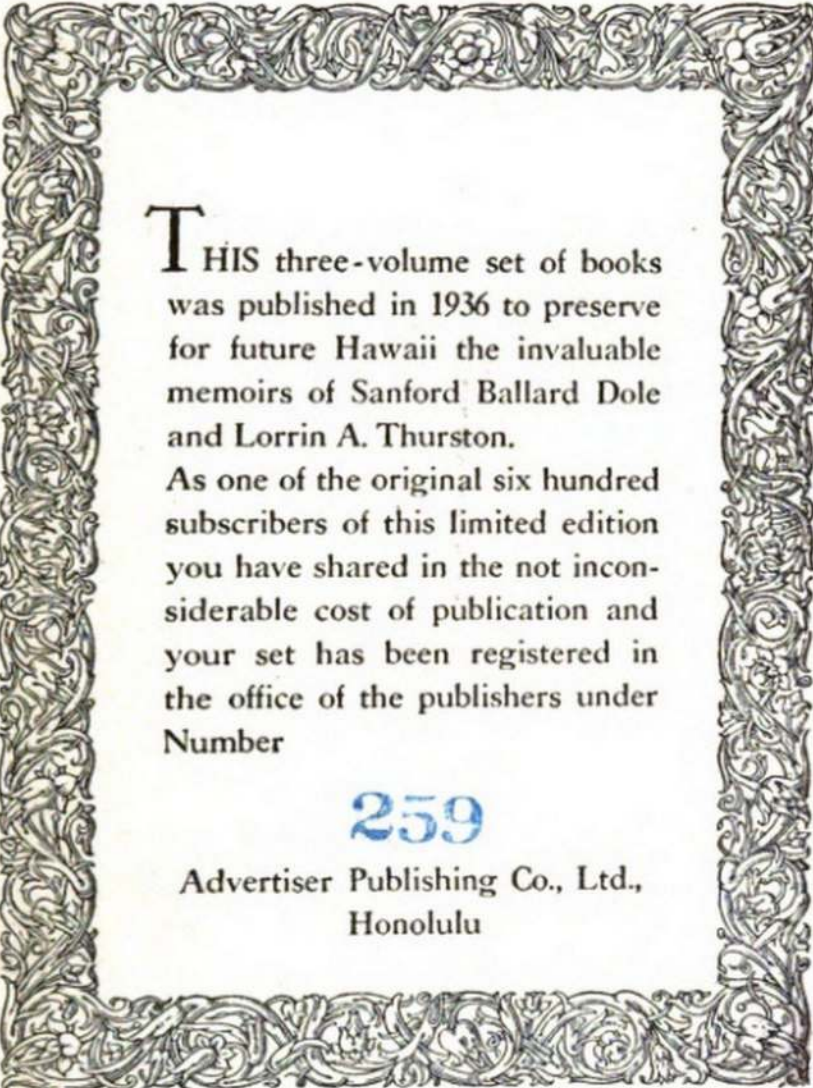




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LORRIN A. THURSTON



*Protagonist of revolution, member of the committee of safety,
annexation commissioner, and minister to Washington*

Lewis A. Thurston

MEMOIRS
of the
HAWAIIAN
REVOLUTION

BY
LORRIN A. THURSTON

Edited by
ANDREW FARRELL

HONOLULU
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1936

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Preface

An interplay of minds resulted in the companion volumes, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, by Lorrin A. Thurston and Sanford B. Dole. They made history, as recounted in their memoirs, but they delayed its telling. Toward the sunset, however, Mr. Thurston marked "persistent attempts to rehabilitate the tarnished memory of the Kalakaua *regime*—of the 'Merry Monarch' Kalakaua, and the 'Good Queen' Liliuokalani," and he said to Judge Dole that a new generation had been born in Hawaii since the overthrow of the Monarchy, that a new generation had come to Hawaii from overseas, both of which were ignorant of the facts, and that the judge owed a debt to himself and his associates in revolution: to record his recollections. Mr. Thurston offered to superintend publication of whatever the judge wrote, and he suggested that there be a biographical sketch of the judge. Judge Dole approved, provided that Mr. Thurston would write it. Then Mr. Thurston advanced a "background," explaining why Judge Dole, "preeminently a man of peace," became a leader of armed revolutionists; again the judge consented, if Mr. Thurston would write that also.

When Judge Dole gave Mr. Thurston his article on Kalakaua's election, Mr. Thurston recalled that he himself, as a boy, had witnessed the riot, and had seen Judge Dole and Judge C. C. Harris holding a doorway against a mob. "If you saw that," Judge Dole asked, "why not so state?" Mr. Thurston replied that he was proposing the reminiscences of Sanford B. Dole, not those of Lorrin A. Thurston; but the judge observed that they were seeking to inform the public. Thus the genesis.

Early in his discussions with Judge Dole, Mr. Thurston contemplated writing "the unsavory political history of the Kalakaua *regime*," albeit he did not relish the task; he consulted one of his best friends, who had been active in the overthrow of the Monarchy; and that friend opposed the design. "The royalists of Hawaii have accepted annexation," he urged. "They are all now loyal Americans, and we are getting along well with them. . . . Let the dead past bury its dead." Judge Dole felt that the friend was wrong; and the judge commended Mr. Thurston's

PREFACE

suggestion of seeking the advice of some Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians. Mr. Thurston interviewed several men, among whom were: John H. Wilson, then the Democratic mayor of Honolulu; William C. Achi, a Republican leader; the Reverend Akaiko Akana, pastor of Kawaiahao Church, Honolulu; Frank K. Archer, a member of the Legislature from Molokai; Judge Samuel Hookano, a prominent Republican of Ewa, Oahu; Charles K. Notley, formerly Home Rule candidate for delegate to Congress; the Reverend Stephen L. Desha, pastor of Haili Church, Hilo, and long a territorial senator. Their consensus seemed to be: "I have been much interested in what you have said, Mr. Thurston, and I think that the Hawaiian people are entitled to know what you have to say. I think that, by all means, you should speak the truth, let the consequences be what they may." With that encouragement, Mr. Thurston wrote.

In an introduction to his memoirs, prepared for *The Advertiser*, he held that his work, relating to long-past events, now had only a historical interest; his objects, he continued, were to record the truth and to do justice to men who laid aside their regular duties to handle unfamiliar questions and to meet new situations, and afterward, when their tasks were completed, handed over the government to their successors with the friendship and good will, so far as he was aware, of those to whom they had been politically opposed, for "the annexationists were the steadfast friends of the Hawaiians and the opponents of those who would have treated Hawaii simply as a source of financial profit."

Meanwhile, about 1916, Judge Dole had written a series of articles for *The Advertiser*, of which Mr. Thurston was president. Publication was postponed, however, apparently because of the supplementary series that Mr. Thurston had in mind. He did intend that the Dole papers should appear serially in *The Advertiser* at some time in 1926—I cannot determine whether before or after the judge's death on June 9 of that year; and the Dole work would have been accompanied by Thurston statements on Kamehameha V and Lunalilo, on Kalakaua, and on the Kalakaua *regime*, besides an introduction and a biographical sketch of the judge. Again, however, publication was delayed: obviously the idea of a comprehensive history was growing on Mr. Thurston, his own part increasing with the years. How his purpose waxed may be seen at a glance in the relative lengths of the Dole and Thurston memoirs.

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At least three of his chapters were written in or before 1926, as indicated; in 1928, despite a sharp failure in health and in eyesight, which left him well-nigh blind, Mr. Thurston set himself to write his memoirs *in extenso*; surmounting great difficulties, he completed his great and self-imposed toil in 1930, about a year before his death on May 11, 1931. He still intended that the joint manuscript should be published serially in *The Advertiser*, to be followed by publication as books; but the two memoirs were so long that newspaper serializing was scarcely feasible, in view of the many installments necessary; consequently the work remained in manuscript at Mr. Thurston's death, and the depression prevented book publication for another five years. There is the explanation of the delay, from Judge Dole's first writing, about 1916, to 1936.

Inasmuch as both Judge Dole and Mr. Thurston wrote primarily for a newspaper, their memoirs were not altogether suited to book form. Particularly was the joint manuscript far too long for a single volume, so that it had to be broken up. My work with the Thurston manuscript has consisted in careful editing, in compression, in verification of quoted matter, comma by comma, and of dates, names, and so on. All quotations have been checked, save only "The Prehistoric Man of Hawaii," the "essay" by Kalakaua on pages 29 and 30, the original of which could not be found in the Archives of Hawaii. Generally all originals have been followed faithfully, especially letters, punctuation and spelling included. Some words in longhand documents were puzzling, so that another person might adopt readings different from mine. Printed matter also has been followed literally, although a few palpable typographical errors have been corrected, where correction was desirable for sense; and some punctuation has been supplied, where the omissions were plainly typographical errors and the points were needed for clarity. Otherwise, the quotations are as faithful as the type and style of these volumes permitted. Appreciated assistance has been given the editor by many persons, and by the Archives of Hawaii, the Library of Hawaii, the libraries of the University of Hawaii, the Bishop Museum, the Hawaiian Historical Society, and the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

No substantial deletion whatever has been made; the only considerable deletions are seeming only. Unable to read much that he had dictated, Mr. Thurston repeated himself, chiefly in statements that he deemed essential. Three passages on Kalakaua,

PREFACE

similar, virtually identical, have been combined. Mr. Thurston's letter to Secretary Gresham, dated June 17, 1893, appeared twice in the manuscript; it has been dropped from the passage on page 301, but is given in full on pages 548 and 549. With such exceptions, Mr. Thurston's statements of fact and opinion stand. Here and there, however, the order of chapters has been changed, to make it more chronological; and occasionally portions have been moved from one chapter to another for topical reasons. Nor have I hesitated to correct errors in what I may call facts of record, such as dates and names and other data, which inevitably occurred, both because of Mr. Thurston's inability to revise and his inability personally to consult sources. All corrections of that nature have been minor; they do not affect the broad sweep. A liberal use has been made of notes, bracketed and signed "*Editor*," which serve to explain and to amplify, and to correct errors that I did not feel at liberty to correct in quotations: for example, the identification of "Sir Edward" Arnold as Sir Edwin, on page 393. All interpolations in quoted matter, whether by Mr. Thurston or myself, are set off by both brackets and quotation marks.

Some references in the index may seem far-fetched or even obscure, but it is better to give too much rather than too little. Principally in quotations, an individual's title often makes shift for his name: "the American minister," let us say, instead of Albert S. Willis. When the identity of such a person could be determined, a reference under his name appears in the index. And so in many similar cases: a certain American warship is the *Philadelphia*; "American bayonets" are United States sailors and marines.

Most of the photographs are from the Archives of Hawaii; some have been furnished by relatives or friends of the subjects. Usually the reproductions of signatures under the portraits are facsimiles, of the same size as the originals; a few had to be reduced to bring them within arbitrary limits. While the autographs commonly are of the same periods as the photographs, a few autographs may antedate the accompanying photographs considerably. In general, the portraits show the persons as they were about the time of the events in which they were prominent. Aside from the signatures under the portraits, the line engravings have been reduced much, with one marked exception: the names of the first and last members of the Hawaiian League have been enlarged.

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Various explanations. Excerpts have been made from both the "cabinet council minutes" and the "cabinet minutes." They are different, although related. The cabinet council minutes record the meetings of the cabinet with the King; the cabinet minutes record the meetings of the Green-Thurston ministers only. Sir Edwin Arnold's "elaborate letter" in the *London Telegraph* of January 24, 1893, to which Mr. Stevens refers on page 393, advocated the annexation of Hawaii by Japan. Allowance should be made for the time in which Mr. Thurston wrote, roughly from 1926 to 1930, since many statements, correct then, are correct no longer: the production of the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. is now 80,000 tons of sugar instead of 60,000.

Mr. Thurston believed that Kalakaua's "endeavors to ingratiate himself with the Hawaiian people, after their almost unanimous disapproval of his election, probably had much to do with his subsequent attitude, which grew into a catering to the 'anti-haole' (anti-white) spirit, theretofore absent from Hawaii." So grave was that policy, so fateful, which Liliuokalani carried to an extreme in her attempted constitution of 1893, that the Dole memoirs should be cited, the Kalakaua manifesto, page 20, where one reads that Kalakaua promised "to put native Hawaiians into Government offices," and that he urged the people to "beware of the Constitution of 1852 and the false teachings of the foreigners. . . ." Certainly those are traces—proofs, indeed—of an anti-Caucasian spirit before he ascended the throne. Let the reader also consider the egregious and inflammatory paper "The Third Warning Voice," written by Kalakaua and addressed to the military committee of the legislature of 1890. "Warning voice" casts an ominous light backward upon page 21 of the Dole memoirs, the Kalakaua manifesto again, where the same phrase occurs. When a man uses identical language, he is likely to be thinking similar thoughts.

Why was His Majesty's Hale Naua known as the "Ball of Twine Society"? Both Mr. Thurston and William D. Alexander, who use that title, deal gently with the Hale Naua, as compared with other writers, notably Lieutenant Lucien Young, in *The Boston at Hawaii*. Well, the Hale Naua was the "Ball of Twine Society" because Kalakaua, holding the free end of a ball of twine or yarn, would toss the ball into a bevy of women; the woman who caught it was his companion for the night.

These memoirs should destroy the delusion that the revolution was a ferment of sugar. True enough, some sugar planters

PREFACE

were active in the Reform Party: Colonel Z. S. Spalding, Joseph B. Atherton, Henry P. Baldwin, George N. Wilcox, to mention only four, attended a meeting of the reform committee on April 16, 1883. But Mr. Thurston records the conservatism of Mr. Baldwin and Paul Isenberg at the mass meeting of 1887—of greater consequence, the opposition of Claus Spreckels to annexation. Briefly put, the overthrow was compassed by attorneys, men who knew their rights, the rights of the people, under Anglo-Saxon law, and were determined to maintain those rights against the throne. Consider the leaders of revolution, in 1887, or in 1893, or in both years. Sanford B. Dole, Lorrin A. Thurston, William A. Kinney, William O. Smith, William R. Castle, Clarence W. Ashford, Alfred S. Hartwell, Henry E. Cooper—attorneys all; and more names might be added. Not that other pursuits failed of representation. By no means. But the inspiration and the power —

ANDREW FARRELL.

Honolulu, 1936.

Dedication

¶ This book is dedicated to the brave and faithful men who, without expectation of reward, undertook and accomplished a tedious and dangerous task: the rescue of a community from arbitrary and unjust government and oppression, establishing, instead, permanent peace and security under the protection of a great and liberal nation, while Hawaii has retained its self-governing individuality. ¶ I have sought to gather together, in homogeneous and consecutive order, an account of all the material events leading to the above-stated results. The events chronicled are of so long ago that their relation to personalities has faded. The actuality of events, historically considered, has been the main object. I personally know of no event, not herein recorded, which will tend to throw light upon the abrogation of the Hawaiian Monarchy and annexation to the United States.

Loring A. Thurston

An Appreciation

I desire to acknowledge the material assistance given me in the formulation and construction of this book by the following persons: Albert P. Taylor, librarian of the Hawaiian Archives, who at all times has placed at my disposal his wide acquaintance with Hawaiian historical matters, and has been ever ready to assist in searching for data. Ralph S. Kuykendall, executive secretary and historical compiler under the historical commission of the Territory of Hawaii, whose research and intimate acquaintance with the political events of Hawaiian history, and knowledge of the confidential correspondence of the State Department and other departments at Washington, D. C., have been invaluable to me, and have been ungrudgingly placed at my disposal. Dr. Isabelle Morelock, of Honolulu, who has laboriously reviewed the manuscript and given thereto the benefit of a keen literary judgment as to grammatical construction, arrangement, and coordination of the events narrated. Evelyn Scott Thurston, my daughter-in-law, who worked untiringly and devoted months to tedious research work for material used herein, its arrangement, and its transcription. That was especially difficult, as my eyesight has so failed that practically the entire portion of this book contributed by me has been dictated without my being able personally to read or revise it or the quotations included.

LORRIN A. THURSTON.

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The Hawaiian Revolution

CHAPTER I

ON THE ELECTION OF KING LUNALILO

The death of King Kamehameha V, in December, 1872, marked the close of the Kamehameha era in Hawaiian history. An intermediate period, between the Kamehameha and Kalakaua *regimes*, was the reign of King Lunalilo, extending from his election on January 8, 1873, to his death on February 3, 1874. William C. Lunalilo was of the highest chiefly lineage. Although not a lineal descendant of the first Kamehameha, he was related to the Kamehamehas through his descent from the brother of the grandfather of Kamehameha I. In spite of that connection with the Kamehameha family, Lunalilo was not at all favored by Kamehameha V, nor was Lunalilo tinctured with high respect for his royal relative. Lunalilo, indeed, was somewhat hilarious and irresponsible, addicted to serious overindulgence in strong liquors; he also was a student of Shakespeare, and given, especially after he had taken a drink, to delivering quotations from that writer.

*Lunalilo Is
an Interlude
Between Eras*

When a circus from California was showing in Honolulu, so the tale runs, the performance was delayed by the late arrival of Kamehameha. Wearied by the delay, Lunalilo rose and requested, of the

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

master of ceremonies, that the performance begin. In reply, he was told that the circus people had received notice that the King would attend, and that the performance must await his arrival. There-

Palace
June 27 1893.

Mr W. L. Paike

Dear Sir, I have to
thank you for your very efficient
services in the location and decoration
of the Ball room at the Palace during
the last few days. I send you with
this a dozen of ale to take the
cobwebs from your throat.

Lunalilo.

—Archives of Hawaii.

upon the irrepressible Lunalilo asked permission to relieve the monotony by reciting from Shakespeare. Assent being given, he quoted some passages, to the great amusement of the audience. Next he suggested that the circus band play; one number might be "God Save the King." Informed that the band could not play the air until the King arrived, Lunalilo retorted: "Well, if they won't play 'God Save the King,' then let them play 'God Damn the

*Alternative
Air for "God
Save the King"*

King!' ” Soon the King's arrival relieved the situation; but the incident, being related to His Majesty, did not tend to assuage his relations with Lunalilo. After his election to the throne, Lunalilo proved his strength of character by cutting short his consumption of liquor; in the last year of his life, it is stated, he did not drink a drop.

*Lunalilo Takes
No More Liquor
in Last Year*

When the death of Kamehameha V left the succession to be filled by the Legislature, both Lunalilo and David Kalakaua were candidates for the throne, and each issued manifestoes setting forth his claims. The supporters of Lunalilo decided to forestall the meeting of the Legislature by calling a popular election to express the people's sentiment. Their argument was that, although the vote would be unofficial, it would give the members of the Legislature an idea of the popular preference. A call therefore was issued for an election, to take place on the 1st of January, 1873; and the election was held on that day, resulting in an almost unanimous vote for Lunalilo. As I recollect, thirty-five votes were cast for Kalakaua, all the rest of the ballots, throughout the kingdom, being for Lunalilo.

*Astonishing
Popularity
of the Prince*

I have strong personal memories of the election. Then a student at Punahou School, I went to the polls early in the day. The polling place was the auction room of E. P. Adams, on the *makai* side of Queen Street, where the present entrance to Pier 11 is situated. Although I was only fourteen years old then, I well remember entering and asking Mr. Adams what was being done. He told me that ballots for Lunalilo were being distributed,

*Thurston Boy
Passes Ballots
to the Voters*

and that all a voter need to do was to walk through the auction room, give his name, and deposit his ballot for the chief whom he wanted to be king. I asked for some ballots, and received several handfuls, which I distributed to voters of the southeastern part of the city. When I went along Queen Street and reached the premises back of the Stangenwald Building, where the *Star-Bulletin* printing office is now situated, I saw a number of natives seated on a veranda and on the ground outside. Entering, I called out in Hawaiian: "Aren't you people going to vote today?" "Vote for whom?" a native wished to know. "Lunalilo." One asked: "Have you any Lunalilo ballots?" I held out my hands, full of tickets. A dozen natives sprang to their feet, gathered about me, and exclaimed: "*Mai! Mai!* Give! Give!" I dealt a ballot to each man, saw the crowd depart for the polls, and went on down the street, making further distribution. That election and my part in it have no particular bearing on my story or on Hawaiian history. I mention the incident as one tending to show the intense feeling of the Hawaiian people in favor of the anti-Kalakaua family, and because it was my first participation in Hawaiian politics.

*Segregation of
Lepers and
Mutiny Marked*

Lunalilo was given a unanimous vote to the throne by the Legislature; it held no session in his reign, which was too brief for much to happen. The two principal developments were: the beginning of a real enforcement of the laws for the segregation of lepers on Molokai; the so-called "bar-racks mutiny." The law providing for segregation

had been passed in the reign of Kamehameha V, but little had been done to make the legislation effective. In the early part of the Lunalilo reign, E. O. Hall, minister of the interior and executive officer of the board of health, began the effective segregation of lepers in the Leper Settlement at Kalau-papa, Molokai. In those days, there were few facilities on Molokai for the care of the lepers; consequently segregation entailed considerable hardship. That state of things aroused serious objections by the Hawaiian people to segregation; and the enforcement of the law soon caused much hostility. Nor was there then a known remedy for the cure of leprosy, so that, regardless of the treatment accorded the lepers at the settlement, pronouncing a person a leper was practically a life sentence. Once a patient was segregated and sent to the settlement, there was no return.

An instance of forcible resistance to segregation was that of Koolau, a leper living in Kalalau Valley, on Kauai. When he was diagnosed a leper and ordered to give himself up, so that he might be sent to Molokai, he refused; and a warrant for his arrest was issued and placed in the hands of the deputy sheriff for service. Upon an attempt of the deputy to serve the warrant, he was shot and killed by Koolau. The government thereupon sent a company of soldiers, armed with fieldpieces, to arrest the leper. He retreated into the fastnesses of the mountains; when the soldiers attempted to follow him there, he shot and killed several. Eventually the troops were withdrawn from Kalalau; Koolau

*Leprous Koolau
Fights Troops;
Keeps Freedom*

never was arrested, and he died in the mountains. A most notable change in sentiment regarding segregation is found among the Hawaiians of today. Through the use of chaulmoogra oil, if employed in the early stages of the disease, a cure has been found possible. In the beginnings of segregation, lepers were hid by relatives, and frequently violent resistance to segregation ensued; now the custom of the people is to take suspects to the station in Honolulu at an early date, so that they may receive medical attention. In a great number of cases, early treatment apparently has resulted in permanent cures. (See Appendix A.)

