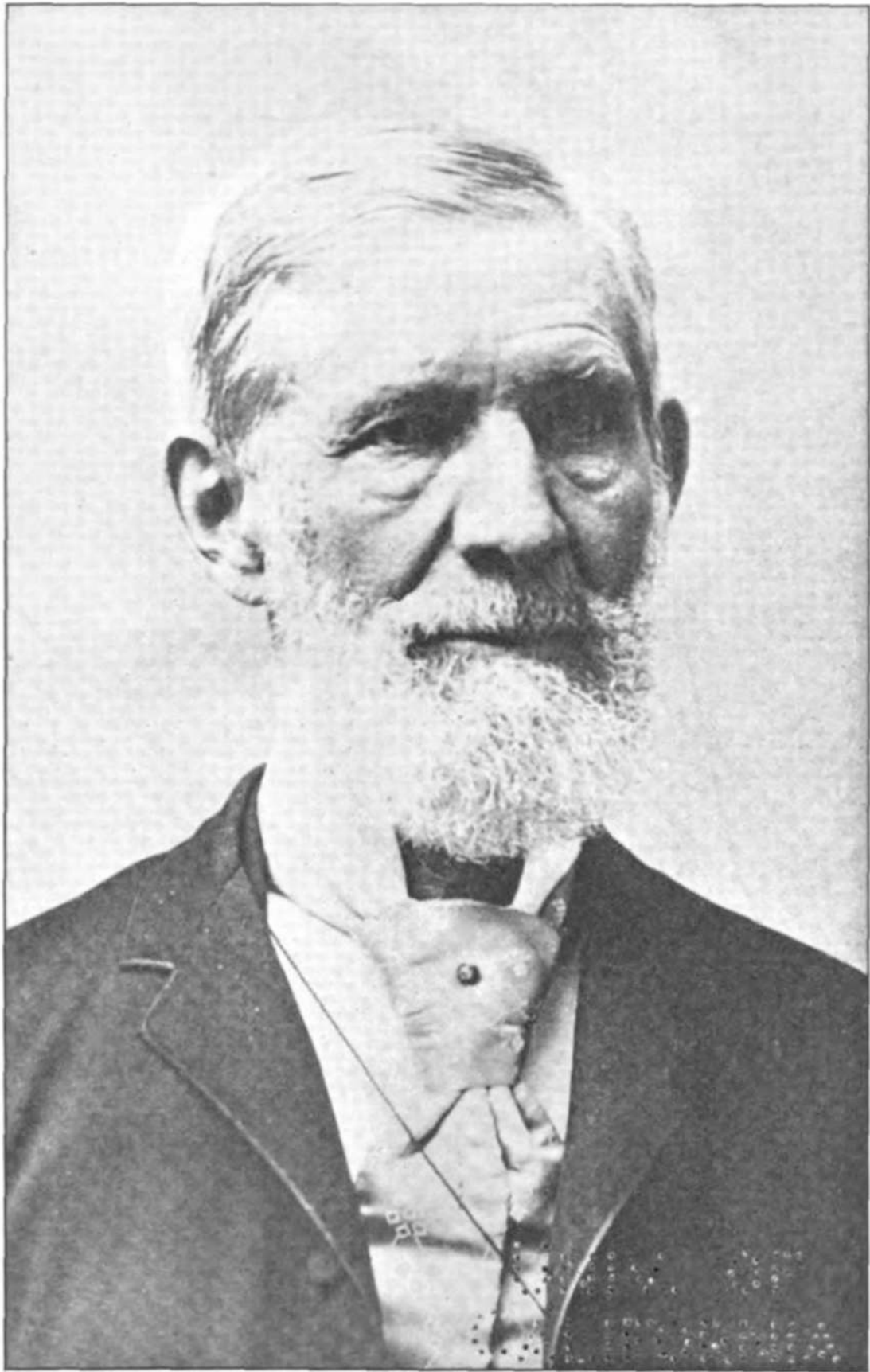
"*Fourth.* The question of the rightfulness of the revolution, of the lawfulness of the means by which the deposition and abdication of the Queen were effected, and the right of the Provisional Government to exist and to

*Cleveland Had
No Authority
to Reopen Case*

continue to exist was conclusively settled, as the report so forcibly states, against the Queen and in favor of the Provisional Government, by the act of the administration of President Harrison recognizing such Provisional Government, by the negotiation by that administration with such Provisional Government of a treaty of annexation to the United States; by accrediting diplomatic representation by such administration and by the present administration to such Provisional Government; therefore, it incontrovertibly follows that the President of the United States had no authority to attempt to reopen such determined questions, and to endeavor by any means whatever to overthrow the Provisional Government or to restore the monarchy which it had displaced.