*Young Thurston
Curious to See
Guard Mutiny*

Another event in the reign of Lunalilo was the so-called "barracks mutiny." The Royal Guards, who were housed in the Guard Barracks, situated across the street back of the Palace grounds, had a grievance—just what it was I now forget; and they refused to obey orders. As a small boy at Punahou, I heard of the trouble and went to the armory of the Honolulu Rifles, situated at the foot of Nuuanu Street, upstairs over C. Brewer & Co., Ltd., where the Rifles had been called out. I remember that Charles T. Gulick was commander of the Rifles, and that, in response to his order for the members to assemble, only a few complied—less than twenty. Mr. Gulick, whom I knew well, was at the armory, and told me that he wanted to fill up the ranks with volunteers. Accordingly I went up the street to the office of Gideon West, carriage builder, where my brother Robert Thurston was working, and told him of Captain Gulick's statement. Robert im-

mediately put on his coat and went to the armory, volunteered his service, and was mustered in and given a rifle.

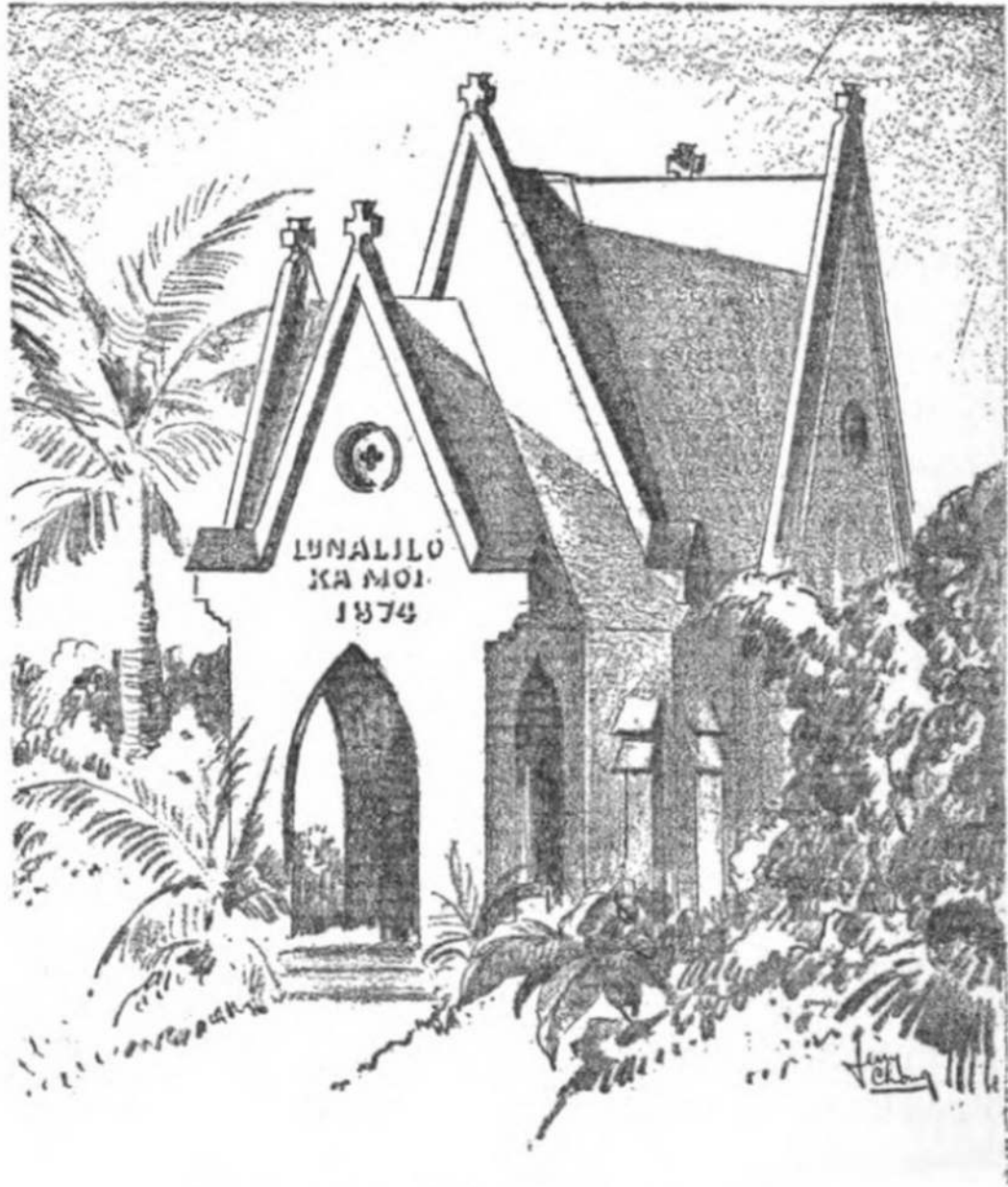
Curious as to what would be done, I went to the barracks, and found the native Guards there in a most belligerent mood. They said that, if the *haole* (white) soldiers, the Rifles, attempted coercion, the Guards would fight to the death. Just as I arrived at the barracks, I saw Attorney-General A. F. Judd hustled from the front entrance by some of the soldiers. With other curious boys, I climbed into a kukui tree near the Ewa side of the barracks, from which I could look into the interior of the building and talk to the soldiers. They freely expressed themselves as to what they would do. In a few minutes, the Rifles came marching up the street—only twenty-three of them, as I recollect. They were first drawn up outside the stone wall, which ran along the street in front of the barracks. Mr. J. O. Dominis, husband of Princess Liliuokalani, afterward Queen of Hawaii, was governor of the Island of Oahu, and was also in command of the troops, both in and out of the barracks.

For what reason I never heard, he directed the Rifles to come from behind the stone wall, where they had been posted, and to draw up directly in front of the barracks, with the stone wall at their backs. That maneuver was severely criticised by onlookers as unnecessarily exposing the Rifles to danger. One man said that Dominis was a "damned fool to so expose his men," but the speaker supposed that Dominis was so thin that he

*Soldiers Help
Judge Judd
in Departing*

*Dominis Draws
Up the Rifles
Before Wall*

was in no danger: if a bullet chanced to hit him, it would doubtless split and do him no injury. In a day or two, the soldiers in the barracks were dis-



Tomb of Lunalilo the King, Honolulu

banded and ordered home. They obeyed the order, the so-called mutineers simply disappeared, and no legal action was taken against them. The incident, illustrating the weakness of the govern-

ment, speedily went into the limbo of forgotten affairs. Lunalilo died shortly afterward.

A rare old feather cloak, made of minute tufts of yellow feathers found on wild forest birds, was owned by Lunalilo's family. When the body was being placed in the coffin, his father, Kanaina, said: "Here! He is the last of his line. Wrap him in this." The body was wrapped in the cloak of feathers, and was so buried. It was placed temporarily in the Royal Mausoleum in Nuuanu Valley, but Kanaina got permission from the Kawaiaha'o Church authorities to build a small tomb in the churchyard, and to that place, within the year, he had the body removed. He applied to Kalakaua, who meanwhile had been elected king, to have a royal salute fired from the government battery on the crest of Punchbowl while the dead was being transferred from the mausoleum to the new tomb. On the ground that Lunalilo was king no longer, and consequently was not entitled to a salute, Kalakaua refused.

*Feather Cloak
Used to Wrap
Body of King*

According to an accepted tradition of early Hawaii, the funeral of a high chief was accompanied by rain. Sereno E. Bishop, an old-time resident and philosopher of Honolulu, once wrote an article on the subject, advancing the theory that royal funerals were so vital in the life of old Hawaii that the emotion of many persons caused electrical conditions, and rain was produced. Whatever the logic of the tradition or of Mr. Bishop's theory, I can bear witness to what happened at the transfer of Lunalilo's body from Nuuanu Valley to the

tomb at Kawaiahao. Some Punahou students, including myself, were at the front gate of the churchyard, within a few feet of the waiting tomb. About the time the funeral *cortege* left the Royal Mausoleum, rain began; when the *cortege* reached the church, the downfall was heavy. While the procession wended its way, thunder and lightning opened, reaching their climax as the procession entered the churchyard. Then a most terrific flash of lightning and crash of thunder broke directly overhead. A tremendous impression was made on the people of Honolulu, who were not especially well disposed toward the Kalakaua family. Many exclaimed: "King Kalakaua would not permit a royal salute for Lunalilo. But God Almighty knew what was appropriate, and He caused one to be fired."

*Almighty Gives
Salute After
King Declines*

CHAPTER II

WHY AND HOW KALAKAUA BECAME KING

King Lunalilo died on February 3, 1874. He had named no successor; and again the election of a king was thrown into the Legislature. Considerable feeling existed between the British and American residents of Hawaii, as to the future of the islands and the dominance of one nationality or the other in political control. Queen Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV, a woman of unblemished reputation, was strongly pro-English. She and her husband had visited England; they had promoted a branch of the Church of England in Hawaii, both had become communicants, and Kamehameha IV personally had translated the Episcopal prayer book into Hawaiian. It was known that Queen Emma would be a candidate for the throne, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lunalilo.

*Americans and
British Rivals
for Dominance*

The Americans were sore put to find an opposing candidate. A lack of popular support of Kalakaua had been shown about a year before, when he had received only a few votes, as against Lunalilo, in the popular election throughout the kingdom; lacking anyone else, however, the Americans accepted Kalakaua as Hobson's choice. They dispatched the inter-island steamer *Kilauea* posthaste to assemble the representatives, while a hastily-formed organi-

*Yankees Accept
Kalakaua as
Hobson's Choice*

To Her Majesty: Emma,

Queen of the Kingdom of Hawaii,

to to to

Madam,

The Government of the United States has just learned with unfeigned satisfaction of Your Majesty's intended visit to the United States on your way from Europe to the Hawaiian Islands, and of your expected arrival at New York tomorrow, the 7th instant

Desirous of conveying to you at the earliest practicable moment after your arrival upon our shores, the profound sentiments of respect which are entertained for you by the Government of the United States, I despatch Mr R. S. Chilton, one of the principal officers of this Department

Department, to make those sentiments known to you, and at the same time to learn if possible when you may be expected to visit this Capital.

I have the honor to remain, with the highest consideration and respect,
Your most obedient servant,
William H. Seward.

Department of State,
Washington, August 6, 1866

A letter from Secretary of State William H. Seward to Queen Emma, Archives of Hawaii

zation prepared to support Kalakaua. The outcome was his election on February 12, 1874. Thus, and thus only, did the Kamehameha family lose control of the government; thus the Kalakaua family became the reigning power in Hawaii. In the slang of the time, "Kalakaua was elected king on

the Democratic ticket." A story indicates his qualifications. No successor having been named, Kamehameha V, on his deathbed, was urged to appoint one. He is said to have authorized the tender of the throne to Bernice Pauahi Bishop, wife of Charles R. Bishop, who is said to have declined it. Then the King observed: "There is no one else to appoint." Lunalilo was suggested, whereupon Kamehameha replied: "No! I will not appoint him. He is a drunkard." Kalakaua was advanced as an heir, but Kamehameha's retort was: "No! He is a damned fool, and I will not appoint him." Thereupon Kamehameha, so the tale runs, turned his face to the wall and died.

*Drunkard and
Fool Spurned
by Kamehameha*

A. S. Cleghorn, a Scotchman and a brother-in-law of Kalakaua through marriage to his sister Likelike, was enlisted in the scheme to elect Kalakaua. Mr. Cleghorn owned a dry goods and clothing store at Kaahumanu and Queen Streets, Honolulu. Immediately upon the arrival of the representatives, they were taken to Cleghorn's store and there outfitted with new suits of clothing, besides hats and shoes. I am not in a situation to record just what else was done to give the legislative gentlemen the correct point of view on the coming election, but I note a side light. One John S. Smithies, an Englishman, was chief clerk of the Cleghorn business, and afterward was manager of the S. G. Wilder general store at Mahukona, Island of Hawaii. Once, when we were chatting there, he informed me that he had elected Kalakaua king. Naturally I was curious.

*Good Viewpoint
Now Is Given
to Legislators*

“Well,” Smithies explained, “it was this way. You know that I was clerk in Cleghorn’s store at the time of Kalakaua’s election. We were outfitting each member of the Legislature with a new suit of clothes. Simon Kaai, one of the members, came in and said: ‘I hear that members of the Legislature are getting new suits of clothes here. Is that so?’ I replied that it was. ‘Well,’ said Kaai, ‘don’t I get a suit of clothes too?’ I didn’t know about that, but I knew that he was a member of the house of nobles, so I said: ‘Sure, you do!’ I knew that he was a Queen Emma man, but I thought it was all right to take a chance. While he was being fitted, Kaai took off his coat and laid it on the counter. I noticed a considerable package of folded documents in his inside pocket. I didn’t know what they were, but I knew that he was on his way to the legislative hall, where the election of a king was to come off that day. Accordingly I slipped the bundle from his pocket and shoved it under a pile of clothes, on the counter. When Kaai had gone, I looked at the papers, and found that they were copies of a pronouncement by Queen Emma, directed to each member of the Legislature by name, setting forth her claims to the throne and asking support. Afterward I learned that she had appointed Kaai her spokesman before the Legislature. When he reached the legislative hall, he couldn’t find the messages from the Queen, so the members never received them; and he was so confused by the loss of the papers that he could give only a halting speech indorsing Queen Emma; and

*Dry Goods Man
Defeats Plans
of Queen Emma*

the election of Kalakaua went through before he could recover himself. And so, from this statement of facts, I think I am entitled to credit for having elected Kalakaua!"

*Punahou Boys
Are Anxious
to See Events*

Although a schoolboy in Punahou at the time, only fifteen years old, I was sufficiently interested in politics to get away from school, in company with other boys, and go to the election. It was held in the courthouse, a two-story building on Queen Street, just east of Fort Street, now used as a warehouse by the American Factors, Ltd.; the site now occupied by the main building of the American Factors was then an open yard, extending along Queen Street to Fort Street. When we boys arrived, the Legislature was in session upstairs; a throng, mostly Hawaiians, were in the yard, and were being harangued by orators. Almost unanimously, the people appeared to favor Queen Emma. The election was held in the room of the supreme court, at the east end of the building. At the west end, on the ground floor, big double doors opened directly on an inside stairway. On the outside, *makai*, another stairway led to other double doors that opened on the legislative hall.

*Giant Beehive
Soon Roars at
Election News*

As I mixed in the crowd opposite the doors to the inside stairway, a man rushed down and into the throng, shouting at the top of his voice: "Kalakaua is king!" The people in the yard received this news with an angry shout, which speedily became a roar of execration, as though a stick had been twisted in a giant beehive. Immediately a committee of three members of the Legislature, ap-



The last king of Hawaii, whose excesses prepared the way for the overthrow, had personal charm and a kingly demeanor

Kalakaue Key.

pointed to announce the election to Kalakaua, came downstairs and to a carriage, which had been drawn up for their use. They wore long-tailed coats and plug hats. Irresolutely the crowd watched the committeemen start to enter the carriage. With a snarl, the people fell upon the vehicle and the span of horses. Almost before one could think, the hats of the committeemen were knocked off, their coats were torn from their backs, the carriage was wrecked, the harness was detached from the carriage; after a bang on their quarters, the horses tore up the street. Thereupon the crowd, roaring, rushed upon the double doors at the foot of the inner stairs.

*Long-tailed
Coats, Plug
Hats Damaged*

In the doorway, facing the mob, stood Sanford B. Dole and C. C. Harris, each with a hand on the shoulder of the other, warning the crowd back. There they stood, two men only; by sheer moral courage, they held the rioters for twenty minutes or so. But other rioters got a whaling spade, climbed the outside *makai* stair, and dug a hole through the panel of the locked door at the top. Thus they gained access to the legislative hall. That place was gutted; some members of the Legislature were mobbed, because they had voted for Kalakaua; and pandemonium ensued. A rain of books, papers, chairs, tables, and other furniture poured from the doors and windows of the courthouse, upstairs and downstairs. Some members of the Legislature crawled from the windows and hung on the outside of the building by their hands. The mob stamped

on their fingers, so that they fell into the street below. Some were seriously injured, and one died.

*Boys Decide
Discretion
Is Best Course*

Although the mob paid no attention to us boys, as we mixed with them, we thought we had better get out. So we went around the courthouse to the rear of the building, at the Waikiki end, and climbed upon the roof of a small warehouse that stood some twenty feet from the courthouse. From the roof, we could see what was occurring in Queen Street, in the yard fronting us, and in the courthouse, through the open door of a single-story extension. While we watched through the open door, the crowd discovered a member of the Legislature rolled in a map on the top of some shelves. They pulled him down, and ran him into the yard directly below us. So great was the noise that we could not hear what was being said. Suddenly a rioter rushed at the legislator and struck him in the face with a fist, while blood from the legislative nose spurted in more than one direction. The lawmaker ran *makai* through the yard; and a hundred men pursued. Back he came in two minutes, head up, apparently in control of the situation, with a train of men behind. Calling out to one of the crowd, I asked an explanation of the change in affairs; and I was told that the mob had discovered that the member had voted for Queen Emma. They had attacked him by mistake.

*Innocent Man
Chooses a Poor
City of Refuge*

About this time, when all the members of the Legislature had disappeared, and the house had been sacked, we boys descended from the roof into Queen Street. It was thick with papers, torn books,

wrecked furniture, and debris of many kinds; and the crowd began to loot, gathering up whatever they considered of value. We boys decided that we might as well have our share, and we picked up stuff. I got a lot of legal cap, which provided me with scribbling paper for several months. That was the first time I had seen legal cap with consecutive numbers printed on the left margin. Among other loot, in the street, I found a gold pen, which I appropriated. Afterward I learned that it belonged to the clerk of the court, and I restored it to him. Finally the United States marines landed from warships in the harbor and marched up Fort Street and along Queen Street. The mob retreated; and the tumult was over.

*United States
Forces Landed
to Quell Riot*

Thus Kalakaua began his reign. His endeavors to ingratiate himself with the Hawaiian people, after their almost unanimous disapproval of his election, probably had much to do with his subsequent attitude, which grew into a catering to the "anti-*haole*" (anti-white) spirit, theretofore absent from Hawaii. In connection with that course, Walter Murray Gibson became a political factor and developed into the dominating influence of Hawaiian governmental affairs during the next ten or twelve years.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF KALAKAUA'S CHARACTER

The hostility of the native Hawaiians to Kalakaua, which culminated in the riot at his election to the throne in February, 1874, left him chastened and disinclined to undertake any radical measures against control of the country by the conservatives; he readily followed the conservative lead. In November, 1874, he went to Washington in the interest of a reciprocity treaty between the United States and Hawaii, which Hawaii had long sought in vain. An extraordinary privilege was accorded him, of appearing on the floor of the House of Representatives, where he addressed a joint meeting of the House and Senate. Having contracted a severe cold, he was almost unable to speak aloud, but his address was written and read. President Grant provided a military escort for the King on arrival in Washington, to accompany him to his hotel. A formal dinner was tendered him, at which members of the cabinet and of the foreign legations were present. He made an excellent impression in Washington and throughout the United States, and did well for the treaty. Probably that impression had material effect in securing its adoption by the Senate. More than anything else, the measure has resulted in the material progress of Hawaii.

*Tribute Paid
to Kalakaua's
Treaty Labors*

Probably I can give a clearer insight into Kalakaua-ism, the Kalakaua *regime*, and the sentiment that overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy, by analyzing Kalakaua's character and submitting some illustrations. Kalakaua displayed diverse qualities: a personal charm and a kingly demeanor; an unbalanced mentality and a total inability to grasp important subjects intelligently; a fundamental financial dishonesty; personal extravagance, which merged into the control of community finances, to such an extent that community financial collapse loomed; an immoral disposition, or it might be termed "unmoral"; a bent to indulge in political intrigue, a reckless disregard of political honor, which made impossible the continuance of honest government; personal cowardice.

*Personality
and Character
Are at Odds*

One view of Kalakaua appears in the popular title that royal propagandists are now applying to him: "Merry Monarch." From that viewpoint, the King was a genial, pleasure-loving, generous-minded personality, possessing in a high degree the admirable features of the Polynesian chiefly caste. With the personal charm of Kalakaua, many people came in direct contact—persons who did not see the other phases of his character. Thus he gained a hold on the community feeling, which enabled him to maintain his sway as long as he did; and that hold is the basis of the many favorable opinions recorded of him and his *regime*. Perhaps his charm is best indicated by the words of an educated woman who came to the islands as a governess in Kalakaua's reign. She once told me that Kalakaua, to

*Kingly Charm
Gives Him Hold
on Community*

*Companionable,
Kindly, and
Genial Monarch*

her, was one of the most fascinating men she had ever met. She elucidated: "Whenever I attend a public reception, or meeting of any kind, at which the King is present, I simply tag around after him, feasting my eyes on him and his actions. He is so unaffected, kindly, and genial in his conduct and association with all classes; he has such a manner of kingly dignity about him, and at the same time is so jovially companionable, with that hail-fellow-well-met air, and so appreciative of his listeners, that he appears to me almost an ideal man. I cannot conceive that he is guilty of the many things alleged against him."

*Remarkable
Jekyll-Hyde
Incarnation*

As a matter of fact, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the truth of the good things said of Kalakaua by the present royal propagandists. What they say about his personality and public conduct is practically true. The only explanation of the paradox is that Kalakaua was a remarkable incarnation of the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde of Stevenson. The propaganda concerning the Merry Monarch, now being circulated, is in the nature of a smoke screen. My feeling of duty, to those who defended Hawaii against the debasing influences of Kalakaua's conduct, justifies me, I believe, in partly blowing the screen away.

A further illustration of this Merry Monarch phase of Kalakaua's character lies in what may be called his sporting relations with various persons, especially American naval officers. Throughout his reign, Kalakaua had a liking for their company, and always made them welcome at the Palace, or

more particularly at the King's boathouse. In those days, the waterline of the harbor was just *makai* of Queen Street, with an area of shoal water extending thence nearly to the present naval docks at the foot of Richards Street. At that point, on an underpinning of stones set in shallow water, the King had erected a single-thickness board shack, which housed several rowboats and slips on the ground floor, while overhead a broad social hall stood, and several private rooms, simple, but comfortable. There the King entertained in genial fashion. Liquid refreshments were freely on tap; poker was the favorite relaxation, against which the Navy officers had no deep-seated religious scruples. Their contact with the King during that period was chiefly social; their opinion naturally reflects the light from the genial side of his character. Kalakaua also was lavish in his entertainments: balls at the Palace, a catering to the socially-inclined portion of the community; while hulas, of more than questionable character, which had long been interdicted by the government, were frequently displayed at evening in the Palace grounds.

*Navy Officers
Lack Scruples
Against Poker*

In 1886 the Kalakaua climax was reached, of running amuck with the community and its finances. Kalakaua's control of the Legislature and the cabinet, and through them of the appropriation bill, is reflected in the extraordinary growth of the public appropriations for the King, royal estate and family, and the military, from \$144,350 in 1872, before Kalakaua was elected, to \$462,436.56 in 1886. Here follow the two lists.

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

| | 1872 | 1886 |
|---|--------------|--------------|
| Civil list | \$50,000.00 | \$143,000.00 |
| Support of the military | 75,250.00 | 153,998.34 |
| Governors' salaries and offices | 18,000.00 | 23,200.00 |
| Expenses Royal Mausoleum | 1,100.00 | 6,757.00 |
| Additional expenses in 1886 as follows: | | |
| Princess Poomaikelani (Queen's sister) | | 7,000.00 |
| Bands, flags, salutes | | 40,000.00 |
| Relief of crown commis- sioner | | 9,613.50 |
| Payment certain corona- tion expenses | | 22,867.72 |
| Palace furniture | | 8,500.00 |
| Repair of Palace walls and grounds | | 5,000.00 |
| Palace stables | | 15,000.00 |
| Board of genealogy of Hawaiian chiefs | | 12,500.00 |
| Celebrating King's birth- day | | 15,000.00 |
| Total | \$144,350.00 | \$462,436.56 |

—*Session Laws*, 1872, pp. 33-39; 1886, pp. 67-85.

Detailed military list, 1886:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| 1. Expenses of military | \$21,000.00 |
| 2. King's Guard | 80,244.00 |
| 3. Military engineers | 2,000.00 |
| 4. Aid to voluntary military company— purchase of arms and ammunitions for military forces of the kingdom | 46,254.34 |
| 5. Saluting battery at Kakaako | 4,500.00 |
| | \$153,998.34 |

—*Session Laws*, 1886, pp. 67-85, Archives of Hawaii.

In addition to the regular legislative appropriations, there was derived from the public lands, under the title of "crown land revenues," a sizable sum ranging between \$50,000 and \$100,000 a year, although the exact amount is unknown. All of it was paid directly to the King as a personal perquisite and expended by him without check. Furthermore, while the law prohibited transfers of appropriations to a purpose other than that designated by the Legislature in the appropriation bill, such transfers became the regular practice under Kalakaua. One of the extravagances, said to have been conjured up by Walter Murray Gibson for the delectation of the Kalakaua appetite for glory, was a scheme to consolidate the remaining independent kingdoms of the Pacific islands into a so-called "Empire of the Pacific," with Hawaii as the leading factor and Kalakaua as the chief executive. For that purpose, an expedition to Samoa and Tonga was evolved in 1885 and 1886. Just what were the objects of the mission, what was done, what was the cost—all is a muddle of uncertainty; and the records and accounts, in the Archives of Hawaii, are incomplete, mutilated, and tangled almost beyond the possibility of unraveling. As a whole, the record is one of the most humiliating of the disgraces that blackened the period.

From the shadows of the uncertain records, however, a tangibility appears. In the latter part of 1885, negotiations were begun with certain chiefs in Samoa and Tonga for the annexation of those islands to Hawaii, or for a federation, under which

*Land Revenues
Paid to King
as Perquisite*

*His Majesty
Would Annex
Samoa, Tonga*

Hawaii and its monarch would have been in control. An element of the Samoan and Tongan mission was the purchase of the South Seas trading steamer *Explorer*, which was reconditioned and converted into the Hawaiian warship *Kaimiloa*, and was dispatched to Samoa in 1886. In the stead of a regular naval crew of sailors, who must have been paid, the inmates of the Reformatory School for boys, situated at Honolulu, were transferred to the man-of-war. At the head of the mission was John E. Bush, a half-Hawaiian, whom Kalakaua appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Samoa. The tale of the cruise of the *Kaimiloa* to the Samoan group, of the drunkenness, debauchery, and immorality that characterized the mission and naval contingent, is indicated, but not detailed, in the available record. The outcome was a personal complaint by the King of Samoa to the government of Hawaii; and an official investigation was made by J. S. Webb, of the Hawaiian foreign office. Reporting in a private and confidential communication to the Hawaiian government, Mr. Webb stated that conditions were worse than indicated and that the conduct of the Hawaiian representatives was also characterized by a correspondent from Samoa as being a menace to Samoa, immoral and disgraceful.

God alone knows what was the cost to the Hawaiian treasury. Owing to the practice of transferring appropriations, the total was so concealed that a whole budget commission could not discover the actual expenditures. But the records give some

*Warship Given
Her Crew by
Reform School*

*Whole Budget
Commission
Left in Dark*

figures. On file in the Archives, there is an estimate by the secretary of the Samoan mission, which puts the cost at \$85,250. A Hawaiian minister was appointed, accredited, and dispatched to the native authorities of Samoa and Tonga, with a staff of a secretary and assistants, all on full salaries to be paid by the Hawaiian government. The mission got premises at Apia, Samoa, and erected buildings to serve as a residence and offices. Eventually the fact transpired that no title to the premises was secured—not even a lease; and what became of the asset, when the mission was closed, does not appear. It simply evaporated. The two items that do appear in the record, as appropriated by the Legislature for this venture, come to \$34,000. That does not begin to cover the equipment, provisioning, and operating expenses of the *Kaimiloa*. What they amounted to, and where the money came from, are among the mysteries of the period.

In the cloud of uncertainty, one indication of economy does dawn. At the accession to power of the revolutionary government in July, 1887, the mission was recalled, the outstanding obligations in Samoa were paid, and a veil was drawn over the "Empire of the Pacific." A statement is due Henry F. Poor, secretary to the mission, that the records do not disclose any smirching of his name. He was intrusted, in fact, with closing the mission, the final act being payment to H. J. Moors, an American trader at Apia, of a three-month account, amounting to \$1,914. No doubt this single item of the King's extravagance is insufficient to explain the

*Mission Home;
Pacific Empire
Dream Is Over*

opposition to the Kalakaua *regime*; but when one realizes that all of these items, and the general atmosphere of the Palace and its occupants, were a drain from the financial veins of the taxpayers, far less in numbers and resources than those of today, one well can understand that the financial burden imposed on the community was active in the withdrawal of popular support from the King.

Kalakaua's mental grasp of serious affairs was so deficient as to be practically childish. Evidence of his mental deficiency and unbalance is found in the direction that his mind took, and in the time occupied with inconsequential matters, when the serious state of the kingdom and his personal business demanded his close attention and best thought. For example, during disturbed political conditions, the King was occupied with the organization of the Hale Naua, or "Ball of Twine Society," an organization in which semi-mystical, scientific jargon was mixed with a catering to ancient superstitions and prejudices, on the one hand, and with a pandering to vice and debasing influences, on the other. Less was known of the inwardness of the Hale Naua than of many other royal activities, but the Hale Naua probably gives more indication of the scrambled character of the King's mental processes than any other single source does. One activity of the association was supposed to be deep research into scientific problems. A collection of records in the Archives of Hawaii relates to the Hale Naua. Among the papers are two in the King's handwriting. One is entitled "The Prehistoric Man of

*Ball of Twine
Takes Time of
Merry Monarch*

Hawaii." The other has no title. Both of the articles begin nowhere and end nowhere; they have no rhyme, reason, or sense. They are simply words and more words, having as much meaning, and displaying as much intelligence, as many other indices of the royal mentality. Here follow literal copies of the two documents.

"THE PREHISTORIC MAN OF HAWAII"

"In presenting this subject before such an enlightened body of intellectual men as are numbered among the contributors of your periodical, one seems insignificant to write an article of such high sounding title as such as head the phrasiology of this letter.

*High Sounding
Title Enjoyed
by the Essay*

"Living within a society that takes a little heed of science as a study and my views is apt to run afoul of people possessing self conviction of subjects that have been long considered whether base on true principles or on false is liable to be hooted and laughed at as ridiculous and foolish. Any how, as the reason impel thought and consideration are prompted by the spirit of emotion to learn to give and impart what one is possessed for the general diffusion of knowledge, the idea seems perfectly fitted for the analysis of those who may be interested on the subject.

"These picture before you is a plaster cast of ancient wood and stone idols of Hawaii. That of the Lady is now in the Museum of Bremen, taken by Dr. Arnin from here on his return to Holland in 1886. The other two are collections made by the Society of Temple of Science or 'Hale Naua,' of which this year have been called to the Chair to preside and are now in the Museum of the Hale Naua in the Iolani Palace.

"The exhumation from its hiding place by the native of Waimanu, Island of Hawaii one of the largest of the group of Hawaiian Archepelego may be considered a significant one. This I refer to the form of the plaster cast Lady. Her name as given by the natives as La-i. This name is only an abbreviation of the Historical name

*Exhumation of
the La-i Lady
Is Significant*

*First Woman
in Genealogy
of the Chiefs*

of the first woman in the genealogy of Allii's or Kings of Hawaii as Laila-i when man is supposed to have assumed an amorphous condition and change from that of its lower form to that of human one or pseudo-Human.

"This Lady Monkey or Anthropopithecus subject could not better be illustrated as something genuine and carries out the Art of Sculpture in the highest degree of conception of talent and genius combined. The delineation of the Head exhibits the Crania to be classified under the race belong to that of Brachycephalic type. The jaws that of prognathic character. The eyes indented. The tooth protruding and the cheeks, high. The arms are rather short and may have been a defective rendering of the artist, but this need not be a wide departure from the human structure in its physical form. Other proportions are as perfect as can be relied upon until you come below the knee joint the slenderness of those parts is apparently that of the Monkey type and the narrowness of the Abdomen and pelvis, carries out the nearest characteristic of akin of Monkey to that of man. Though it may—" [The document ends with this unfinished sentence.]

The second document, untitled, is as follows:

"We are all no doubt concerned in a great question, in fact the greatest question of the hour and the moment. Whether there is a God or no God. Whether there is a Deity or no Deity. Whether there is a Creator or no Creator. Whether there is an Almighty or no Almighty.

"We did believe that what is termed God that there was a God. We did believe there was a Deity there was a Deity. We did believe that there was a Creator and we did believe there was an Almighty. The interpretation of the word God is taken from the German or Danish word for Got. and the German or I might the Luthinian Good. The word Deity is a term taken from the Roman word from Dios. The Creator is only a word to imply the Creative agency from which all things emanated. The Almighty is a word that implies the Same meaning. All these interpretations of the Supreme being came to us from Foreign Parts and in contradistinction from our word Akua it does not mean the Same thing. Akua

*Majesty Makes
an Excursion
in Philology*

or the termed by us as God, means to fear. To devour, to consume, to prey upon, to snatch away. It is in certain sense as being use for departed Spirits, Supreme being or almighty. Also used to represent Deities. But the real meaning in the ancient Hawaiian sense. A-Kua means the metamorphosis of beings and animals or the Change of one existence to that of another *A* the participle and *Kua* the Noun literally means the past *the body or being* in the past or *back off* and this is what our ancestors did in worshiping the Ancestral change existence in or evolution in nature from one being to that of another.

“Our ancestors in considering the change as a matter worthy of consideration struck the Key note of true philosophy in nature and realistic order of change of matter as the Miracle of our Lord change that of water into that of wine. When we consider the lapse of time that this metamorphosis have been known to our ancestors long anterior to the light of the present civilization we have cause to ponder with great solicitude at our ancient knowledge and understanding in those things It seems that everything natural we must have studied and ingrafted their meaning and employed its usefulness for the benefit of our existence.”

Two other documents, illustrating this same phase of the King's character, are what purport to be annual reports by Antone Rosa, secretary of the Hale Naua, for 1887 and 1889. I was intimately acquainted with Rosa, a young half-Hawaiian of a preeminently practical turn of mind. One report covers eighteen pages of legal cap, and the other covers twenty-five pages. The bulk of the two is filled with the most preposterous “data” of the earth, its origin, temperatures, and evolution from a gaseous state to an inhabited planet, covering periods up to 4,323,522,992,110 years, at which time the mean temperature of the planet was de-

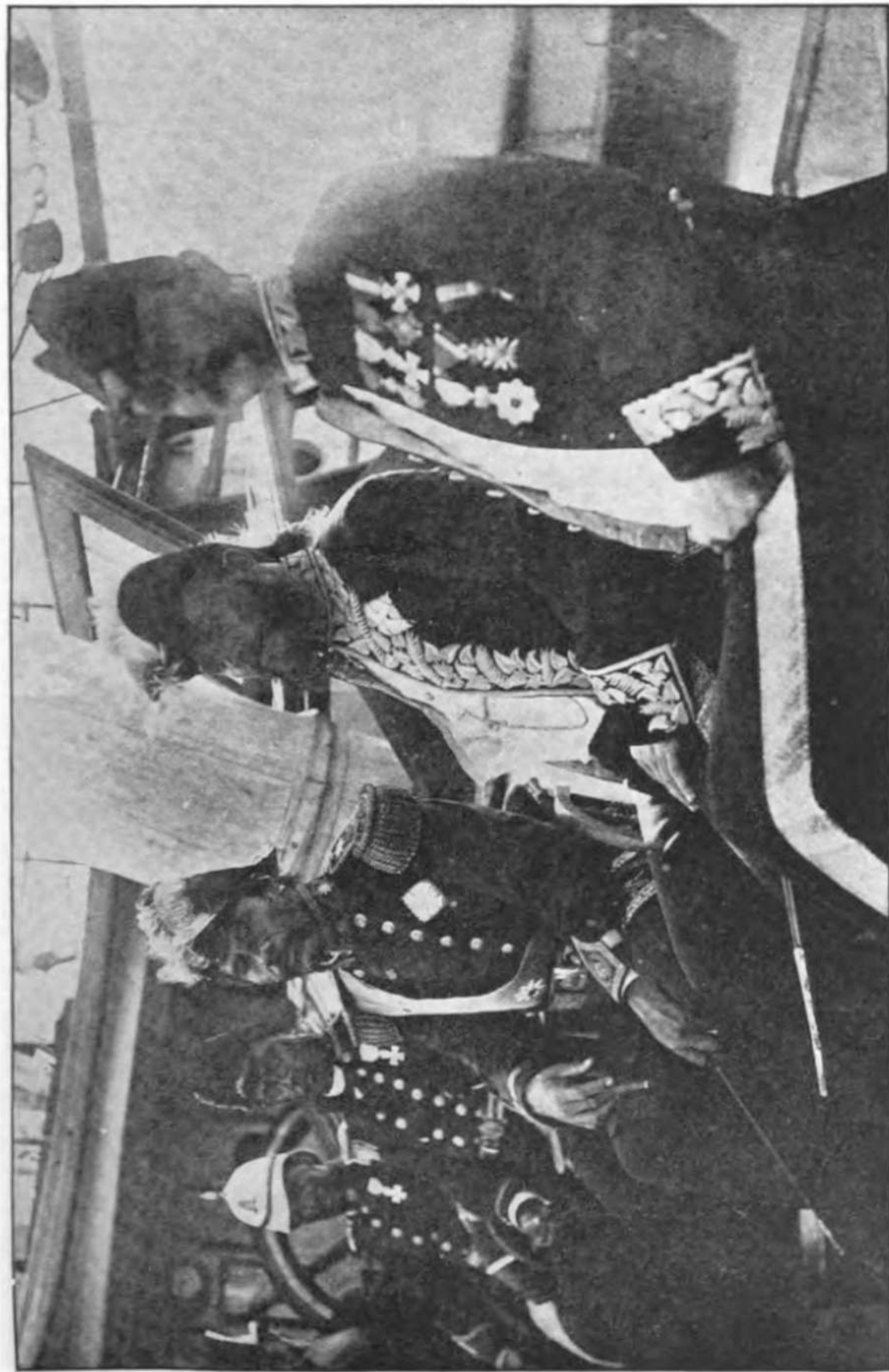
*Annual Reports
of Hale Naua
Made by Rosa?*

clared to have been 94,481,000,000,000,000 degrees. One of the reports states that the King was "presiding officer of the society and of the scientific section." The examples cited fairly represent the reports as a whole. They have no subject, beginning, or end. They are an undigested mass of figures, statements, alleged facts, and the veriest "scientific" drivel, which Mr. Rosa was utterly incapable of thinking or formulating.

*Reports Held
Unquestionably
Work of King*

Everyone who has gone through the reports characterizes them as unquestionably the work of Kalakaua, of no other possible person. One of the reports makes the following comment on the work of the society: "It is exceedingly creditable to the name of the Society, that a beginning has been made in this direction. None of the Scientific Institution of Europe, nor of the United States, nor any of the other enlighten nations of the World have attempted such a work, and it is this that the importance of the Work lies." I am informed by Curtis P. Iaukea, royal chamberlain when the Hale Naua was formed, that a man (his name has slipped my memory) came to Honolulu about that time, whose mind was filled with "data" such as the Rosa reports contain, and that he became very intimate with the King. They spent hours at a time in conversing, for many days in succession. From that source, doubtless, Kalakaua secured his "data."

Illustrative of the King's woolly wits on serious subjects, were his theories of financing the government and of expenditures for the military. Some were enunciated in addresses to the public by Royal



*On the "Kaimiloa." From left: Lieutenant Jerome Feary; Lieutenant Samuel K. Maikai; King Ma-
lietoa of Samoa, in a uniform sent him by Kalakaua; John E. Bush, Hawaiian minister; Henry F. Poor,
legation secretary*

Ticket candidates for the Legislature. One deliverance advocated the floating of a \$10,000,000 loan by the government. The argument was that no difficulty whatever would be met in securing such an amount, since the resources of the kingdom were ample to justify it. This appeared in one address: "It is perfectly well known that scores of thousands of Chinese want to come to Hawaii, and are perfectly willing to pay for the privilege. Now, instead of excluding the Chinese, let us permit one million of them to come in and charge them one hundred dollars apiece. There would be one hundred million dollars right off the bat. What need is there for a country with such a resource as this to worry about finances?"

*Would Charge
Chinese \$100
Admission Fee*

Another example of Kalakaua's financial and military ideas appears in the legislative records of 1890: a communication under the title of "The Third Warning Voice," addressed to the military committee of the Legislature, and purporting to be signed by Colonel Robert H. Baker, a Hawaiian member of the King's staff. There was general knowledge at the time that the "voice" was prepared by Kalakaua himself, and that it represented his views. Moreover, it bears every mark of emanating from him. In addition to vividly illustrating the King's incomprehension of lucid and accurate English and his inability to think straight, the "voice" purports to be a strong indorsement of expenditures for a military establishment in Hawaii. It is too long to print here in full, but I give some extracts, which I commend to students of

Hawaiian history as excellent examples of the King's English, muddled mentality, and scrambled finance. [Both Kalakaua's misspellings and the typographical errors in the following have been reproduced intentionally, in order to give as faithful a copy as possible.—*Editor.*]

"THE THIRD WARNING VOICE."

*"To the Honorable Noble C. J. McCarthy,
Chairman of the Committee upon Military Matters,
and Gentlemen composing the Committee.*

"Gentlemen:

*Writer States
Aims Are Pure
and Patriotic*

"Inspired by an entirely pure and patriotic motive, I have ventured to approach you gentlemen upon a matter of which I consider my duty to touch upon while the Legislature of the Kingdom is now in Session assembled. The subject of Military in this country, has always been put down, as useless and a costly appendage. I would readily accede to this idea, if our late experience have not been shown to the contrary, then I would say and admit, that the force of my remarks has no weight. But what have we observed for the last sixteen years? Riots, bloodshed, lawlessness and murder, and observe the outer world where every civilized and enlighten nations of the world are all arming and are armed, only too ready and at any moment to 'Let loose the Dogs of war.' We may not expect it, but it will inevitably come, in spite of our expectations and hope it will never come.

*Warning Voice
Heard Before;
Hearken Now*

"We have been a warlike race for generations to generations back, and for nearly half a century we have enjoyed the blessings of peace and the imagination of our permanent security, but the evil day come, and caught us with surprise and for the last 14 years, there has been a clash of sentiments caused by divergent interest, that the nation is imperilled at every moment to political strife, and the loss of its atonomy and independence. What have been as a warning voice in the past, will worthily suit a sagacious administration and astute state-

manship with a wise and patriotic Legislature to perform, is to carry out what is deemed and an actual necessity, so that any clandestine movements in the future can be put down with vigour and energy. Thus saving thousands of innocent lives, the unwarrantable destruction of property and the loss of prestige and honor among the family of nations.

“There are always to be found in every well regulated community, men of such stamp as have figured largely in the late event. Unscrupulous, greedy and bigoted, that nothing is mean enough, but to satisfy their lust and ends. Though unsuccessful and down now, will like the hybride ophidian will raise again to take another snap at the bird that innocently roams from branch to branch and from flower to flower, for a brief period only to be swallowed by the hydra never to appear again. This is the condition of the country now, and now is the time to take seriously into heart and consideration to ward off in time an inevitable doom were we to remain in passive ease and in silent assurances that no such danger may be expected. The exhibition of a weak and timid policy is the ruination of the nation, and nothing can exonerate the character of men and Legislature to allow the country to drift to this end, but a stamp upon their brows as partizans to undermine and ruin the country.

“Surely there is enough means to carry out the organization of a respectable and effective force for any emergency, were the authorities alive to this matter. If the Government and the Legislature flinches from the labor of financiering for the Military, then let the Military authorities work their own destinies. The question may be pertently asked whether the full resources of the country have been properly developed? Have the cultivation of valuable plants been worked out systematically? Of cocoanut, tea, banana, coffee, castor oil, tobacco, olive, grape, the fisheries and sundries of articles that will surely conduce to the commerce and to the financial welfare of the country. From Hawaii to Ocean Islands—Echos? Clamorously answers—No! No!! No!!!

“The display of our energies, knowledge, tact and push, have been sadly wanning in this respect. We have

*Military Men
Should Decide
Own Destinies*

boasted highly of our intelligence, our schools, our houses of worship and charitable institution. The enjoyment of our luxuries, the mechanic that built our houses and the feed we eat are all from abroad. This is sad indeed, when we consider our education for the last fifty years, have not produced one genius, not one talent. Not one artist nor mechanic to prove that our education has been a benefit to us. Echo? Faintly smiles and says—Oh! Oh!! O!!!