“While it is true that a friendly power may rightfully tender its good offices of mediation or advice in cases such as that under present consideration, it is also true that the performance of such offices of mediation or advice ought not to be entered upon without the consent previously given by both the parties whom the action or decision of the friendly power may affect. Such consent was not given in the present instance. The Provisional Government never so consented; it was never requested to consent. It denied the jurisdiction of the present administration on every proper occasion. Therefore the proceedings by the President, which had for their result his request and monition to the Provisional Government to surrender its powers, to give up its existence and to submit to be displaced by the monarchy which it had overthrown, had no warrant in law, nor in any consent of one of the parties to be affected by such proceedings.

“*Fifth.* The avowed opinion of the President of the United States, in substance, that it is the duty of this Government to make reparation to the Queen by endeavoring to reinstate her upon her throne by all constitutional methods, is a clear definition of the policy of the present administration to that end. The instructions to Messrs. Blount and Willis must be construed to be other and more ample forms of expression of that policy. No other presumption is permissible than that their actions at Honolulu were with intent to carry out that avowed policy. These considerations make immaterial



As United States minister, Mr. Stevens had forces landed at the overthrow, and soon proclaimed a quasi protectorate

John A. Stevens

NO MORE
ABOVE THE LAW

any discussion, in this connection, of the personal intentions, circumspection, or good faith of these gentlemen in the performance of the task to which they had been plainly commanded by the present administration."

—*Morgan's Report*, pp. 33-34.

A minority report also was submitted by four others of the committee on foreign relations, Senators Butler, Turpie, Daniel, and Grey. Their report agreed with the conclusion of the majority report that the President of the United States (referring to Cleveland) had not, in the Willis and Blount episodes, been a party to any irregularity or any impropriety of conduct, but dissents from the finding that the assumption of a protectorate over Hawaii by Minister Stevens was the only substantial irregularity in his official conduct, and charged him with inopportune zeal in the project of annexation, and with exceeding the proper limits of his official duty and his diplomatic relations to the government and people of the islands.

*Stevens Too
Zealous for
Annexation*

With these citations, the Willis episode properly closes, for when President Cleveland turned over the Hawaiian question to the "broader powers and discretion of the Congress," followed by the report of the committee on foreign relations, the policy of the American administration favoring the restoration of the monarchy ceased, the prevailing sentiment in Congress being decidedly favorable to a policy of noninterference. Mr. Willis remained as minister at Honolulu until his death, but there was no further especial historical incident connected with his official duties. Relieved

*Willis Wins
Public Regard
as an Official*

of his task under Secretary Gresham's instructions, he lived down, to a large extent, the prejudices against him, which had developed in connection with that period; and he won a high degree of public regard as a wise and faithful American official.

Several changes took place in the personnel of the government during its first year. The Honorable P. C. Jones, its first minister of finance, resigned his office within a few months on account of ill health. His successor was the Honorable Theo. C. Porter, from the business staff of W. G. Irwin & Co. He also resigned after a few months of most efficient service, mainly, if I remember correctly, for business reasons. He was followed by the Honorable S. M. Damon, who held the position until the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii, and was commissioned as the minister of finance of that government. The Honorable F. M. Hatch, who was in California at the time of the abrogation of the monarchy, became a member of the advisory council after his return and later filled the newly-created office of vice president of the Provisional Government. Early the next year he was chosen minister of foreign affairs, an act having been passed to separate that position from that of president.