* * * *

*Palace Defense
Impregnable
at Revolution*

“Though, I was not in Honolulu on the 30th of June, 1887, but visited the city three weeks after, I was then convinced by the plans laid out for the defence of the Palace, of the distribution of the men and disposition of the arms, were so perfect that an invasion of the Palace was an impossibility. And were a siege laid to take it, they had already a supply of rations for 12 months, would have kept them alive until the besiegers would have been forced to an armistice. A sortie party were ready at the least attempt of invasion and after the desperation of the invaders, the city could have easily be reclaimed. There is really nothing worthy of merit that can be properly claimed by the late revolutionist, but, bravade-bumbast and selfagrandizement during the four years term of the late fiascoans. In justice than to place the honor where justly is due, it is to the officers and men of the regular Military forces of the Kingdom which have been obviously proven by their conduct and character during the late unpleasantness, that they were law abiding, peaceable and did credit to the profession of arms they have sworn to support and maintain. Their character now stands untarnished and unblemished, and vindicated as subsequent political events have proven, and were I allowed a paradox upon bulwers inspiration of Recheleu’s soleliqui on the force of his pen, I would transpose the sentiment by expressing for the benefit of the present crises, ‘The ballot, is mightier than the gun.’

“I am indebted to Captain Robert P. Waipa, of the King’s Guards, for the estimates and organization of an arm force. With it, I have appended my report to the Legislature Assembly of 1884, as well as my reply to the Ministers of the period in the year 1880, which

evidently proves that seven years prior to the insurrection of 1887. The officers of the regular forces gave full warning to the Government and to the members of the Legislature of those periods, that a fatal disaster would surely occur, if they did not take measures to prevent its occurrence. Most prophetically, this event did really occur seven years after on the 30th of June, 1887. Reports were rumored that the late Minister Mr. Gibson, strenuously endeavoured to avert the disaster, but it was too late. He left the Palace on that day a pitiful object of unrelenting spite against himself for allowing himself to be victimised by the folly of his own indiscretion and imbecile incompetency. Three weeks before the 30th of June, he was commanded to have executed and prepare a warrant for the reading of the 'Riot Act' and the readiness of the document 'Proclaiming Martial Law.' These two things were never executed, consequently the failure of the regular soldiers to do their duty, and the Marshal of the Kingdom to do his. For the soldiers' duty, is to back and support the police, after all other means have been done to induce the mobs and rioters to disperse. Then the soldiers are called to perform their messages and measures of insuring peace, which mission they have always prevented to be executed promptly and efficaciously.

*Gibson Warned
to Have Riot
Act Prepared*

"There is no doubt the figure representing the cost of maintaining so expensive an institution as that of the Military, will bewilder the members of the Assembly, but if they would only take into account what has been squandered during the incumbency of the late administration, of drafts without Vouches, of Opium without License, of sugars leaving the country without taxation, and numerous other incongruities, and an appalling sight is at once exhibited that no sound mind can hesitate for a moment to the capability of the Government to maintain, a proper and sufficient force to be prepared for any emergency in the future.

*Possibility of
Opium License
Touched Upon*

"In conclusion and for the purpose of vindicating the character of my former brethen in arms, it cannot be doubted that they have in a great measure maintained their status and positions as due their character and discipline as gentlemen and soldiers. For the people, have

not scrupled to stigmatize them as unworthy of the title and positions they hold. . . .

*King's Guards
Obeyed Orders,
Shed No Blood*

"Few outside of naval and military circle know the causes why no shot in anger were fired by the King's Guards at the time and riot of June 30th, 1887, of which the *Friend*, the *Saturday Press* and the *Hawaiian Gazette*, have lauded with high plaudation the success of the bloodless revolution and rebellions scheme of inaugurated by the Reform Party during that period. It was simply owing to discipline and obedience to orders. In absence of a 'Riot Act' being publicly read, nor a 'Martial Law' proclaimed, to warrant an active demonstration on their part, but in strict obedience to the Constitution and to the Laws of the land, to the Commands and Rules and Regulations of Military Law as prescribed in every well regulated military organization of all civilized nations, and community in the world, no blood: Yea! not even one jot or little of blood was shed.

"Verily! Verily!! This bloodless revolution, has been tenaciously claimed as a grand and glorious victory gained by the 'Honolulu Rifles, the Boys in Blue,' and for the Reform Party in particular.

"Now that the scene has changed, a proper vindication of the character of the officers of the Guards with their men should be at once recognized, that aspersion should not be cast against them for doing their duty.

*Liquors, Awa
Also Suggested
to Raise Money*

"I would then suggest and propose in order that the expenses of the organization of the military, be not felt by the general revenue of the government, it would be well for the Government to monopolize the manufacturing and selling of liquors,—the licensing of opiom and awa; by thus with holding the franchise in its own name and power, the evils deriving from such source will surely be diminished. It will not only be a source of revenue, to the Government, but a great prevention of evils which up to date, have not in the least diminished, nor abated.

"The strict observance of law, regulation and discipline by the officers—the Guards and the Native Hawaiian Volunteer soldiers, have not been properly understood by the foreign community nor the country at large,

why the bloodless revolution succeeded and to their credit then, must be attributed in a great measure. Why the musket, guns and munitions of war was silenced? Not because, they were afraid to use them on account of the Honolulu Rifles, or the foreign mob outside of them, but because they knew the law and shooting thereof without authority and justification of law, that it was criminal to do so. They stuck to their duty and discipline and saved not only themselves of being implicated as murderers, but saved life, property, plunder and every accesses that would have been done under the Holy Name of Crime.

“The Hawaiian soldiers have prove themselves beyond reproach, and the Government and the people at large can now surely trust the officers of the natives soldiers and population are capable to fill honourable and responsible positions. This single instance alone have proven beyond a doubt, their trust worthiness. They have proven, they have done their duty as well as any soldiers under similar organization of any civilized country in the world. It is also proven, they are thorough amendable to law, order, and military discipline.

“This splendid corps of able bodied men, styled the Honolulu Rifles, at the onset behave well and remained in strict obedience to military rules, and carried out the order issued from the Headquarters of His Ex. Hon. A. Rosa, the Commander-in-Chief and Governor of Oahu, on Thursday, the 30th of June, 1887; but less military cast by the sponteneous turn out on Friday, the 1st of July, without orders to seize some arms from Australia consigned to G. W. Macfarlane & Co., which turned out afterwards to be a shipment of rice bird guns. On the occasion of the 1st of July, they were marching with arms through the streets of Honolulu, fluffing here and fluffing there, and fluffing everywhere, without orders and discipline, threatening every d—m Kanaka and that dared to be insolent, insulted the British Commissioner, and other Foreign Representatives, and Lord knows what else they would have done. It would here be observed. To the credit of the native Hawaiian soldiers the native population and the Chinese, they restrained from any excesses, and thus saved life and property,

*Native Troops
and Caucasians
Are Compared*

*Charges Courts
Were in League
With Committee*

which would otherwise have been a most fatal consequence to the foreign community of Honolulu. Indeed, I would not have mention of the lawlessness that prevailed and the mocked arrest and threats to hang the late poor Mr. Gibson, an object of persecution, which the High Courts of Honor would not for a moment hesitate to abjure. But, when it was observed at that time, that our high Courts of Justice was in full operation and in league with the League of 13, one can easily imagine what state of things prevailed during the crisis of that critical period.

“The history of this honorable corps of gentlemen Volunteers, styled the old Honolulu Rifles was organized in 1846. In 1852, received a formal recognition from the Government and styled Hawaiian Guards. In 1854, the tactics of the corps was changed to that of Artillery, and in 1858, reorganized and a charter obtained under the title of Honolulu Rifles, and the tactics changed back again to Infantry. For nearly half a century, this corps maintained a high reputation for drill and discipline, and included in its ranks most of the influential merchants of high standing in the community. . . . But, an evil hour at last came over the corps and were led astray from duty and honor to recklessness and disorder. A high honor and military prestige they have decidedly lost and have never recovered to this day.

“The rumor circulated and carried out by the reduction of the Guards to 30 by the late administration, that 60 of them was a menace to the peace of the City of Honolulu, now stands as utterly groundless, and can only be ascribed as a muddy political trick probably to carry out another bloodless revolution, this time perhaps a more practical one to really kill, to murder and thrust of Blood! Blood!! Blood!!! As if the appetite for it has not been satisfied, and as if for the desire of saturation of the streets of Honolulu with more innocent blood, have not been thoroughly complete. This was a remark, that fell like crumbs from a rich man’s lips and one in high authority during the late administration. There were not ‘Black birds’ enough for his bag, but not being a sportsman contented himself by taking in lame ducks for his bag, and has lately left the lakes where

the black birds abound, and have struck out alone to parts unknown. Verily! Retribution has come at last, and by a providential dispensation, the 'black birds' are still alive, swimming and kicking.

"There is one thing that the public can be assured that we will not realize here in Hawaii nei, what is used in military parlance 'South American Soldiery.' That is to say, taking into consideration the action taken by the native officers during the crisis of 1887.

"I do not claim I have a right to be entitled to the honor of a martyrship, but I may safely be categorically classified among those that were legislated out. Although I have suffered considerably, but have no axe to grind against the principal of Reform. Every student of political history is assured that Reform is a necessary adjunctive ingredient for all governments. Neither have I any animosities to any individual, and if any of my remarks have swerved in the least from the path of decorum, I have not done it with intention of malice, but I hope I have kept myself within the strict line of Military observation and my comments, a brief and a fair criticism upon the past history of the condition of the country's affairs and its people, and its vindication to every fairly minded individual verified and confirmed.

"Though I have generalized the whole subject without entering into details, still these historical events may be considered a fair exposition of the critical times.

"I will conclude by adding, that it is only in the Military profession and occupation that the life of the nation, of the dying Hawaiian and Aboriginal race can have hope for its continuance, perpetuation and maintenance. We were taught to be more enlightened and less barbarian, to discard the Ma-lo and assume a little more *parisian* garb, to discontinue athletic exercise, and games of surf riding, and (boxing) Lua, for a little more devotion and prayer, to exclude honest work and farming for a little more Mammon, and less greediness, to give up your lands and properties for a little more Holy Ghost! to appease the anger of Him who furnished and lavished his, and he that doeth, shall reap a ten million plantation. Throw and cast thy bread upon the water thusly,

*Reform Given
Benediction
as Essential*

*He That Doeth
Shall Receive
a Plantation*

*Pele, McGinty,
Elisha's Boy
Here Together*

verily, this was done. Presto-change! Hands up! Your King! and your Dom! or a little lead. But we only got in answer from Madame Pele's sonorous, odoriferous, sulphureous, affluctive grunt *mahope!* the interpretation of which is the sweet bye and bye! Uh! and down went McGinty to reap Elisha's boy, all in their suit of sailor clothes, &c.

"Though a more sentiment of gravity, befitting the occasion, still one cannot help to use a little satire, so thoroughly do we enjoy the joke and the manner we have been imposed upon. Anyhow we hope we have learnt a good lesson, and shall in the future be more wise accordingly.

"Those then, that are enured to hardship by exercises, gymnastics and healthy out door sports as the statistics of England, Germany, United States, Austria, France, Italy, Russia, Sweden, and Norway, Switzerland and even little Belgium can prove the true cause of the resuscitation and vitalization of its races. Besides this, the Military is the great Educator of the common people, and a Home for the poor and destitute. A great workshop for those that need steady employment. Its occupation comprises all manners of manual labor under the sun; as to its profession, it embraces all sciences.

* * * *

"I have the honor to be, Sirs,
"Your most Obedient and Humble Servant,

ROBERT H. BAKER.

"Colonel on His Majesty's Personal Staff and Equery in Waiting, Member of the Privy Council of State, Ex-Governor of Maui, &c, &c, &c."

*Mental Hiatus
of King Shown
by Quotations*

If they show anything, the foregoing quotations show that Kalakaua had a mental hiatus. But a reader may ask what they have to do with opposition to his *regime* and the overthrow of the throne. My reply is that the Hawaiian government was supposed to be a limited monarchy, under which the

sovereign "reigned, but did not rule," authority being vested in a cabinet, responsible to an independently elected Legislature. By one means or another, however, the King had managed to work away from the "responsible cabinet" theory and to secure himself arbitrary control of the cabinet; and he had displayed both the disposition and the power to control the Legislature by manipulating elections. He also had a disposition to utilize this power for selfish and foolish ends, so greatly as to threaten the national stability, financial and otherwise. Under those circumstances, the ability of the King to think clearly and connectedly on serious subjects was vital; his total inability so to think became of the highest importance. In contrast with this defect, he was preeminently proficient in scheming out and putting into operation complicated plans to swindle others when he could reap a private benefit. Such a remarkable combination is hard to conceive. The only reply to the apparent paradox is the fact that the unquestioned records demonstrate to the full that it existed in Kalakaua's case.

The first illustration of Kalakaua's inherent financial dishonesty, so far as I know, dates from the reign of Kamehameha V, when Kalakaua was postmaster-general of the kingdom and in control of post office funds. A serious defalcation was discovered. The missing money was made good by some of his friends, but the evidence against Kalakaua was so strong that his resignation was demanded and given. Such a total lack of common

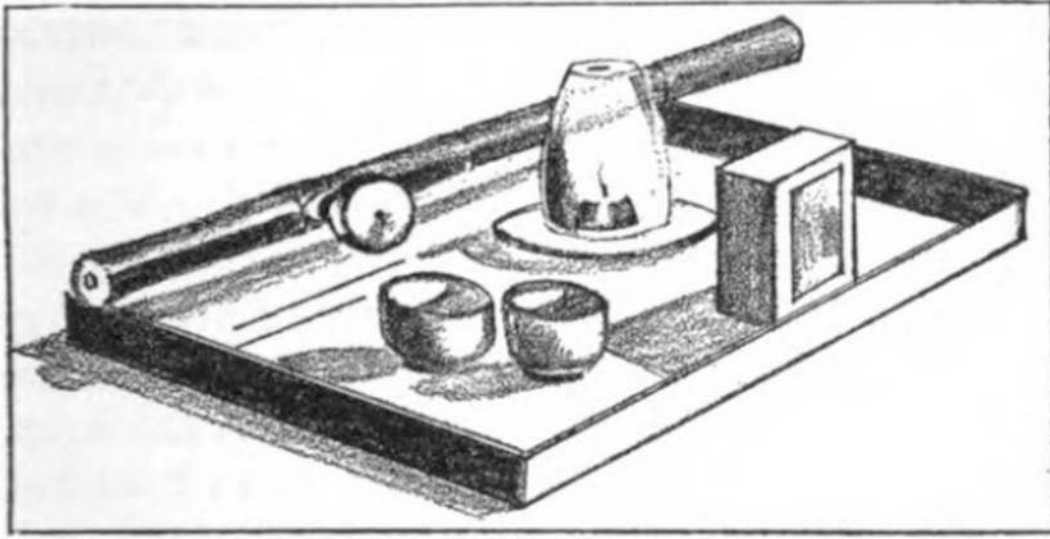
*Postal Funds
Found Short;
Kalakaua Quits*

*Deliberation,
Malice Appear
in Aki Fraud*

honesty wholly unfitted him for the leadership of the nation. In the Aki opium scandal of 1886 and 1887, Kalakaua deliberately, with malice aforethought, months beforehand, defrauded others for his own profit. That scandal is blazoned in detail on the records of the cabinet, of the Legislature, of the courts. It is sufficient to brand Kalakaua as a great grafter and "double-crosser;" no fraud could have been planned more deliberately, and worked out more carefully, than his scheme for licensing the sale of opium. It was launched in the legislature of 1886, under the King's leadership, and afterward the license was hawked about the community by the King's personal representative for sale to the highest bidder.

*Dole Attempts
to Deny King
Opium Control*

In 1874 opium was barred from Hawaii as a deleterious drug, injurious to human life; its importation and use were heavily penalized. In the 1886 session of the Legislature, a member of the Royal Ticket introduced a bill, at the direct instigation of Kalakaua, to license the sale of opium and to sell a license for a fixed sum. When the passage of the bill became certain, Sanford B. Dole, one of the opposition members, endeavored to have the license put up at public auction, and thus to remove financial control from the King's hands, but the royalist party, dominated by the King, defeated the motion. Hardly was the groundwork laid, by the passage of the act, when Kalakaua detailed a personal representative, one Junius Kaae, to find a victim. Kaae spread his wares before one Aki, a Chinese rice planter and the operator of a rice-

*Opium paraphernalia*

cleaning mill at Pearl Harbor, Oahu. If Aki would pay the King, personally, \$71,000, the King would see that the opium license was issued to him. Such was the agreement negotiated by Kaae. Thereupon Aki paid the King \$71,000 in gold coin.

No sooner had Kalakaua secured the sum than Kaae again was sent on the trail for another licensee. One was found; he also paid the King \$71,000 in gold; but the second man, wiler than Aki, saw that the license was issued before his \$71,000 was paid. The first intimation to Aki that his control had gone wrong, was the issue of the license to the other man. That was a shock, yet Aki, being of a philosophic nature, reasoned that nothing was certain in this life but death and taxes, and that, if he did not have the license, at least he would get a refund of his \$71,000. Accordingly he called on the King and suggested, since the license had been bestowed elsewhere, that the money be restored. Kalakaua turned a deaf ear. He said

*Return of Gold
Is Anticipated
by Philosopher*

*Oriental Mind
Cannot Fathom
Kingly Virtue*

to Aki, in effect: "What! you want me to return the \$71,000 with which you tried to bribe me? Don't you know that bribery is a criminal offense, and that I could have you indicted and convicted? You are a bad, wicked man. I want nothing more to do with you. Go away, and thank your lucky stars that you are not put in jail." Such a display of Christian virtue by the King was too much for Aki's Oriental mind to comprehend. In a vain attempt to assimilate the situation, Aki blurted out the whole story to the public, and lay down and died.

At the mass meeting of citizens held in Honolulu on June 30, 1887, this scandal was one of the counts in the indictment against Kalakaua. Upon the appointment of the new cabinet, of which I was a member, I was deputed by the cabinet to discuss the Aki affair with the King. I did so. He made no denial of the facts, but told me that he thought it was entirely improper for the cabinet to ask for the restoration of the \$71,000 involved, because that would constitute an official recognition of bribery as a legitimate transaction. In his opinion, he said, the cabinet should have nothing to do with the case. When I informed him that the public and the cabinet believed that he should restore the money to Aki's heirs, Kalakaua replied that he could not, because the money had been spent, and he did not have the wherewithal with which to make restitution. I suggested that the revenues from the crown lands, which by law were payable to him, could be made available for this purpose. Kalakaua answered: "Well, if the cabinet chooses

to take the responsibility of pursuing this course, I will not object."

Three trustees were appointed, to whom the crown land revenues were officially diverted for payment of \$71,000 to the Aki estate. Other creditors of the King, to the amount of \$250,000, objected to the recognition of the Aki claim as against theirs; and Kalakaua's debts to them accordingly were included in those to be paid from the crown land revenues. By some line of reasoning, exactly what I do not recollect, the trustees failed to recognize the Aki claim; and the administrators of the estate brought suit. The court decision recognized the claim and ordered it paid; and it was. As a reward, Kaae was appointed by the King to be registrar of conveyances of the kingdom. In the general overturn of 1887, Kaae was removed from his position for cause, on the ground that the registrar of records of real estate transactions should be a man above suspicion, and not the negotiator of a fraudulent transaction. All of the foregoing statements may be verified by reference to the records of the revolutionary meeting of citizens on June 30, 1887, printed in the press of that time, and by reference to the records of the supreme court of 1888, where the subject was ventilated.

So Kalakaua went on his way rejoicing, while the overthrow of the Monarchy advanced through the transaction. A man capable of conceiving and executing such a scheme is proved unworthy of trust in any ordinary private transaction, and far more unworthy of being permitted to dominate the govern-

*More Creditors
of His Majesty
Demand Payment*

*Kaae Rewarded;
Loses Position
at Revolution*

*Constitution
Puts the King
Above the Law*

mental policies of a sane and decent people. And yet the man besmirched was the King of Hawaii, in control of the cabinet and the Legislature, leader of the kingdom and its financial policies, elevated by the constitution to a position beyond the reach of law. Is it any wonder that the Kalakaua *regime* was the direct cause of the overthrow?

One phase of the King's character is ticklish to deal with—his immoral tendencies, or perhaps they may be termed unmoral. Some persons may say that private morals are a subject of individual taste and opinion, that many men who have stood high from a public viewpoint have been most immoral personally, and that the question whether Kalakaua was immoral, or whether he was fit to be a Sunday school superintendent, has no bearing on the Hawaiian political situation. Be that as it may, his trend is indicated by the semi-public ceremonies of the notorious Hale Naua and other items of similar character; his inherent filth of mind and utter lack of decency and moral sense are illustrated by another instance. He forced through the Legislature an appropriation for a coronation ceremony, which was duly celebrated. Among the notorious festivities, there was a series of hulas, the official titles and program of which were prepared by Kalakaua in his own handwriting as copy for the printer. That copy, in the Hawaiian language, was produced in court by the printer in his own defense when he was charged with printing indecent literature; he pleaded that he did not understand the Hawaiian language in which the copy was written; but the

*Kalakaua Plans
Indecent Hulas
of Coronation*

court ruled that ignorance was no defense; and he was convicted of printing and publishing indecent literature. In the *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, by William D. Alexander, the Hawaiian historian, the following account of the Hale Naua, or "Ball of Twine Society," is found (page 16) :

"THE HALE NAUA, ALIAS TEMPLE OF SCIENCE, ALIAS BALL OF TWINE SOCIETY.

"This was founded September 24, 1886. A charter for it was obtained by the King from the Privy Council, not without difficulty, on account of the suspicion that was felt in regard to its character and objects. According to its constitution it was founded forty quadrillions of years after the foundation of the world, and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty years from Lailai, the first woman.

"The by-laws are a travesty of Masonry, mingled with pagan rites. . . . Every candidate had to provide an 'oracle,' a kauwila wand, a ball of olona twine, a dried fish, a taro root, etc. Every member or 'mamo' was invested with a yellow malo or pa-u (apron), and a feather cape. . . .

"So far as the secret proceedings and objects of the society have transpired, it appears to have been intended partly as an agency for the revival of heathenism, partly to pander to vice, and indirectly to serve as a political machine. Enough leaked out to intensify the general disgust that was felt at the debasing influence of the palace."

*Ball of Twine
for Heathenism,
Vice, Politics*

In connection with the "Ball of Twine Society," the community was rife with tales of the King's indecency and immorality. Many members of Hawaiian families absolutely refused to have anything to do with the organization, or to permit members of their families to be associated with it. An anecdote

*King Grovels
at Threat to
Knock Head Off*

dote, told at the time, ran that the King invited a female member of a respectable part-Hawaiian family to join the society; the head of the house went to the Palace and threatened, if Kalakaua ever again made overtures to any member of the speaker's family to join the Hale Naua, the speaker would go to the Palace and "knock the King's head off." Thereupon, the account continued, the King groveled an apology and gave assurance that he would send no further invitation of the kind.

In her book, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, pages 206 and 207, Liliuokalani describes her brother Kalakaua and his character on the eve of his departure for California, where he died, as follows:

". . . So the king went cheerfully and patiently to work for the cause of those who had been and were his enemies. He sacrificed himself in the interests of the very people who had done him so much wrong, and given him such constant suffering. With an ever-forgiving heart he forgot his own sorrows, set aside all feelings of animosity, and to the last breath of his life he did all that lay in his power for those who had abused and injured him.

"If ever there was a man who was pure in spirit, if ever there was a mortal who had perfect charity, he was that man. . . ."

Kalakaua's purity of mind is illustrated by his coronation hula program, written in his own hand, for which a printer was fined, because he had published obscenities. Kalakaua's "perfect charity" appears in his opium scheme, and in his franking of "election gin," and his many frauds at the 1886 elections, of which I shall write hereafter.

Now I come to Kalakaua's political intrigue and skullduggery. Intrigue involves the participation of others, whereas skullduggery may refer to one alone. As here used, "intrigue" implies general moral obliquity. I leave to the reader to decide whether the incidents, hereafter related, justify my words. The events at his election left Kalakaua somewhat chastened; and the change in his political position, from obscurity to prominence, and in his financial condition, from comparative poverty to affluence, was so radical that for several years he let well enough alone. But he could not do so indefinitely. Whatever of slow thinking and mental incapacity may have been exhibited by the King in other respects, there was none when he was organizing and conducting an election campaign and securing affirmation by the Legislature. His talent in that respect is shown with a brilliancy equaled only by his audacity. I present facts in justification of this count in the indictment against the Merry Monarch.

*Election Riot
Leaves Him in
Chastened Mood*

During approximately sixty years, the government of Hawaii had changed from a complete absolutism, under Kamehameha I, to a somewhat advanced limited monarchy under King Lunalilo. Although there was a slight reaction under Kamehameha V, the sovereigns had divested themselves of absolute powers and had evolved an elected legislative body, which held the purse strings, and a cabinet of executive officials practically responsible to the Legislature. Kamehameha V thought that the constitution of Kamehameha III was too lib-

*How Monarchy
Progressed in
Sixty Years*

eral and that the powers of the sovereign had been too much restricted, and some reaction existed in the constitution that he promulgated, but there never had been, prior to the Kalakaua *regime*, any concentrated attempt to interfere with the popular choice of members of the Legislature, or to secure royal control of that body.

*King's Policy
of Interfering
With Elections*

Early in Kalakaua's reign, a change began to appear; at the elections of members of the 1886 legislature, the royal policy of interference and attempts to control the election was in full flower. The lengths to which it went are almost unbelievable to one who did not personally witness them, or who was not a close student of public affairs of that era. For example, the campaign of 1886 was definitely outlined as between the Royal Ticket and the Reform Party. The Royal Ticket was hand-picked by the King himself; and the civil service of the government was directed to the selection of the ticket for a year or more prior to the balloting, which would choose twenty-eight elected members of the Legislature. Each royal candidate was already a government executive officer or was especially appointed in preparation for the campaign. At the election, in February, 1886, the following was the Royal Ticket:

| <i>District</i> | <i>Name</i> | <i>Office</i> |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| HAWAII | | |
| North Kona | J. K. Nahale | Tax collector |
| South Kona | D. H. Nahinu | Tax collector and deputy sheriff |
| Kau | | |
| Puna | E. Kekoa | Tax collector |

MEMOIRS OF LORRIN A. THURSTON

| <i>District</i> | <i>Name</i> | <i>Office</i> |
|--------------------------|------------------|--|
| HAWAII | | |
| Hilo | J. L. Kaulukou | Sheriff |
| Hilo | F. Pahia | Tax collector |
| Hamakua | J. K. Kaunamano | Tax collector |
| Kohala | Z. Kalai | District judge |
| MAUI | | |
| Lahaina | L. Aholo | Police judge |
| Lahaina | Kia Nahaolelua | Tax collector |
| Hana | S. W. Kaai | District judge |
| Makawao | J. Kamakele | Tax collector |
| Wailuku | G. Richardson | Tax collector and road supervisor |
| Kaanapali | J. A. Kaukau | Tax collector and deputy sheriff |
| MOLOKAI AND LANAI | | |
| | J. Nakaleka | Tax collector |
| | S. K. Kupihea | District judge |
| OAHU | | |
| Honolulu | F. H. Hayselden | Secretary of board of health and tax collector |
| Honolulu | James Keau | Poi contractor for government |
| Honolulu | E. K. Lilikalani | Queen's secretary |
| Honolulu | J. T. Baker | Capt. King's Guard |
| Ewa and Waianae | J. P. Kama | District judge |
| Koolauloa | Kauahikaua | Tax collector |
| Koolaupoko | A. Kaulia | District judge |
| Waialua | J. Amara | Deputy sheriff and tax collector |
| KAUAI | | |
| Hanalei | G. B. Palohau | Deputy sheriff and tax collector |
| Koloa | T. Kalaeone | |
| Waimea | E. Kauai | District judge |

Only nine of the royal candidates were defeated. Numerous details could be submitted of the chicanery, fraud, force, and other illegitimate means used

*Royal Puppets,
Nine Excepted,
Are Successful*

by the King and royal party. I give only a few incidents, which either came under my observation or were notorious at the time; and I preface them with this quotation from page 12 of Alexander's *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*:

"The election of 1886 was the most corrupt one ever held in this Kingdom, and the last one held under the old regime. During the canvass the country districts were flooded with cheap gin, chiefly furnished by the King, who paid for it by franking other liquor through the Custom House free of duty, and thereby defrauding the Government. . . . Out of twenty-seven Government candidates twenty-three were office-holders, one a last year's tax assessor and one the Queen's secretary. . . . There was only one white man on the Government ticket, viz., the premier's son-in-law."

The King had sought to curry favor with the Hawaiians by securing repeal of a law prohibiting the sale of liquor to them. Thereafter, at and before elections, he drenched the electorate with free liquor, chiefly of the cheap brand known as "sandpaper gin," in the rankest manner. A list of royal candidates for the Legislature was prepared, with a careful schedule showing the number of cases of gin to be sent to each. Under the law, no duty was levied on goods imported for the use of the King or royal family; Kalakaua signed the necessary papers; the customhouse released the gin, free of duty, and it was distributed to the royal candidates throughout the kingdom. Ostensibly for royal use, Kalakaua franked a large quantity of liquor for the election of 1884. Thus the cost of the liquor was

*Sandpaper Gin
Smooths Way
for Royalists*

brought very low, but still it required the expenditure of quite an amount of money, which revolted the economical soul of the royal politician. Through a fraudulent inspiration of a liquor importer, even that expenditure was avoided. When the cost of the duty-free gin had been ascertained, the frank was increased to cover additional liquor for the dealer, the evaded duty on which was enough to pay him for the "election gin." Thus gin was available in unlimited amounts, free of cost to the King; the dealer sold his share at full duty-paid prices, and everybody was happy except the people of Hawaii, who footed the bill, though not all of them were aware of the fact.

*Cost of Liquor
for Corruption
Paid by People*

For the election of 1886, more than \$60,000 worth of liquor was fraudulently franked. The Reform Government, which came into office as a result of the revolution of June 30, 1887, was so inconsiderate as to institute proceedings against the dealer for defrauding the revenue. His books were seized; and the whole transaction was exposed in detail. But the official bootlegger was not convicted, for the court held that bringing in his books was practically making him testify against himself, which was contrary to the constitution. Therefore the books were ruled out as "incompetent evidence;" since there was no other detailed evidence, except that of the King, who was "above the law" and therefore not subject to subpoena, the bootlegger went scot-free.

I witnessed one "election gin" orgy in the 1886 campaign. A meeting, called by candidates of the

*Undiluted Gin,
Dead Soldiers
Ornament Lawn*

Royal Ticket, was held on the water front at the foot of Richards Street, in the evening, outdoors, on a wide lawn under a grove of coconut trees. Hundreds of voters were listening to speeches. I was met at the gate by E. K. Lilikalani, the Queen's secretary and one of the royal candidates, who had been a schoolmate of mine at Punahou. "How do you do, my dear old friend Kakina?" he hailed me cordially. ("Kakina" is my Hawaiian name.) "Come right in and see my dead soldiers." Just inside the gate, on a stand, there was a large, new, galvanized-iron washtub two-thirds full of undiluted gin, which had been dumped into the tub from a stack of cases piled nearby, the supply being renewed from time to time. The tub was used, instead of the liquor being poured from bottles, for speed and convenience in serving the crowd. Over the tub, there presided a husky Hawaiian in his shirt sleeves, armed with a coconut ladle on the end of a stick, with which he ladled out liquor into full-sized tumblers. A long queue of drinkers moved past, each being handed a tumbler of the fiery liquor, which he swallowed neat in great gulps. "Dead soldiers," used by Lilikalani, did not mean empty bottles, but it referred to some scores of voters sprawled over the grass in all directions, "dead to the world." Lilikalani conducted me about with his usual ceremonious courtesy, exhibiting these "soldiers" to me with apparent pride, as voters "solid" in his favor. Apparently they were, for he was elected.

Here is an example of open bribery in behalf of the Royal Ticket in 1886. William R. Castle, a candidate for the Legislature from Wailuku, Maui, obviously was very strong before the electorate. Claus Spreckels controlled the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., which also was known as "Spreckelsville;" the Spreckels interests were aiding King Kalakaua in the support of Mr. Gibson, the prime minister. George C. Williams, the company manager, was directed, by his superiors, to work against Mr. Castle's election. An obedient Mr. Williams appeared before the Wailuku polls on election day; with Sam Parker, whose wife was a Wailuku girl, Mr. Williams exercised a "moral influence" over the voters in the very front of the polling place. Messrs. Parker and Williams handed out ballots for Mr. Castle's opponent; observing that the right ballot was deposited, they gave the voter an identification paper, which he presented around the corner; and there he received five silver dollars. Such flagrancy caused a revulsion, and Mr. Castle was elected. Mr. Williams afterward was tried and convicted in the Maui court of bribery at an election; no appeal was taken.

*Mr. Spreckels
Tries to Beat
William Castle*

*Manager Tried,
Convicted of
Giving Bribes*

In 1886 four representatives were elected from Honolulu city. There was only one polling place, at the entrance of the then Executive Building, Aliiolani Hale, across King Street from the Palace. Nor was there a secret ballot; each candidate printed his own ballots and distributed them at the polls. As part of the royal preparation, some volunteer military companies, organized under the direction

*Companies Are
Assembled in
Palace Grounds*

of King Kalakaua, were drawn up in the Palace yard early on election morning, in company formation without arms. Those companies, known as the King's Own, the Queen's Own, and the Prince's Own, consisted wholly of voters, organized at public expense. Ballots for the four men of the Royal Ticket were served out to privates and noncommissioned officers by the company officers, who also saw that each man had his tax receipt, which he had to produce before voting. In many instances, the taxes had been paid from a royal fund available for the purpose.

*Buck Privates,
Under Noncoms,
Do Their Duty*

At the opening of the polls, the companies marched across the street in military order. Squads of four, each in charge of a noncommissioned officer, were voted under his supervision. After the men had exercised the sacred duty of depositing their ballots, they were returned to their company; and the next squad moved up. When the military had thus voted, ranks were broken; and hundreds of young men, all in uniform, thus released, became disorderly gangs, paraded up and down, milled about in front of the polls, yelled and hustled the voters who had not yet cast their ballots. The scene became semi-riotous; many voters were frightened away by fear of a disturbance, while the press of people prevented others from reaching the polling place. In view of all that, with the "sandpaper gin" foundation, besides the royal influence, one need not be surprised that the Royal Ticket in Honolulu was elected.

To the credit of the Hawaiians, many voters

and some representatives resisted all royal blandishments, even in districts where the voters were almost exclusively natives, and were never drawn into the court circle or numbered on the Royal Ticket. Prominent among such representatives were J. Nawahi, of Hilo, Hawaii; J. Kauhane, of Kau, Hawaii; J. W. Kalua, of Wailuku, Maui; G. W. Pilipo, of Kona, Hawaii. Carefully scheming Pilipo's defeat, Kalakaua spent his whole time in Kona, for the month or so prior to the election, electioneering against Pilipo; the King sent the entire Royal Guard from Honolulu to Kona, causing the names of the men to be entered on the polling list and voting them solidly against Pilipo on election day; and the King seated himself in an armchair at the polls, to solicit each voter to vote for Pilipo's opponent; and Kalakaua watched to see for whom the man voted. A due part of the free "election gin" provided by the King was distributed in the district. Such means defeated Pilipo, but by only a few votes. Anyone who knows the traditional subservience of the Hawaiian commoner to the chiefs and royalty will realize what extreme pressure Kalakaua brought to bear.

In 1882 and 1884, J. M. Kauwila, a clean-cut and intelligent Hawaiian, was elected to the Legislature from Puna District, Island of Hawaii. He was a favorite there; he made a good record; under normal conditions, he would have been reelected in 1886. He happened, however, to be a relative of J. Nawahi, the rock against Kalakaua-ism in the adjoining district of Hilo; and Kauwila had shown

*Many Hawaiians
Resist Royal
Blandishments*

*Kalakaua Seats
Self at Polls
to Ask Support*

*Royal Decree
Issued Against
J. M. Kauwila*

himself not amenable to royal influence; consequently the royal decree went forth against him. E. Kekoa, the government tax assessor and collector for Puna, was put forward in 1886 on the Royal Ticket. As a preliminary to the election, the names of some thirty voters, known to be supporters of Kauwila, were omitted by the registration authorities from the register of voters. When Kauwila appeared before the board, at the meeting held for registration in accordance with law, he requested that the omitted names be added to the register. The registration authorities refused, on the ground that Kauwila was not an attorney at law. Therefore they decided they would pay no attention to his request; the names of his supporters did not appear on the register of voters; and their votes were refused on election day. In addition to that manipulation, Kekoa had the register stuffed with the names of women and children, all non-voters, whom he caused to be voted.

*Early Instance
of Child and
Woman Suffrage*

Kekoa was declared elected. Afterward he was arrested and charged in the Hilo court with election frauds; the foregoing charges were listed and proved; he was found guilty by an exclusively Hawaiian jury; and sentence was passed. Notwithstanding those facts, he received a certificate of election from the Puna District, and was admitted to the Puna seat in the session of 1886. An official report of the case was made to the Legislature by the judge of the supreme court who had presided at the trial; and a resolution was introduced in the house of representatives by Sanford B. Dole for an

investigation of the Puna election. The attorney-general opposed the motion, making an impassioned address on behalf of the "Honorable" Kekoa; and the latter held his seat by virtue of the majority control of the Royal Party in the Legislature.

A more direct manner of disposing of an anti-royalist candidate for the Legislature was pursued in the case of John Richardson, candidate from Kaanapali, Maui, in 1886. So small was the district that a canvass, made by both sides, showed two votes in Richardson's favor; and each candidate reported the fact to the campaign managers in Honolulu. Then the attorney-general wrote to the Kaanapali election judges, directing them to remove from the register the names of four Richardson supporters, and thereby to change the balance to a majority of two for the royalist candidate; and that was done. When the four appeared at the polls, they were informed that their names were not on the register and that they could not vote. Upon Richardson demanding the reason for the removal of the names, the election judges innocently produced the attorney-general's letter. Richardson protested the action and the attorney-general's authority, but the judges stood pat, and the royalist candidate was declared elected. Yet Richardson kept the attorney-general's letter, and submitted it and his case to the Legislature, demanding that he be seated. The facts were undisputed; the royalists rode roughshod over the protest, and voted the Kaanapali seat to the royalist candidate. Thus,

*Voters Candid:
Each Candidate
Has Same Facts*

once more, was vindicated the Merry Monarch's supremacy and control of the Legislature; thus the doom of the Kalakaua *regime* advanced another step.

Among the characteristics of Kalakaua, there were an overwhelming desire to dominate and a subconscious inclination to dominate by force. When things came to close quarters, however, with the danger that force would bring about a collision, Kalakaua let his cowardice get the upper hand, and he wilted. I cite some instances. In 1886 and the early part of 1887, he was at the peak of his efforts to revert, so far as practicable, to arbitrary government, and took various measures to establish himself. Regarding the Palace as a central fortification, he prepared to defend it against the people, if they should resist his encroachments on their liberties. Behind the whole of the eight-foot wall around the Palace premises, he built a platform, upon which soldiers could stand to fire at any advancing force. Then he loopholed the ironwork in the front steps of the Palace, and built firing platforms behind the loopholes and under the steps, so that rifle fire could be directed at a force approaching from the front gate. Those loopholes may be seen to the present day.

*King Prepares
Iolani Palace
Against People*

He caused to be enlisted companies of volunteers, under the titles the King's Own, the Queen's Own, and the Prince's Own, as supplementary to the regular military. He purchased and erected, in the rear grounds of the Palace, the first electric arc light plant in Honolulu; and he caused eleven

*First Electric
Arc Lights Are
Erected There*

2,000-candlepower lights to burn every night along the streets about the grounds, so that any force approaching would be in plain view, while the defending force would be invisible behind the Palace stone wall. The ability, given him by these preparations, to enforce his desires against the will of the people, is evidenced by his description of the results in the paper, "The Third Warning Voice," prepared by himself, addressed to the legislative military committee of 1886, and given to the public in the name of Colonel Robert H. Baker. Kalakaua, in that paper, sets forth specifically that his armed defense of the Palace was impregnable.

*Any Attackers
in Plain View;
Defenders Safe*

At the development of the Hawaiian League in the first part of 1887, when the King's bluff appeared called and a fight with the people seemed imminent, his cowardly spirit got the upper hand. Kalakaua lay down flat. The executive committee of the league having advertised a public meeting to protest against his actions, he wrote a letter to Charles R. Bishop, a prominent citizen, trying to avert the meeting, on the ground that it was needless and that he would do whatever the people wanted. Again, when the mass meeting appointed a committee to wait upon him, he was given twenty-four hours in which to reply to the public demands, and was so informed by the committee. A delay of twenty-four hours, said he, was unnecessary: he would, then and there, comply with any requests the committee had to make. Supplementing the rebuke inherent in the demands themselves, the committeemen replied that they had been instructed

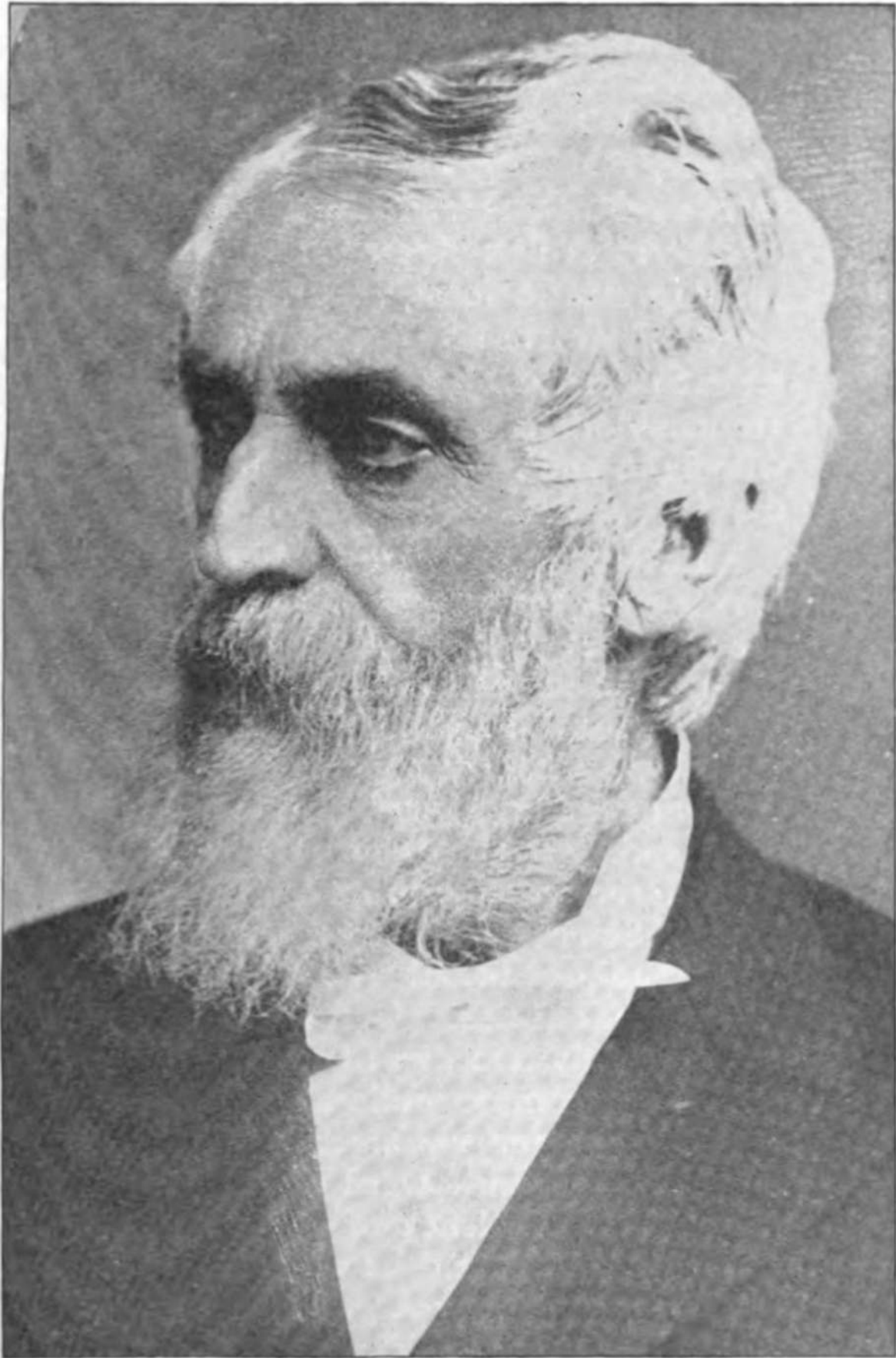
*Charles Bishop
Gets a Letter
of Submission*

*Sovereign Runs
True to Form:
He Acquiesces*

to afford him that time in which to make up his mind, and they desired an answer in writing. From a list of four submitted to him by the Hawaiian League, the King selected Mr. W. L. Green to form a cabinet. Mr. Green announced his cabinet members; at first Kalakaua refused to approve; running true to form, however, he finally acquiesced. Characteristic phases of Kalakaua's character are depicted by the foregoing examples; there are many others. They illustrate the adage: "He who fights and runs away may live to fight another day."