CHAPTER IX

ORGANIZATION OF REPUBLIC OF HAWAII

After the events incident to the attempt of Minister Willis to restore the Hawaiian monarchy, the Provisional Government, being convinced that the Cleveland administration was fixed in its opposition to annexing Hawaii, considered the establishment of a permanent form of government in place of the Provisional Government. There was no question as to the advisability of such change, but much was to be considered as to the method of accomplishment and the legal and political character of the new government. After due consideration, the executive and advisory councils of the Provisional Government passed an act calling for an election of delegates to a convention for the adoption of a constitution of the proposed new government. The act provided that the members of the councils, numbering nineteen, with eighteen elected delegates, should constitute the convention. A considerable number of royalists held a meeting subsequent to the passage of this act, and adopted resolutions protesting against the act and declining to take the oath required of voters for the delegates, or to vote at the election. A copy of the resolutions was given to the American minister, with the request that he forward the same to his government,

*More Lasting
Government
Form Needed*

*Convention
Is Protested
by Royalists*

which he refused to do, on the ground that the Hawaiian question was then before Congress.

*Thurston and
Dole Drafting
Constitution*

About this time, Lorrin A. Thurston, who was on his way home from Washington, and I, unknown to each other, both began work upon a tentative draft for a new constitution for the Republic of Hawaii. Upon the arrival of Mr. Thurston in Honolulu, we went over our memoranda together and finished a joint draft which was fairly satisfactory to us. A number of representative men was thereupon invited to join with the executive council in considering this draft. Meetings were held daily for about ten days, going over the submitted draft and making some changes. This draft was later printed and submitted to the constitutional convention, and formed the basis of consideration, by the convention, of a constitution for the Republic of Hawaii. The election of delegates took place in an orderly manner; and the convention held its first sitting on May 3, 1894. More than twenty days was occupied in discussing the tentative draft. Amendments were made, both in striking out portions and adding new material, and in revising the form of expression as well.

*Republic Is
Proclaimed on
Fourth of July*

On the 3rd day of July the convention finished its work, and adopted an act providing that the title of the new government should be the "Republic of Hawaii," and that the constitution should be the supreme law of the Hawaiian Islands, and that it should be proclaimed by the president on the next day, July 4, from the front entrance of the Executive Building. That was done the next forenoon in

the presence of a large assemblage. The president and cabinet remained unchanged as to personnel under the new government, and constituted the executive council, as in the Provisional Government. Besides a legislature, the constitution created a body called the council of state, which had authority, at the request of the executive council, in emergencies, to make appropriations of public funds between sessions of the Legislature; to advise the president, acting with the cabinet, in regard to reprieves and pardons and commutation of sentences, except in cases of impeachment; and to advise the president in other state matters, when called upon. This council numbered fifteen members, five of whom were elected by the senate, five by the house of representatives, and five appointed by the president. They served without pay.

The presidential term was fixed at six years, and no president could succeed himself. The election of a president was to be by the Legislature after the term of the first president, who was chosen by the constitutional convention, and such action was incorporated in the constitution. In case of the death, resignation, removal, or permanent disability of the president, members of the cabinet were to act as president until a successor should be elected, according to the following precedence: minister of foreign affairs, minister of the interior, minister of finance, the attorney-general. A similar provision existed for possible temporary disability of the president or his absence from the country. The president, with the approval of the senate, might

*Single Term
of Six Years
For President*

dismiss the cabinet, and, with the approval of three members of the cabinet, might remove the fourth. The constitution contained a system of appointments to, and removal from, office, intended to fix responsibility upon heads of departments and bureaus. The president, with the approval of the senate, appointed and removed the cabinet. The cabinet ministers, with the approval of the president, appointed and removed the heads of bureaus belonging to their respective departments. The heads of bureaus, with the approval of the minister to whose department such bureaus belonged respectively, appointed and removed the officers and employees under them.

*Two Houses
of Legislature
Sit Separately*

The Legislature consisted of two houses, sitting separately. The supreme court was the "sole judge" in contested election cases. The final passage of any law required a majority vote of all the members to which each house was entitled. To be eligible as a senator, one had to own property in the republic worth \$3,000, or be in receipt of an annual income of not less than \$1,200. To be eligible as a representative, one had to own property in the republic worth \$1,000, or be in receipt of an annual income of not less than \$600. Beside the usual veto power, the president had power to veto any single item in an appropriation bill. The appropriation bill for salaries and payrolls was made permanent, but subject to amendment. A voter for representatives might apportion his votes among the several candidates in his district, as he should choose. To be entitled to vote for representatives, one must have