*Kalakaua Rule
Is Bent Toward
Degrading Race*

Kalakaua appeared to be dominated by selfishness, a greed for personal gain, a wanton looting of the people at the expense of their rights and privileges, a flouting of all opposition, so long as he was in no personal danger. Hawaii has little cause to cherish his memory, except that he, for no reason that entitles him to credit, forced to the surface a spirit and determination that eventually brought to Hawaii the proud status of an "integral part of the United States," and to the native Hawaiians the status, unique in all Polynesia, of full-fledged American citizens. Overthrow and annexation were the only remedies of an intolerable condition ever growing more intolerable. The whole course of the Kalakaua *regime* was reactionary, downward, with a bent toward racial degradation, contrary to the tendency of the Kamehameha rule. While the latter had its weaknesses, its trend had been to elevate the race. I do not speak too strongly when I say that the Kalakaua era was the most



Mr. Gibson died of tuberculosis in San Francisco on January 21, 1888, six months after his dismissal was forced

Walter M. Gibson

detrimental influence since Hawaii entered the ranks of civilized nations.

That Liliuokalani was the last monarch, that the overthrow occurred in her reign instead of her brother's, were purely incidental. The foundation, a community attitude that made the overthrow possible, was laid in the years under Kalakaua, which saturated the public mind with the filth and the iniquities of his reign. When Liliuokalani attempted to revert to the conditions that had been partly remedied in the struggle against Kalakauaism, her effort crystallized into action the sentiment produced by years under Kalakaua. Such a precipitation had not occurred in his day, only because he had an uncanny sense of the time to quit; when he had reached the limit, he threw up his hands. So he forestalled action against himself, and postponed the overthrow of the Monarchy, which well might have occurred in 1887 instead of 1893, but for the King's abject submission to the demands of the people. Thus was dissipated as loyal a sentiment as ever dominated a nation,—thus Sanford B. Dole was produced as a leader.

*Overthrow of
Liliuokalani
Is Incidental*

*Loyalty Is
Dissipated;
Dole as Leader*

CHAPTER IV

WALTER MURRAY GIBSON AND THE KING

*Walter Murray
Gibson Looms
on the Horizon*

Walter Murray Gibson was spectacular and vital in the Kalakaua *regime*; he loomed so large in those times that he requires discussion. Hawaii first knew him about 1861, when he arrived in the ostensible capacity of a Mormon missionary; he first gained attention here as a zealous advocate of a "New Zion" on the Island of Lanai, where he settled. All of his early addresses and efforts were in behalf of the Mormon Church. The Hawaiians were urged to merge their energies with that organization, and thus form a great and glorious nucleus of disciples, who ultimately would become the leaders, not only of the community religious life, but in every other way as well. Lanai land-owners were urged to turn their properties into a common organization; and collections were made throughout the kingdom for the purchase of other lands. Later it appeared that practically all such property, whether turned in by converts or purchased, was in the private name of Walter Murray Gibson, instead of that of the Mormon Church. Dissatisfaction having arisen with Gibson's administration of church affairs, a Mormon commission came to Hawaii from Salt Lake City, Utah, to investigate. After investigation, the commission demanded that Mr. Gibson surrender to the church the lands and property that he had accumulated.

*Lands of Lanai
to Mr. Gibson;
Church Probes*

Upon his refusal to comply, he was formally excommunicated.

When representations were made to him, that success in Hawaii would be found through contact with the "missionary party," he applied to the Fort Street Church, of Honolulu, the leading Congregational church and predecessor of the present Central Union Church, for membership. I saw him as a zealous occupant of the "mourners' bench" at a revival meeting. While his application for membership was being considered, he satisfactorily answered many of the questions put him by members of a committee. But one committeeman suggested that, if Mr. Gibson were truly "penitent," he should restore to the proper owners the lands on Lanai that "happened" to have been placed in his name; and then he was silent. No immediate recommendation regarding the application was made; soon the aspirations of the "penitent" for membership evaporated.

*Excommunicated
Penitent Soul
Seeks a Fold*

Afterward he appeared as a free-lance editor and proprietor of a fly-by-night yellow journal, *Nuhou*, or *The News*, which he published in Honolulu. The Lanai lands were never restored to the natives; Mr. Gibson, indeed, expanded his holdings until he became the dominant owner and lessee of the island. This is the only instance in Hawaiian history, so far as I am aware, of a "missionary getting away with the lands of the poor natives." [Mr. Gibson died of tuberculosis in San Francisco on January 21, 1888, leaving a will, which was admitted to probate. He had mortgaged all of his

*Only Instance
of Land Fraud
by Missionary*

Lanai lands; after his death, foreclosure proceedings were brought, and the property was sold. The title to all former Gibson holdings on Lanai passed by mesne conveyances to Frank F. Baldwin and Harry A. Baldwin on March 3, 1917; and the Baldwins sold the lands to the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Ltd., by a deed dated December 5, 1922.—*Editor.*]

Repudiated by the Mormon Church, and having failed in his attempt to attach himself to the "missionary party," Mr. Gibson decided to break into Hawaiian politics in any way possible. He was a forceful man, with no scruples as to methods. After the Civil War, Hawaii was in a bad way commercially. The war had forced up the price of sugar and increased its production in Hawaii, giving unusual prosperity. With the end of the war, the price of sugar dropped; and production became so unprofitable, in view of the high duties levied on sugar by the United States, that some artificial stimulant to the sugar business must be had, or Hawaiian development and prosperity would disappear. Prior to that time, a reciprocity treaty with the United States, under which sugar should be admitted to America free of duty, had been quite generally advocated in Hawaii, but no successful measures had been taken toward its effectuation. In America, on the other hand, strong opposition had developed, due both to the attitude of sugar planters in the South and to the need of the Federal treasury for the revenue from sugar duties. So strong was the sentiment that a makeweight to support the treaty seemed necessary.

*Price of Sugar
Declines After
the Civil War*

In the reign of Lunalilo, the Hawaiian cabinet suggested that Hawaii, besides making other concessions under a treaty, should add permission for the United States to establish a naval station at Pearl Harbor—not a real harbor then, but merely the possibility of one. Although of sufficient area and depth, it was sealed, at the sea end, by a bar, which had only six feet of water. [When the United States acquired Pearl Harbor, according to Navy records, there was a natural passage about 200 feet wide through the reef; it provided water to about ten feet at low tide.—*Editor.*] No sugar, rice, or pineapple plantations were adjacent; the surrounding country was a barren waste, with a few scattered native settlements near the ocean. Consequently there was nothing detrimental to the resources of Hawaii in permitting its use as an American naval station. In fact, the mere opening of the harbor would have been of considerable commercial value to Hawaii, because the task of removing the bar and establishing a station would have involved the expenditure of a large amount of money in Honolulu. But the proposal gave Mr. Gibson the opportunity he was seeking; and he used it to the limit by immediately dubbing the plan a traitorous alienation of a valuable part of the kingdom, which the Hawaiian people should resist in every possible way. He editorialized violently in his paper, *Nuhou*, for months, until what was entirely meritorious became, to the native imagination, a serious attack on independence. So much was opposition stimulated that the plan, or Puuloa proj-

*Pearl Harbor
Naval Station
in Negotiations*

*Gibson Against
the Alienation
of Such Value*

ect, as it was characterized by Mr. Gibson, was dropped temporarily by the Hawaiian government.

Mr. Gibson began his campaign of entering into Hawaiian politics, through the columns of *Nuhou*, by advocating tolerance toward, and cooperation with, the foreigners, or newcomers. As his campaign against Pearl Harbor advanced, however, his policy changed into denunciation of the *haole* (foreigner), as the enemy of Hawaii and the Hawaiians. In contrast with the *haole* danger, Mr. Gibson held himself out as the friend, advocate, and preserver of Hawaii and Hawaiians, against "*haole* despoliation." So far as I know, this was the formulation and initiation of the so-called "*anti-haole*" campaign in Hawaii. For years it supplied an undercurrent that gave Mr. Gibson and the Kalakaua *regime* a power they could have achieved in no other way. Mr. Gibson also, at this time, in the columns of *Nuhou*, began to advocate David Kalakaua as one of the "hopes" of the nation. This fact, the policy of *Nuhou*, and the admission of Mr. Gibson to the Hawaiian Legislature in 1878, led straight to the alliance between himself and Kalakaua after the latter was elected king. That alliance had disastrous consequences until 1887.

Mr. Gibson purported to have been born of American parents on a Spanish ship in the Bay of Biscay. He was brought up in South Carolina, and was known as a citizen of that state. His first noteworthy activity was as owner of the former revenue cutter *Flirt*, with which he attempted to mix in the politics of Guatemala. Through the vigilance of

*Changes Front;
Now Denounces
the Foreigner*

*Here Is Start
of Adventures
in Many Seas*

the United States, he was frustrated. Next there came a kaleidoscopic appearance of the cutter and her captain with a cargo of munitions of war in New York harbor; their disappearance; a play with pistols in midocean; complications with Portuguese officials at the Cape Verde Islands, a charge of piracy that they made against him, his escape, a mutiny on board, and blood spilled on the decks; an attempt by the Brazilian authorities to arrest Gibson, who took refuge with the British consul; the hoisting aboard the *Flirt* of the American flag, union down, as a signal of distress, due to the hostile action of the Brazilian marines; the interference of a British man-of-war, which led to the release of the *Flirt* and her disappearance from that part of the world.

Next the *Flirt* and her owner appeared as explorers in Polynesia, finally fetching up in the Dutch East Indies. There Gibson became involved in machinations with the native sultans, or rajahs, against the Dutch East Indies government. He sent his mate as emissary to a native prince, the Sultan of Djambi, tendering him the assistance of the United States, its steamers, guns, and bullets, to "get rid of all the Dutchmen excepting some," and jointly with the Sultan, to control the country involved. Both the mate and Gibson were arrested by the Dutch. Gibson was convicted of stirring up treason, and was sentenced to stand a half-hour under a gallows and to twelve years' imprisonment at Weltevreden, with banishment thereafter. Pending the sentence, he wrote a letter to the Dutch

*Djambi Sultan
Offered Support
of the States*

government, in which he acknowledged having "indulged in bravadoes that he would become a potentate in the East," but excused himself on the ground that such boasts were made "after a plentiful indulgence in wine" and without evil intent. He also admitted his error in sending a communication by his mate into native territory without first notifying the Dutch authorities; and closed the letter as follows: "I make no defence, but only pray for a speedy judgment; hoping that there will be found a sufficiency of extenuating circumstances to mitigate the sentence I may strictly deserve." Notwithstanding the letter, sentence was pronounced; and Gibson was imprisoned at Weltevreden.

*Gibson Escapes
From the Jail;
Seeks Damages*

But he escaped from jail; and the next event recorded is his appearance in Washington in 1854, and his filing with the United States government of a claim against the Dutch government for \$100,000 damages. The United States made demand upon the Dutch government for that amount; the Dutch replied, inclosing a copy of Gibson's letter as a part of the defense. Mr. Gibson was allowed by the American State Department to take the file of papers in his case, a copy of the letter included. Afterward the copy was not found in the file; he denied having abstracted it; and another copy was obtained from the Dutch government. Prior to its receipt, and chiefly due to the absence of the letter, "the United States finally used towards Holland that peculiar language which precedes a declaration of war. If this letter had not been discovered, it is more than possible that war would

have been declared, treasure squandered, blood spilt, and an irreparable damage amounting to millions would have followed." (Thomas G. Thrum: *The Shepherd Saint of Lanai*.) Immediately upon the copy of the abstracted letter being furnished, the United States dropped Gibson's claim against Holland.

*United States
Abandons Claim
Against Holland*

Incidental to that bizarre story, an account of Gibson is given by the distinguished author Nathaniel Hawthorne, who was the United States consul at Liverpool. He records, in *Our Old Home*, that a young American entered the consulate one day, and told such tales of romance as to fascinate him. Hawthorne continues of Gibson: "When his dignified reserve was overcome, he had the faculty of narrating these adventures with wonderful eloquence, working up his descriptive sketches with such intuitive perception of the picturesque points that the whole was thrown forward with a positively illusive effect, like matters of your own visual experience. In fact, they were so admirably done that I could never more than half believe them, because the genuine affairs of life are not apt to transact themselves so artistically." . . . Again: . . . "Literally from his first hour, he had been tossed upon the surges of a most varied and tumultuous existence, . . . spending many of the subsequent years in voyages, travels, and outlandish incidents and vicissitudes, which, methought, had hardly been paralleled since the days of Gulliver or De Foe."

*Hawthorne Is
Impressed by
Gibson Yarns*

Gibson related a tale of Oriental pirates who slit

*Orient Pirates
Good-natured
Throat Cutters*

the throats of all Christian prisoners, but were "a gentle-natured people, of primitive innocence and integrity;" a story of a race of semihuman hairy beasts, living in Ceylon, who simulated the "missing link;" the history of his Weltevreden experience, involving confiscation by the Dutch government of large property interests and the demand of the United States government on Holland for compensation therefor; and the narrative ended with the statement that Gibson had discovered that he, the son of a noble English family, was exchanged for the infant of American parents at birth on board ship, that he had just followed up the story in England and discovered that he was the heir to rich and noble estates in that country. As a result of his story, Gibson so worked upon Hawthorne's sympathies that he succeeded in borrowing thirty pounds with which to get back to the States. Hawthorne fails to record whether the loan was ever repaid.

*Gibson Elected
to Legislature
of the Islands*

Thereafter Gibson became a Mormon missionary, as related. His more spectacular career in Hawaii and his influence on its politics began with his election to the Legislature in 1878. He was a man of easy and agreeable address, well-informed on world questions, unhampered by local business connections, ambitious of political leadership, devoid of any principles that would prevent his scoring in any direction toward which his ambitions pointed. In 1882 Kalakaua had been King long enough to outgrow the restraint that the popular opposition to his election had at first imposed upon him. His appetite for personal aggrandizement

and control of the government was fully developed, but he lacked the means of gratification. Mr. Gibson furnished the means; and Claus Spreckels, appearing on the scene about that time, formed a cementing element that held the three together for some years, during which they dominated Hawaiian politics. Popular suspicion of Gibson, and opposition to him, became so intense that Thomas G. Thrum, owner and practical editor of the *Saturday Press*, a newspaper published in Honolulu, compiled and published in that paper, and afterward in pamphlet form, a history of the "Shepherd Saint of Lanai;" that is, Walter Murray Gibson. It covered the facts above set forth. If untrue, the history was full of libelous material, but no action was ever taken by anyone in consequence of the publication.

From the time of Gibson's election to the Legislature in 1878, the histories of the Merry Monarch and the Shepherd Saint intertwine. A mere enumeration of the offices that Kalakaua showered upon Gibson, with the dates of the appointments, tells the tale. As time passed, more and more difficulty was met in securing competent and responsible men to work in the government with the favorite. That fact did not deter the gentleman, however, as he was equal to any emergency. Under Gibson's guiding hand, Kalakaua simply filled every political vacancy that occurred with the name of Walter Murray Gibson, until he became the Pooh Bah of the Hawaiian government. A list of the appointments follows: Member of the privy

*Merry Monarch,
Saint of Lanai
Twine History*

*How Mr. Gibson
Was Pooh Bah
of the Kingdom*

council, September 1, 1880. Board of health, September 4, 1880. Minister of foreign affairs, May 20, 1882, to June 30, 1886. President, board of health, May 23, 1882. Commissioner of crown lands, July 20, 1882. President, board of education, February 19, 1883. Attorney-general *ad interim*, May 14 to December 14, 1883. Minister of the interior *ad interim*, July 26 to August 6, 1883. Attorney-general *ad interim*, September 18, 1884, to August 3, 1885. Minister of the interior and premier, June 30, 1886, to October 13, 1886. Minister of foreign affairs and premier, October 13, 1886, to July 1, 1887. Secretary of war and the navy, October 21, 1886.

*Makes Answer
to Protest of
Sugar Planters*

Gibson's career in Hawaii is a close index to the character of Kalakaua. An ability to adapt himself to any role, and to carry out any plan that suited the King, commended Gibson unqualifiedly to His Majesty. He accepted Gibson's leadership with unctiousness, so long as there was no apparent danger. When the sugar planters made a powerful protest in 1882, Kalakaua referred it to Mr. Gibson for answer, though the protest was against him. Gibson replied by figuratively slapping the planters in the face; if they did not like local conditions, he informed them, they had a constitutional remedy. In 1884, when the community protested at a mass meeting against the conduct of the government, and against the retention of Mr. Gibson in office, the King paid no attention, not even acknowledging receipt of the written protest. After the citizens' meeting and Kalakaua's contemptuous

ignoring of it, a story went the rounds of the community. I do not know the facts, but the gossip was believed at the time, and I have no reason to doubt its truth. The protest was so strong, and the community apparently so united, that Kalakaua was impressed, and he contemplated dismissing Mr. Gibson from office. The latter, however, is said to have gone to the King and urged him to stand pat, using some such words as these: "If you will ignore this protest, I will stand by you to the limit and we will succeed in beating the protestants." Then, according to the report, Mr. Gibson knelt before the King, took his shod foot, placed it on the Gibson neck, and said: "By this token I swear to you that I will show you the way out of this situation, and will see you through against your enemies."

*Gibson Places
Kalakaua Foot
on Gibson Neck*

No matter whether the tale is literally true, it aptly describes the situation. Defying practically the unanimous sentiment of the responsible portion of the community, Kalakaua resisted the opposition, and continued to support Mr. Gibson. In fact, that support and the cooperation of Kalakaua and Mr. Gibson continued unabated, until the formation of the Hawaiian League in 1887. With its command of physical force, the league so struck terror into Kalakaua that he not only withdrew his support of Mr. Gibson, which resulted in the downfall of that favorite, but Kalakaua also abased himself and yielded, without qualification, to every demand made by the citizens; and the results were the promulgation of the constitution and the "bloodless revolution" of 1887.

*Head Is White,
But His Heart
Is Still Green*

An incident in 1886 aroused much comment. A comely woman, fascinating, came to Honolulu to sell an interesting and expensive set of books. In the course of business, she met Mr. Gibson, who speedily succumbed to her charms; he proposed marriage, she coyly accepted, and he became a regular caller at her hotel. "Although my head is white," he was reported to have said at the time, "my heart is green." As the situation became known, however, a daughter of Mr. Gibson by a former marriage was said to have objected so strenuously that he repudiated the engagement, whereupon the lady placed her case in the hands of my partner, W. O. Smith, and myself, who then were practicing law in Honolulu. Following her instructions, we informed Mr. Gibson that she would drop the case, if he would admit the engagement and that he had broken it without cause on

DE BREACH OB PROMISE SOOT.

White folks, gib attention, while I sing for you a ditty,
About de breach of promise case dat lectrifid our city;
I mean no harm to dem concerned, especially de Widder,
And—golly!—now she's got de stamps, I grieve dat I'm a nigger!

(Chorus, after each verse.)

CHO.—Den it's oh!—dear!—harken to my thimble ringin',
Tiddle-de-ink-a-dink-a-dink,
Fm pickin' on de banjo a song dat Gib is often singin'—
A widder beats de devil, wen Reform has got de sway!

Of course, you know about de case much more den I kin sing you,
But, all de same, my dizzy rhyme a smile or two may bring you;
De plaintiff's got her soovin' s'olve—eight thousand and expenses—
To mend de heart-strings dat was broke by Gibby's false pretenses!

*"Pa Gibby's Wootin' and De Breech ob Promise Soot, as Sung by
'Vandalia Pete.'" From a performance given in Honolulu by the
crew of the U. S. S. "Vandalia" on November 15, 1887*

her part; otherwise, we informed him, she would bring suit for breach of promise. Having recovered from his "heart attack," Mr. Gibson refused to acknowledge the engagement at all; thereupon the lady brought suit, and a jury, after a full hearing of the evidence, gave judgment against Mr. Gibson for \$10,000. Finally she compromised for a cash payment of \$5,000. At no time did I see any indication that she was a fortune hunter, or that her offer to drop the suit, if he would acknowledge the engagement and admit that she had been without fault, was anything other than a *bona fide* effort to vindicate her character.

*Recovery From
"Heart Attack"
Proves Costly*

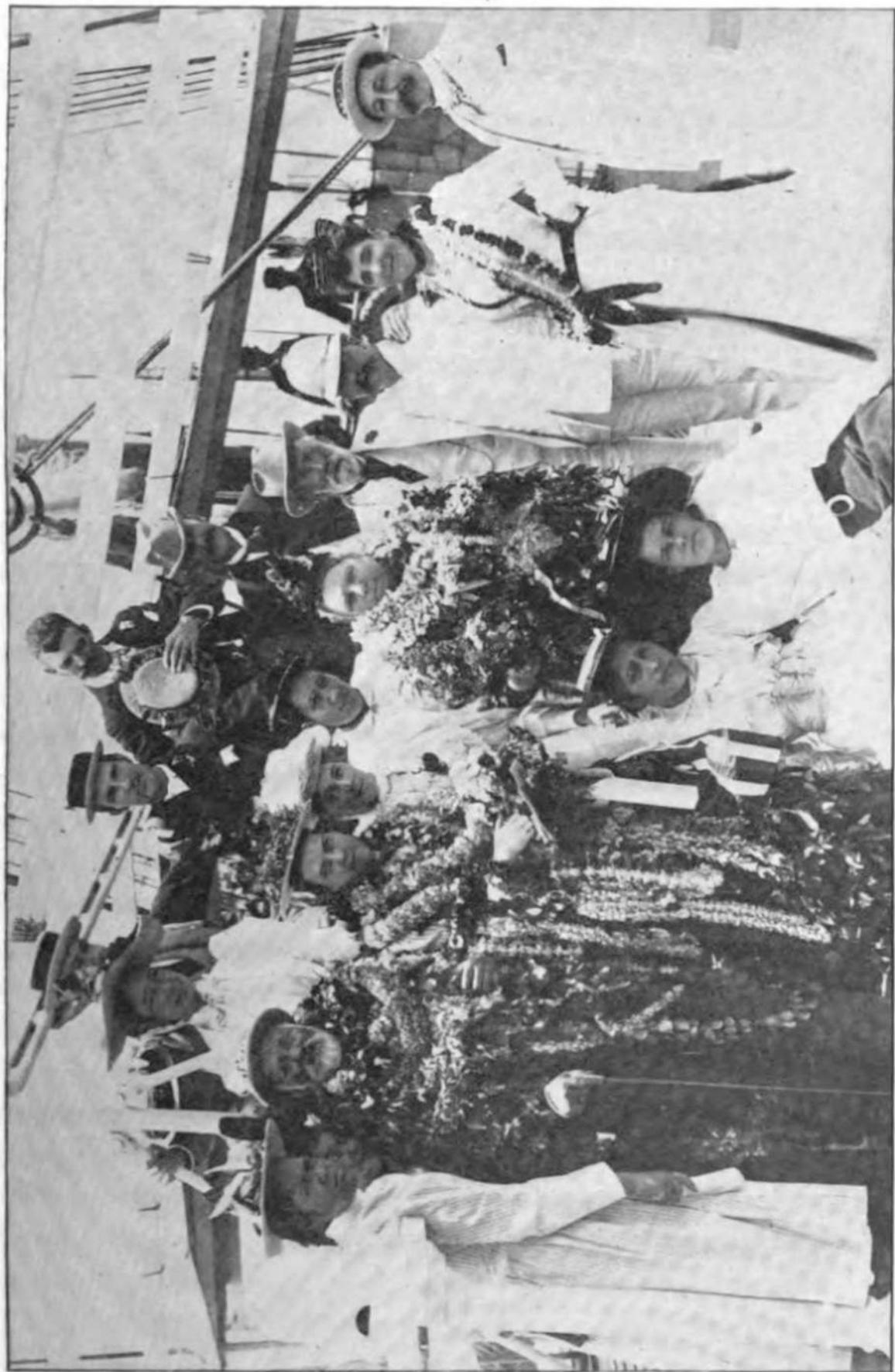
Now we are nearing the withdrawal of Mr. Gibson from the Hawaiian historical picture. During the first six months of 1887, the Kalakaua *regime* reached its peak. The Hawaiian League was in evolution; exaggerated rumors of its strength and intentions were circulated. Kalakaua, then in his heyday, was preparing to meet the league with force—I shall tell the details in a subsequent chapter on the Hawaiian League. When the public mind was at tension, a steamer arrived from Australia; almost immediately, the fact was made known that her manifest showed a shipment of guns consigned to a man thought to be in sympathy with the royal *regime*; and fire was set to a train of events that made Hawaiian history. The Honolulu Rifles, called out, seized the shipment. Instead of the arms being rifles, they were, according to a subsequent claim, old shotguns for the use of rice planters in scaring away rice-eating birds. Mr. Gibson and

*Rifles Called
Out to Seize
Rice Bird Guns*

his son-in-law, Fred Hayselden, were arrested by a detachment of the Rifles at this time and confined in Oahu Jail. [The shotguns were consigned to G. W. Macfarlane & Co.—*Editor.*]

For the purpose of this chapter, it is sufficient to say that Mr. Gibson was given an option, of remaining in Hawaii and standing trial for "high crimes and misdemeanors," or of leaving the country. Just what "high crimes and misdemeanors" meant I do not know, nor did Mr. Gibson, I suspect; but his conscience and his knowledge of the community feeling were such that he chose the second alternative and sailed for San Francisco. In San Francisco he sickened and soon died. His body was embalmed and returned to Honolulu, where it was placed on view in Arion Hall, just west of Aliiolani Hale, the courthouse. I well remember leaving the courthouse with Sanford B. Dole and his brother George. Said Sanford: "Well, shall we go and see old Gibson? It will probably be the last time we shall have a chance to see him." So we joined the line moving past the bier. When I got to a place where I could look down into the coffin, I was shocked to see that an embalming fluid, with which the body had been treated, had turned it coal-black. Against that color, the snow-white hair and beard presented a startling contrast. While we went into the street, we were silent for some minutes. Then Sanford asked: "What do you think of it?" After a pause, George Dole said deliberately: "Well, I think his complexion is approximating the color of his soul." With that epitaph, I close the chapter on Walter Murray Gibson in Hawaii.

*Complexion
Approximates
Color of Soul*



Claus Spreckels, sometimes called "the uncrowned king of Hawaii," is the first man on the reader's left, burdened with "leis." He is about to sail for San Francisco; friends are wishing him a good voyage

CHAPTER V

CLAUS SPRECKELS, SUGAR, THE THRONE

For a brief period, Claus Spreckels figured largely in the affairs of the Hawaiian monarchy. At one time, in the reign of Kalakaua, he was dominant. Born in 1828 in Lanstedt, Hanover, Germany, he came to the United States in 1846, to evade compulsory military service, and got employment at \$4 a week as a clerk in a grocery store in Charleston, South Carolina. He saved his money, and bought out the store. Subsequently he opened a grocery in New York City, removing thence to San Francisco in 1856, where he became the proprietor of another grocery, which he sold, and then promoted a brewery. In 1863 he purchased an interest in a small sugar refinery in San Francisco, later becoming sole proprietor. At that time, several weeks were needed to refine sugar. Mr. Spreckels invented a process by which the time was reduced to less than twenty-four hours. In 1868 he constructed the California sugar refinery, securing a supply of raw sugar from the Philippines and Hawaii. After the consummation of a reciprocity treaty between Hawaii and the United States in 1876, he decided to become a producer, as well as a refiner, and accordingly came to Hawaii in 1878.

*Mr. Spreckels
Dominant In
Kalakaua Reign*

*He Is Fetched
to the Islands
by Reciprocity*

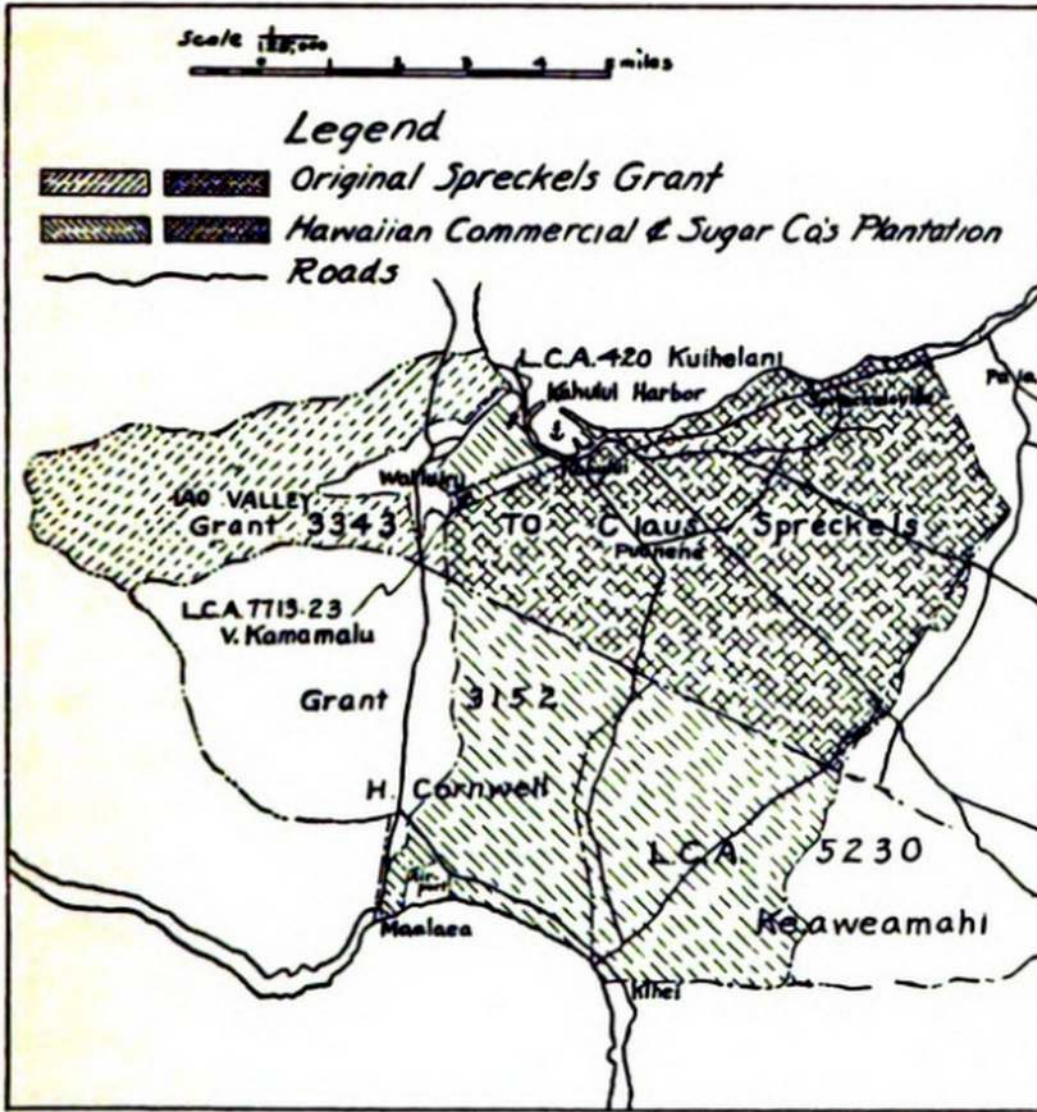
The crown land of Wailuku, Island of Maui, including the major area now cultivated by the

Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., Ltd., generally was dry and barren. Samuel T. Alexander and Henry P. Baldwin, owners of Paia Plantation, and other interests, including Haiku Plantation, situated on the northern side of East Maui, had built a ditch to the northern slopes of Haleakala mountain, and had taken water therefrom to Haiku and Paia. Mr. Spreckels brought Herman Schusler, a leading irrigation engineer of the Pacific Coast, to Hawaii; and the engineer, after an examination of the territory, ran a ditch line below the first ditch, called "Hamakua," to the northern side of Haleakala, tapping a large number of streams, and taking the water, by ditch and pipe, across the intervening gulches to the barren land of the Wailuku commons. On the land, through the medium of the ditch, Mr. Spreckels founded the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. Since that time, under the management of Henry P. Baldwin and his son Frank, it has developed into the largest sugar plantation in Hawaii, its annual output being approximately 60,000 tons.

*Largest Sugar
Plantation of
Hawaii Begun*

Mr. Spreckels first obtained a lease of the land from the crown land commissioners. Being advised that the crown lands really were the private estate of the Kamehameha family, he offered the sole surviving member of the Kamehamehas, Princess Ruth Keelikolani, \$10,000 for her interest. Since Princess Ruth never dreamed that she had any interest in the property, the offer was a pick-up, and she promptly accepted. Having thus got tentative title to all the crown lands, Mr. Spreckels

MEMOIRS OF LORRIN A. THURSTON



Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Plantation in January, 1936. The shaded-in parts show the whole plantation, and also the portion of the Spreckels grant in Iao Valley, which formerly belonged to the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., Ltd., but was exchanged with the Wailuku Sugar Co. for water rights on West Maui. The shading in two directions shows the part of the Spreckels grant included in the present plantation—it is the crown land that Mr. Spreckels leased at first; his subsequent grant embodied Iao Valley to the mountain crest, possibly to give him Iao Valley water rights. Elsewhere the map, shaded in one direction, shows the Cornwell grant and the Keaweamahi land commission award. Some lands were excepted from the Spreckels grant, principally Wailuku, its vicinity, and two land commission awards extending from Wailuku to Kahului. The map is from the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., Ltd.

*24,000 Acres
of Public Land
for \$10,000*

proposed to King Kalakaua and his factotum, Walter Murray Gibson, that they convey to him, in fee, the crown land of Wailuku, containing approximately 24,000 acres, much of which promised to be good cane land; in return, he would quitclaim the remaining crown lands to the government. The scheme was carried out and approved by the legislature of 1882, which the King absolutely controlled. Much opposition arose; on behalf of the community, the argument was made that Princess Ruth had no title to the crown lands, and that Mr. Spreckels therefore had nothing to convey to the government in exchange for the land of Wailuku. But Mr. Spreckels, a wealthy man, had lent Kalakaua and the Hawaiian government considerable money, which cemented his hold.

In the same period, a deal was negotiated between the Hawaiian government and Mr. Spreckels, by which the latter, playing on Kalakaua's egotism, succeeded in securing the mintage of \$1,000,000 worth of silver coins at the United States mint in San Francisco. They were of the same weight and fineness as United States coins of similar face value—dimes, quarters, fifty-cent and one-dollar pieces; and their intrinsic value was so much less than the face value that a profit was left of between \$100,000 and \$200,000.

*Payment for
Silver Coins
in Gold Bonds*

Authorization of this deal was put through the legislative session of 1884; Mr. Spreckels had the coins minted, and delivered them in Honolulu in exchange for six per cent bonds of the Hawaiian government, payable in gold coin, to the amount of

\$1,000,000. If the seigniorage had gone to the government, there would have been no serious objection. As the profit went to a private person, Claus Spreckels, an injunction against the deal was sought by Sanford B. Dole, W. R. Castle, and W. O. Smith, as interested citizens. The suit was decided against the petitioners on a technicality; before an amendment could be made to the petition, the money was paid over to the government, and the bonds were delivered.

*Dole, Castle,
Smith Attempt
to Enjoin Grab*

Emboldened by his success in getting title to the Wailuku land, and by the coinage scheme, Mr. Spreckels next attempted to secure, from the legislature of 1884, a franchise for a bank, to be situated in Honolulu, which should have the power of issuing paper money receivable for taxes and customs. To the proposed franchise the King had agreed, but the project excited so much hostility and opposition, among the people of all classes, that the King dropped the plan, and thereafter Mr. Spreckels also abandoned it, although he opened a private bank in Honolulu without the power of issuing paper money. Mr. Spreckels became interested in a number of other sugar plantations in Hawaii; entering into partnership with William G. Irwin, then a young man, he formed the sugar agency corporation of Wm. G. Irwin & Co., Ltd., which grew into one of the leading agencies of the kingdom, before it amalgamated with C. Brewer & Co., Ltd. Mr. Spreckels, afterward involved in litigation with members of his family, transferred his interests in the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar

Co., to his sons, C. A. (Gus) and Rudolph, and took their notes, payable over a period of several years. He afterward attempted to force them out of the plantation by closing the banks of San Francisco to them; but they got relief by borrowing elsewhere the money necessary to meet their debts; and the two sons ultimately won freedom from their father's control. [Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Plantation was controlled by the Spreckels family until 1898, when a syndicate composed of Samuel T. Alexander, Henry P. Baldwin, James B. Castle, with associates, bought the majority of the capital stock. They had had nothing to do with the plantation before that time.—*Editor.*]

*Mr. Spreckels
and Rudolph
Are Reconciled*

As Mr. Spreckels drew toward the close of his life, he and Rudolph were reconciled, and they came to Hawaii after annexation. Rudolph, always the favorite son, was made executor of Mr. Spreckels' estate. My relations with Rudolph had been friendly, and on several occasions I had acted as his attorney. At his father's death, he wrote to me in Honolulu, that he was executor of the estates of both his parents, and asked whether I would act as administrator of the property in Hawaii. I accepted. When the estates were closed, Rudolph requested me to give him my bill; I sent one for \$1,000. Rudolph replied by destroying it and writing a check for \$2,500. I was reminded of a story. A Jewish lawyer in New York City, who sent a bill for services extending over several years, received a check for twice the amount. The client was a Protestant; the Jew thanked him, and ended

his letter thus: "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."

Claus Spreckels was most vigorous and forceful, reputed a most generous friend and an unrelenting and dangerous enemy. When he had established his California sugar refinery, the "sugar trust" crossed the Rockies and put a refinery in San Francisco, virtually threatening to drive him from refining on the Pacific Coast. Instead of surrendering, he marshaled his finances, went to Philadelphia, and there constructed the largest and most modern refinery in the United States. So effective was his competition that he forced the "trust" to its knees; and it bought his Philadelphia refinery and agreed to stop its destructive competition in San Francisco, leaving him in control there.

*"Sugar Trust"
Loses Battle
With Spreckels*

Mr. Spreckels owned the Spreckels Building at Fourth and Market Streets, San Francisco. His tenants were annoyed by smoke from the stack of the San Francisco Gas & Electric Co., and he approached the president of the company at their club, whereupon the president intimated, somewhat haughtily, that he did not discuss business out of hours. "You don't, eh?" Mr. Spreckels retorted. "Then I'll give you something to think about all the time." He got a franchise for a second gas and electric plant, and used it with such effect that he forced the other company to buy him out. Another chapter in Mr. Spreckels' career relates to the control of transportation in California by the Southern Pacific Lines. Repeated efforts had been made to raise money for the construction

*Now Competes
With Southern
Pacific Lines*

of a competing railroad, but without success. Having built a large beet sugar plant, and desiring better transportation facilities, Mr. Spreckels promoted a railroad into San Francisco through the San Joaquin Valley. Eventually he sold the line to the Santa Fe, which was already connecting Los Angeles with the East; thus effective competition with the Southern Pacific was established.

When I went to Washington in 1892, to ascertain the disposition of the Washington authorities, should a proposal for annexation arise, I called on Mr. Spreckels in San Francisco, and made a full statement to him of the condition of affairs in Hawaii, and of my object in going East. He fully concurred in my mission; his concurrence continued up to the negotiation of the Harrison annexation treaty. After President Cleveland withdrew the treaty from the consideration of the Senate, Mr. Spreckels came to Honolulu and called a meeting of the sugar planters. He said, in substance, that they could continue to bring in all necessary Asiatic labor under an independent government, that they could make more money than they ever had made, or ever could make in the event of annexation. Therefore, he argued, the interests of the planters lay in abandoning annexation and in supporting independence.

*Independence
Makes Asiatic
Labor Possible*

Mr. J. B. Atherton, a member of the firm of Castle & Cooke, sugar agents in Honolulu, replied to Mr. Spreckels, expressing the practically unanimous feeling of the sugar planters, in substantially these words: "We admit, Mr. Spreckels, the logic of what you say. But you do not live in

Hawaii, and your sole interest here is a financial one. The rest of us do live here, however, and our interest in Hawaii is not only a financial one, but we have a personal interest as well, and we would prefer a little less money and a little more peace. We are, therefore, unable to accept your suggestion." An angry Mr. Spreckels announced that he would support Queen Liliuokalani in her attempt to secure restoration at the hands of the United States; and he immediately became an open royalist, seeking by all means to promote the interests of royalty and to oppose annexation.

At that time, he and Mrs. Spreckels were living in a large three-story residence, which he had built on Punahou Street, Honolulu. Some enterprising annexationist prepared a pasteboard placard, on which a skull and crossbones were scratched, with the words: "Silver and gold are potent, but lead is more effective." The placard was nailed to Mr. Spreckels' front gate. When the gentleman discovered it in the morning, he was infuriated; immediately he went to President Dole with a demand for police protection, for he asserted that a threat had been made to assassinate him. Protection was given, as requested, but nothing could assuage Mr. Spreckels; and he sailed for San Francisco on the next steamer, threatening that he would make grass grow in the streets of Honolulu. Some ten years afterward, when in San Francisco, I happened to meet him. He did not recognize me, and I said: "Good morning, Mr. Spreckels. This is Mr. Thurston, of Honolulu." Glaring at me, he ejaculated: "Oh, yes! You fellows down there wanted to shoot

*Less Money and
More Peace Are
Atherton Aims*

*Grass to Grow
in the Streets
of the Village*

me, eh?" "Oh, no!" said I. "Nobody in Honolulu wanted to shoot you; that placard was simply a bluff." "Yes, you did!" he insisted with great emphasis. "Yes, you did! Yes, you did!" Seeing that his mind was made up, I spent no further time in discussion.

To a large extent, the details of the downfall of the Spreckels control in Hawaii have been forgotten by the public. His power in governmental affairs, gained through finance, had become so great, and Mr. Spreckels had grown so arrogant, particularly in public declarations, that the situation palled on Kalakaua. Relief from the Spreckels arrogance was suggested to the King, through securing a loan of a million dollars from England and using the money to pay Mr. Spreckels. Without his knowledge of what was afoot, the loan was floated; and the Hawaiian government was practically released from his financial grip. In connection with the loan, graft was made by those who negotiated it—of \$75,000, which has never been paid to the Hawaiian government. Hawaiian bonds to the amount of \$1,000,000 having been sent to London, the London agents delivered the bonds to the purchasers and collected the cash, but they withheld \$75,000, although there was no agreement with the Hawaiian government permitting them to make such a charge for their services. That incident illustrates the cost to Hawaii of the incompetence of the Kalakaua *regime*.

*Kalakaua Gets
English Loan
To Pay Debts*

CHAPTER VI

REVOLUTIONISM, ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH

Charges have been made—in the present knowledge of past conditions, they have been accepted—that the opposition to King Kalakaua, culminating in the movement which forced from him the constitution of 1887, was the work of a few dissatisfied persons, and that the subsequent action, which evolved into the overthrow of the throne, was the result of a conspiracy formed by those persons and the then American minister, supported by American troops. Without qualification, I assert that those charges are entirely untrue, and that there was no conspiracy of the character suggested—or of any character. At Kalakaua's accession to the throne in 1874, Hawaii was devoid of any thought of revolution, any thought of organized opposition to the Monarchy. Nor did opposition appear overnight. It was a direct outgrowth of the acts of Kalakaua and the scheme of government developed by him and by those whom he gathered into his circle. Early in his reign, he showed himself willing to accept the guidance of men who had not established themselves in the community, who lacked public confidence.

That was a period of financial and mercantile expansion. Sugar was fostered by the reciprocity treaty of 1876 with the United States. Energetic people were making money; the country was pros-

*Throne Toppled
By Malcontents
and Minister?*

*King to Blame
for Opposition
to Monarchy*

*Not Content
To Let Well
Enough Alone*

perous; there were no hard times, such as normally generate dissatisfaction with a government. But Kalakaua was not content to let well enough alone, to share in the general prosperity without having to work for his portion. He manifested an extravagant spirit, which continuously demanded more money for personal pleasures and desires than was rightfully due his position. For the purpose of this chapter, I need not go into details, though many are available. Yielding to a hunger for "get-rich-quick" profits and for political power to augment them, he rapidly grew arbitrary and arrogant in disposition and activity. All that might have been tolerated, if he had been a brave character, and if the people had been disposed to submit without demur. But the people were enlightened and not accustomed to such treatment, especially from a man who had none of the martial qualities of the first Kamehameha.