paid one's taxes prior to the preceding January 1, the elections being in September. To be entitled to vote for a senator, one, beside other qualifications, had to own real property in the republic worth \$1,500, on which the taxes had been paid for the previous year, or personal property worth \$3,000, or be in receipt of an income of not less than \$600 annually. Judges of the supreme court were subject to removal from office on impeachment; and they and judges of other courts of record could be removed from office by a two-thirds vote of all the members of the Legislature sitting together, upon the recommendation of the executive council. A member of the Legislature was disqualified from holding any office during the term for which he was elected, except that of president, minister, justice of the supreme court, or member of the council of state. Under this provision, a member of the Legislature could not qualify for any office by resigning his legislative position. No officials or employees of the government, except members of the council of state, were eligible for election to the Legislature. One ground for impeachment of civil officers of the Republic was "assessment of officeholders for partisan or political expenses."

*Senate Elector
Needs Property
Qualification*

The constitution confirmed all existing treaties and financial obligations of the monarchy and the Provisional Government. The crown lands were legalized as the property of the government. Action by the executive council, to be valid, was by a majority, including the president. Members of the cabinet were *ex officio* members of the Legislature,

*Cabinet Men
"Ex Officio"
Legislators*

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

*Councils Meet
Till Session
of Legislature*

without the right to vote. The first legislative session under the constitution took place in the summer of the following year. In the meanwhile, the executive and advisory councils, whose legislative functions were continued by the constitution until the first session of the Legislature should be held, met from time to time and enacted a number of statutes.



She's my "Lily,"
I'm her "Gro,"
She's my sweetheart,
I'm her beau.

Soon we'll marry,
Never more to part,
Lili-uò-ka-la-ni
Is my sweetheart.

—Originally published in the Press, New York, under the title "His Sugar Plum"; date undetermined.

CHAPTER X

THE ROYALIST INSURRECTION OF 1895

The promulgation of the new constitution of the Republic of Hawaii in July, 1894, stirred up the royalists a good deal, judging from numerous rumors of activity by them against the Republic, which were in circulation during the latter part of 1894. At length the government became convinced that a serious conspiracy of more or less importance was on foot. Probably many of these rumors were based upon nothing more than a desire on the part of the royalists to alarm the government and confuse it as to their intentions. Be that as it may, the Monday meetings of the executive council were usually confronted with an extra supply of such rumors, the leisure of Sunday seemingly having given opportunity for their manufacture and collection. As the weeks passed, certain rumors, from their persistence and definiteness, pointed to a scheme for an armed uprising on Oahu, to take place upon the arrival of some vessel from the mainland, loaded with arms and ammunition; but when it was to materialize, or where was to be the point of attack, could not be ascertained by our detectives. The Christmas holidays passed as usual, with the government and its supporters worried about this smoldering menace and anxious to have it over.

*Royalist Plot
Causes Worry
Late in 1894*

*Landing Arms
at Koolau Is
Newest Rumor*

At last, early in January, 1895, it was rumored about town that a vessel had landed arms at Koolau, the part of Oahu opposite Honolulu. Then, on a certain Thursday afternoon, numbers of Hawaiians were noticed proceeding seaward through the streets of Honolulu. The *alalauwa* is a small red fish, which readily takes the baited hook, and is much sought by the Hawaiians as a table delicacy. Occasionally it migrates to the Hawaiian shores in large numbers, which are regarded by Hawaiians as a sure forerunner of the death of a high chief. These fish were not, however, thronging the harbor; and there was nothing to explain the sudden interest of the Hawaiians in a certain pier at that time. The government detectives followed them; and when they knew they were being watched, they silently disappeared. In the subsequent Sunday evening, while church services were being held, definite information was brought to the Central Union Church congregation of an outbreak of some kind at Diamond Head, about five miles from the business part of Honolulu. The Central Union congregation was dismissed, and the men who belonged to the organization of defenders of the Republic hurried away to await orders.

*Reports End:
Here Is Fact
of Outbreak*

It seems that the conspirators, although thwarted in their attempt to surprise Honolulu by way of the harbor, and much discouraged, had adopted a plan of landing their munitions on the beach at Kahala, about two miles beyond Diamond Head, and making their attack from there. The faithful were summoned, and on Saturday and Sunday, with

more caution than before, they gathered at the beach of Kaalawai, just beyond Diamond Head. Sunday hikers from Honolulu, going around Diamond Head for recreation, were held up and detained. Rifles, which had been buried in the sand at Kahala, were dug up and distributed. As evening came on, a force of insurgents moved along the sea shore toward Honolulu. When they reached the foot of Diamond Head, they were discovered by our scouts, who, augmented by a few hastily assembled civilian volunteers, proceeded to meet them. A sharp skirmish occurred at H. F. Bertelmann's residence, in which Charles L. Carter, one of the loyal volunteers, was fatally wounded. Others of our party were wounded, but they succeeded in taking a couple of prisoners and checking the enemy's advance.

*Gathering of
Conspirators
at Kaalawai*

Skirmishing occurred during the next few days, resulting in the scattering and demoralization of the insurgents, who had calculated on seizing supplies after their attack on Honolulu. They had, therefore, neglected to organize an effective commissariat. In three days the affair was over. Some of the insurgents were captured, and others gave themselves up. The failure of this movement discouraged the royalists; and they thereupon accepted the Republic of Hawaii without further protest. Queen Liliuokalani was arrested at her residence at Washington Place, and was confined in rooms in the Government Building, lately the Palace. Incriminating documents were found in her house, also a number of arms and a small quan-

*Insurrection
Thing of Past
in Three Days*

tity of munitions of war. Early on the morning after the skirmish at Diamond Head, martial law was proclaimed and the right of the writ of habeas corpus was suspended throughout the Island of Oahu.

*Trials Held
by Military
Commission*

Immediately after the uprising had been disposed of, a military commission was convened for the trial of the prisoners. At the head of this commission was Judge W. A. Whiting, who resigned from a life position as one of the justices of the supreme court to take this place, receiving a commission as colonel of the First Regiment. The other members of the commission were Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Fisher, First Regiment; Captain C. W. Ziegler, Company F; Captain J. M. Camara, Jr., Company C; Captain J. W. Pratt, adjutant; Captain W. C. Wilder, Jr., Company D; First Lieutenant J. W. Jones, Company D; and Captain W. A. Kinney, aide-de-camp on the general staff, judge advocate. One hundred and seventy-odd prisoners were tried; all but three were convicted of treason or misprision of treason. Fifty-four had their sentences suspended on good behavior.

*Sentences Are
Modified by
the Reviewer*

The sentences of the military commission were generally modified by the reviewing authority, many of the prisoners having their fines remitted. Six of the leaders were sentenced to death, but their sentences were modified to imprisonment and fines. The Queen's sentence for misprision of treason was imprisonment at hard labor for five years and a fine of \$5,000. The "hard labor" element of the sentence was commuted. Three prisoners became

“state’s evidence,” and were released. Three were acquitted. A considerable number who had been arrested was discharged without being arraigned. A smaller number was allowed to leave the country, not to return without the permission of the government. Before the end of 1895, all prisoners whose sentences called for imprisonment were released.

*All Prisoners
Given Freedom
by End of Year*

The failure of this conspiracy to overthrow the Republic ended all idea on the part of the royalists of creating any change in the government by force. There followed a period of quiet, which was much needed by the government in its administration of local affairs. Local legislation was taken up in relation to matters that had been delayed or interrupted by the political unrest of the previous years. Legislation for the encouragement and promotion of enterprises in ocean cable communication with the outside world was taken up. A restricted Chinese immigration system was established for the introduction of unskilled labor for agricultural enterprises and domestic service, and of other persons for temporary residence for business and other proper reason, such immigrants being conditioned not to engage in trading or mechanical occupations other than domestic service or agricultural labor or service in sugar or rice mills while in the republic. A comprehensive act relating to public lands was passed in the special session of the Legislature in August, 1895, known as “Land Act, 1895.” The statute amended and repealed pretty much all of the previous enactments in regard to the public lands, and recognized a natural classification of

*Sugar Labor
Immigration
Is Established*

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

*Five Classes
of Public Lands
Are Recognized*

public lands as agricultural, pastoral, wet lands, forest, and waste. It provided for land patents, common leases, homestead leases, right-of-purchase leases, cash freeholds, and settlement associations, the four latter appellations referring to different methods of homesteading.



THE COMING CAKE WALK
TO THE TUNE OF "I DON'T LIKE NO CHEAP MAN"

—From an unidentified Washington newspaper.

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