*Sugar Planters
Protest King's
Personal Power*

A great many of the people lacked time for politics; most persons were busy otherwise. By October, 1882, however, the vagaries of the King became so flagrant that the community first realized that something was radically wrong with the government of Hawaii. On October 17, 1882, the organized sugar planters met; they voiced a public protest against Kalakaua's personal control of government, and formulated an address to the King, which was published in the press, censuring the acts of the cabinet as inconsistent with the best interests of the community, and setting forth reasons for their attitude. The address was delivered to Kala-

kaua by a committee of nine representative sugar planters of the kingdom: Jonathan Austin, Robert R. Hind, Adolf Haneberg, Alfred S. Hartwell, Z. S. Spalding, William H. Bailey, Robert Halstead, E. P. Adams, and H. P. Baldwin. The following reply was sent, not by the King, but by the premier, Mr. Gibson, on October 20, 1882:

*Premier Gibson
Sends Letter
to Protestants*

"GENTLEMEN: By command of the King, the undersigned has the honor to respond to your memorial, addressed to His Majesty.

"You, as a Committee of the Planters' Labor and Supply Company, have been authorized 'to communicate to His Majesty the sentiments of this organization in relation to matters concerning the interests of the industry we (you) represent.' You have not thought proper however, to communicate for His Majesty's information any views in relation to immigration, cultivation, or other matter pertaining to the interests of your company as an industrial organization; but have instead, presented for his Majesty's consideration, your dissatisfaction with the Advisers of the Crown, and with the opinions of a journal, that is not an organ of ministerial opinion, and has no connection whatever with the position or prerogative of the Sovereign.

"I and my colleagues, fully recognize the privilege of any and all subjects of the Kingdom to discuss the conduct of public officers, and to endeavor by constitutional means to bring about reformation of public administration.

"Such a course is open to you, gentlemen, to seek 'according to the spirit of the Hawaiian Constitution,' the amelioration in the management of public affairs, you deem necessary for the public welfare.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your most obedient servant,

"[Signed.] WALTER MURRAY GIBSON,
"Premier."

—*The Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 23, 1882.

To the petitioners, the reply was a slap on the cheek. In the first place, the petition had been addressed to the King personally, and not to the cabinet or to any one member, but the prime minister arrogated to himself the right to reply. In the second place, Mr. Gibson virtually told the petitioners that the King was satisfied with the cabinet and its actions, and that, if they did not like the situation, they could "do the other thing." What it was may be left to the imagination, as the King not only was manipulating the Legislature by bestowing offices upon its members, but also was interfering with elections by the inordinate use of liquor. Instead of paying any attention to the protest, the King and Gibson both traveled at a more rapid pace than ever; and the rebuff of the planters was a lesson to them and the community, that words, without force behind them, were of no avail.

My first political activity occurred early in 1884. At that time, the true character of King Kalakaua had begun to manifest itself; and a growing unrest had resulted in the election to the house of representatives of an organized opposition to the royal encroachments upon the independence of the Legislature. Two members of the opposition were Sanford B. Dole and William O. Smith. They suggested that I become a candidate for legislative clerk, but they added: "If you do become a candidate, you must get out and work for the place." I was willing to accept it, although the duties would be new, but calls upon members for support were entirely distasteful. However, I agreed, and made

*"L. A." Started
Into Politics
by Dole, Smith*

a personal canvass of the nobles and the newly-elected representatives, since both houses sat together. There were twenty-eight elected members and about twenty nobles, the latter of whom were appointed by the King, making approximately forty-eight members to be interviewed. Having promises of support from thirty-six, I felt confident of election. When the clerk was chosen, on April 28, 1884, I received nineteen votes, as against twenty-nine for Edward A. Pierce; thus early I had demonstration of the fact that political promises are not dependable. Like the platforms of street cars, they are made to get on, not to stand on.

At that time, the *Bulletin*, a daily afternoon newspaper of Honolulu, was owned by Walter Hill, who was also principal of the Reformatory School, a government institution. Messrs. Dole and Smith proposed, if they could get control of the *Bulletin* editorial policy, to pay me \$100 a month as editor during the legislative session. I accepted; and they concluded a deal with Mr. Hill, by which he leased to them the control of the *Bulletin* editorial policy for the term of the Legislature, while they agreed to have the editing done without cost to him. He was well pleased, since the paper maintained a bare financial existence, and the agreement relieved him of considerable expense. It nearly cost him his government position, however, as he was taken severely to task when the paper began political opposition to the government. I edited the *Bulletin* for about six months, in a manner that made the paper interesting, if irritating, to the administration and the King.

*Promises made
by Legislators
Are Not Kept*

*Thurston Edits
"Bulletin" for
the Opposition*

*Royal Picking
at Funerals
of the Chiefs*

One incident arose from a proposed legislative appropriation for the funeral expenses of an *attache* of the royal family. A royal picking, which had grown up under Kalakaua, provided all the Palace *entourage* with new suits of clothes, hats and shoes included, at the death of a chief, a royal *attache*, or anyone of whom the King approved, the cost being charged to funeral expenses, and the whole paid by the treasury. The practice had evoked public criticism, as an unfair burden on the taxpayers. An appropriation for a funeral of the sort having been asked of the Legislature in 1884, the *Bulletin* editorially approved. Instead of opposing the appropriation, said the newspaper, the public should vote to advance several times the amount asked, and make a good job. Seemingly the King regarded the statement as a "slam" at the royal family. Apparently a foundation was laid, during those six months, for a personal hostility of Kalakaua toward me. After the revolution of 1887, that hostility became more evident.

*Bank Franchise
Dropped When
Feeling Waxes*

In June, 1884, the coinage fraud and the proposed bank franchise (discussed in the chapter on Claus Spreckels) again brought home to the community that it was the victim of apparently endless looting; and the consequence was the "Lyceum meeting" of that month. Like that of the planters two years before, the gathering lacked organized force to support its demands, but the intensity of feeling against the bank franchise outrage, although not backed by force, so strongly suggested force that the franchise was dropped. In other respects,

however, a similar intensity was not displayed, and the King flouted the adopted resolutions. On July 7, he positively refused a request that he remove the cabinet, thus practically repeating his action on the complaint of the planters in 1882. Now the meeting of June, 1884, was as united as that called by the Hawaiian League in June, 1887, and as united as that held on January 16, 1893, which presaged the overthrow of the Monarchy; but the 1884 meeting lacked power of compulsion. Thus the attitude of Kalakaua, when force evidently was available, changed entirely, though the logic of two protests might be virtually the same. His vicious irresponsibility and failure to recognize the principles involved are shown in the following editorial of the *Bulletin*, when his reply to the 1884 resolutions became known:

*Majesty Called
Viciously
Irresponsible*

"The King has spoken, and what does he say? He says that '*other petitions have been presented to him expressing an opposite view*' and that a vote of the Legislative Assembly '*failed to express a want of confidence in the ministry; that for these and other reasons he does not deem it consistent to disregard this expression of the Legislative Assembly.*'

"For what '*other reasons*' he does not deign to say, and with what he does not '*deem it consistent,*' is equally uncertain.

"If as a matter of fact the Legislature *had* failed to express a want of confidence in the Ministry, nothing would have been more consistent with the King's previous conduct than to immediately demand their resignations. In 1876, 1878, 1880 and 1882, a vote of want of confidence in the Ministry was defeated by large majorities; in 1882 the vote being 34 to 10, and yet in each of those instances the Ministry was dismissed from office within a few days after the Legislature had expressed

its confidence in them. The King quibbles, and trifles with the people when he says that 'other petitions expressing an opposite opinion' have been presented to him. The 'other petitions' like the vote of the Legislature, are the offspring of the very men concerning whom they speak.

"The King bases his reply there 1st—On a decision of the Legislature, which as we have already shown, is in no sense an expression of the opinion of the country and would have been to the contrary but for the individual votes of the Ministers themselves. 2nd—On 'other petitions', which were gotten up by Mr. Gibson and circulated by his employes and Government officers, and signed by a rabble of irresponsible persons; petitions which had never received the endorsement of any public meeting or of any prominent or responsible citizens. 3rd—On 'other reasons' which are not indicated. Unless the unexplained reasons are better than the detailed ones, it is not a matter of surprise that they are not given."

Investigations and a report of the finance committee of the Legislature in 1884 revealed the most willful violation by the cabinet of the provisions of the law concerning appropriations. One of the rankest: the minister of the interior overdrew his salary 500 per cent. Again, the appropriation for the coronation of Kalakaua and Kapiolani was \$10,000; but the report of the committee showed that the expenditures exceeded \$33,000. The excess funds were obtained by the transfer of monies from any and every available appropriation that had an unexpended balance. Although the law provided that the receipts of all sales of government property should be paid into the treasury as a realization, proceeds of several thousand dollars' worth of government property were withheld from the treasury and expended for the coronation. And yet the Leg-

*Coronation of
Royal Pair is
Trifle Costly*

islature, dominated by the King, approved the performance of the ministers, and let them go scot-free. The following editorial comment of the *Bulletin* on June 17, 1884, summarized the state of things:

"This important report . . . is one long indictment of the Ministry. Such a mass of dishonest jobbery and reckless expenditure of trust moneys has never before been known in the history of the country. Gross mismanagement, incompetency, carelessness, and for the first time in the history of the nation, defalcation and manipulation of the public business for the private gain of Cabinet Ministers. The report is so full of items deserving of censure that an adequate idea of the extent of the corruption and mismanagement which has run riot under Mr. Gibson's fostering care, during the past two years, can be obtained only by reading the whole report.

*Public Affairs
Manipulated
for Ministers*

"The boldest defiance and disregard of the law has been shown by all the Ministers, more especially by Mr. Gibson and Mr. Bush. The law in express words forbids the transfer of funds from one appropriation to another, in the same department even, but Mr. Gibson and his colleagues have not hesitated to draw from any and every appropriation which suited their purposes, even drawing money, in one instance, from the Attorney General's department to pay for the battery lately imported. Another most glaring violation of the law is the use of receipts from sales of Government property, for running expenses, without their ever being paid into the Treasury.

* * * *

"Under this appropriation," [for the coronation] "F. H. Hayselden" [the premier's son-in-law] "turned an honest penny by selling the government seven turkeys, at \$3.50 each; a bill also appears for two pair of corsets and a bustle; which department of the Government wore them does not appear. . . .

*Seven Turkeys
Win Hayselden
Honest Penny*

* * * *

"In the Immigration office, confusion is worse confounded. \$209,286 have been collected, and \$172,022 disbursed without a book of accounts, the only evidence

of such transaction, being contained in loose sheets of journal paper, and moreover, these transactions have been 'without the warrants of the appropriation act, and in direct opposition to the terms of the act to regulate the receipt, custody, and issue of public moneys.' As a result of this method of doing business, the Secretary of the Board of Immigration cannot make his accounts balance by \$5,962, and although he has checked back his accounts, can find no error and give no explanation. The Board of Health, also, had no set of books. . . ."

*Organic Law
of Hawaii Nei
Irks Kalakaua*

As time went on, the King became more and more extravagant in his appetite for unrestrained power and greater revenue. The restraint of the constitution, in limiting his financial activities to the appropriation bill passed by the Legislature, became more and more irksome. In Gibson, as head of the cabinet, Kalakaua found a willing tool, who was ready to violate the restrictions on executive control in exchange for political power. In Claus Spreckels, who had recently appeared on the Hawaiian horizon as a power of finance, Kalakaua found a ready coadjutor, able and willing to meet his financial needs—for a consideration. The logical result was that the King, Gibson, and Spreckels formed a triumvirate, mutually advantageous; and they practically ran away with the community. For the King, there was almost no limit except his appetite. To the readiness of Gibson to do Kalakaua's will, there was no limit except an ability to think up ways and means. As for Spreckels, Hawaii was a fresh mine, which he worked to the limit. Such conditions explain how Sanford B. Dole became one of a revolutionary body.

CHAPTER VII

OPPOSITION TO KALAKAUA INCREASES

Late in 1885, the machinations of Kalakaua, Gibson, and Spreckels had stirred up so much hostility that an active political opposition arose.

*Opposition to
Triumvirate's
Machinations*

*Minutes Sept. 3^d 1885
Meeting of Political Reform Committee at
Office of S. B. Dale.*

President

Arhinton

Paty

W. R. Castle,

P. C. Jones

J. Austin

B. F. Dillingham

S. B. Dale

H. H. Hall

*Voted that an executive committee of three
be appointed to attend to election matters
with full power to act at their discre-
tion.*

*W. R. Castle, S. B. Dale & L. A. Thurston elected
as members of this committee*

*voted that P. C. Jones, J. B. Arhinton and
J. H. Paty be a committee for collecting
funds for election purposes*

Adjourned

S. B. Dale

Secretary pro tem

—From minutes of the Reform Party, Archives of Hawaii.

*Molokai and
Lanai Under
Royal Thumb*

About nine opposition members were elected to the legislature of 1886; among them were Messrs. Sanford B. Dole, W. R. Castle, W. O. Smith, and myself. I was worked into the combination as raw material, never having previously taken an active part in politics, except that I had singed my wings at the flame by being a candidate for clerk of the legislature of 1884, and thereafter becoming editor of the *Bulletin*. The alliance decided, late in 1885, that I should seek election to the 1886 legislature from the Islands of Molokai and Lanai, which jointly elected two representatives. Walter Murray Gibson had practically complete control of the Lanai voters at that time. He had secured government leases of most of the island, had gained land from the natives through his service as a missionary of the Mormon Church, as heretofore related, and was almost the only employer of labor on Lanai. Molokai was considered one of the King's "pocket boroughs," the district judge and the local tax assessor having been regularly elected for some years.

The election was a unique experience to me. I had never set foot on either island, and knew personally only two residents. About the beginning of the campaign, a convention of Sunday schools of Maui, Molokai, and Lanai was held at Kaluaaha, Molokai. Arrangements were made for me to attend. After the convention ended, a *luau* would be given and a political meeting held, at which I should be launched as a candidate. My sponsor was to be John Kalua. Originally a Molokai boy, he had been my mother's cook and wash boy at the

Haleakala Boys' School, on Maui; afterward he had become an active politician and one of the most brilliant orators I have ever heard in any language. W. R. Castle and William A. Kinney accompanied me from Honolulu; we were met on Molokai by Kalua and John Richardson.

When we went to the steamer at Honolulu, a Kona wind was blowing, which so set her up against the wharf, near the foot of Alakea Street, that she had difficulty in getting away. The crew had imbibed freely of "sandpaper gin" at the election headquarters of the Royal Party at the foot of Richards Street. They were endeavoring to shove her off, and pulled and hauled on the bow and stern lines, but without avail. Suddenly the captain, in exasperation, jumped from the bridge, where our party had gathered, and rushed forward on the deck, punching right and left, and bellowing orders. One fist struck the eye of a Hawaiian seaman, and the eye bulged out on the sailor's cheek about the size of a plum. The captain's mouth was full of oaths, but they were as nothing compared with the voluble profanity of the sailor, who jumped over the rail to the pier and charged up and down, denouncing the captain, the vessel, and everything in sight. Samuel A. Macy, "hack policeman," a well-known figure of those times, then on the pier, rushed up to the sailor and said: "I arrest you, sir, for using profanity in a public place." At the same time, Macy placed his hand on the sailor's shoulder.

*Election Gin
and Deep-Sea
Profanity Mix*

*Sailor Finds
Arrest Added
to His Injury*

Wheeling to face Macy, the sailor began direct-

ing his profanity at the policeman and the government. Thereupon, when Macy attempted to restrain him, the man climbed upon the steamer, pouring defiance and profanity against the authorities on land. Macy yelled to the captain: "Put that man ashore! He's under arrest." The captain, whose whole thought was devoted to getting the steamer under way, retorted: "You go to hell!" Amid three torrents of blasphemy, from the captain, the policeman, and the sailor, the *Mokolii* finally got to sea. On the next morning, *The Advertiser*, which had become the property of Mr. Spreckels and was dominated by the Gibson influence, published an article intimating that Messrs. Castle, Kinney, and Thurston had got the crew of the *Mokolii* drunk, and in a drunken frenzy had gone to Molokai, there "to do prayers and politics."

*Blasphemous
Torrents Pour
as Ship Sails*

At Kaluaaha, Molokai, I found one of the largest and most enthusiastic assemblies of Hawaiians I have ever seen. All their attention, for two days, was paid the Sunday school phases, with J. W. Kalua in charge. We visitors from Honolulu were given seats on the platform, and called upon for speeches. Mr. Kinney had been a Sunday school teacher in Kawaiahao Church, Honolulu, for ten years or so; he had a natural command of the Hawaiian language, the full church vocabulary included; and he rang the changes on Sunday school work. I remember, in particular, one part of his talk: "Look up and not down! Look forward and not backward! Look outward and not inward!"

*Familiar With
Vocabulary of
Sunday School*

The exhortation, delivered with electric vigor, brought down the house with a roar of applause. Unfortunately I had to speak next. Never before had I spoken in a church or Sunday school; I was totally unfamiliar with the church vocabulary, and was quite inexperienced in oratory of the kind. My speech was an utter failure, and I knew the fact. As I resumed my seat in the front row, amid oppressive silence, my friend and old schoolmate John Richardson leaned over to say: "Thurston, I never heard you talk politics. If you don't do it any better than you talk religion, you'd better go home." Worst of all, what he said was true. But my time was coming.

A political meeting and a *luau* were held on the day after the convention closed. Kalua presided, and delivered one of the most brilliant addresses to which I have ever listened, attacking Kupihea, the district judge, and Nakaleka, the district tax collector, who were the Royal Ticket candidates, in the most scathing fashion I have ever heard; and he ended by presenting me, the stripling from Honolulu, as a "young lion who was to bring salvation and liberty to downtrodden Molokai." He had worked the meeting into high excitement; upon the wave, I was launched as a candidate for the Legislature. What it meant to have this introduction by Kalua can hardly be realized by the present generation.

Kupihea, a man of some property and influence, had been district court judge for years—the position gave him consequence and dignity; he was

*Kalua Delivers
Brilliant and
Scathing Talk*

rather a "sacred cow" of the district. Nakaleka, as assessor and tax collector of Molokai for some time, had great influence in politics. Kalua had been a member of the Legislature, and had gained much reputation as an orator, not only on Molokai, but throughout the group. He went to Molokai with the eclat of a political leader behind him; from Wailuku he took a choir that sang, for the first time, a song dedicated to Kalua, entitled "*Malu i ke Ao.*" The chorus, well known to old-time Hawaiian songsters, runs as follows:

*"Malu i ke ao,
Ke ahi o Wailuku,
Ke paniwai o Iao."*

("In the shade of the clouds, the fire of Wailuku,"—referring to Kalua—"the dam of Iao.") Reference is made to a legend that, when Kamehameha I conquered Maui, the defenders were killed in such numbers in the Iao Valley that their bodies dammed the stream. To have the popular favorite Kalua, with the prestige of his political position and oratory, supplemented by the glamour of the new song, referring to the fame of Wailuku—to have him deliver a vitriolic address, tearing their old-time political idols limb from limb, and giving me a remarkable start, caused a sensation that can scarcely be appreciated in these more matter-of-fact years.

The text of my speech was a tale of a fisherman who discovered a bottle lying on a beach. In it an imp was imprisoned, who prayed to be released, promising all kinds of rewards to his liberator. The

*Tale of Bottle
Imp Is Used as
Text of Speech*

fisherman pulled the cork with some misgivings. An immense column of flame and smoke roared forth, filling the sky; and the imp, changing into a demon, with giant gnashing teeth and blazing eyes, devoured the fisherman and everything else in sight. My application was that the imp represented Claus Spreckels (the *ona miliona*, the millionaire, as he was commonly known in Hawaii) and his minion, Mr. Gibson, while the fisherman represented Hawaii, which had inadvertently precipitated upon its innocent head the destructiveness of the Spreckels-Gibson alliance. The story excited much enthusiasm among the Hawaiians. For years afterward, I was greeted on Molokai as the originator of "*kiapolo iloko o ka omole*," "the devil in the bottle." During the next month, I campaigned from one end of Molokai to the other, living with the natives and acquiring a rare fund of political knowledge. I learned that the Hawaiian voter appreciates being solicited for his vote; having promised to vote for a candidate, he usually can be depended upon to keep his word.

*Call Spreckels
"Ona Miliona"
in the Islands*

Although the voters of the Leper Settlement were permitted to listen to the regular harangues of my opponents, who had a contract to furnish weekly supplies of poi to the settlement, I was barred from entrance. I wrote to the board of health for permission to speak there, but was informed by return mail that the president of the board, Walter M. Gibson, did not think it advisable to disturb the "poor, sick residents" with political discussions. As the voters of the settle-

*Gibson Wishes
to Spare Poor,
Sick Residents*

ment were numerous, I felt that I must get into contact with them. Consequently I submitted to the superintendent, R. W. Meyer, who lived at the top of the cliff overlooking the settlement, the theory that, while the board of health could keep me out of the settlement, it could not rule me off the highway. Mr. Meyer, one of my supporters, replied: "I don't know much about law. If you say that is the law, you may do as you think best."

*Party Halted
at Settlement
by Policeman*

With my co-campaigner and several companions, I went down the 2,000-foot cliff to meet the voters. We were halted at the foot of the pali by the local policeman, who told me that he had been directed by the board of health to prevent me from entering. "All right," said I, "you obey your orders. If you see me in the settlement, arrest me and lock me up. But I am not in the settlement, and I am not going to be there. I'm on the public road, where I have a right to be. If you dare to lay a hand on me while I am within my rights, I will bring suit against you for damages, levy upon your lands, your house, and all your property, and ruin you." Thereupon I plunged past him and went toward the settlement with my friends, while he followed, protesting.

Arriving at the outskirts of the settlement, we were met by several hundred residents. I told them that the board of health had prohibited my coming to them in an orderly way, but that I had come to tell them the truth. Like John the Baptist of old, I was a forerunner of liberty and truth, in order that they might become free. If they would

get the residents of the settlement to come out into the field to listen to the truth, I would give it to them. A group of willing runners was forthwith sent; and within an hour we had practically the whole settlement seated on the grass in the open, surrounding the roadway upon which our party stood. For two or three hours, we enlightened the people regarding the iniquities of the government, and the joy and prosperity that would ensue if we were elected to the Legislature.

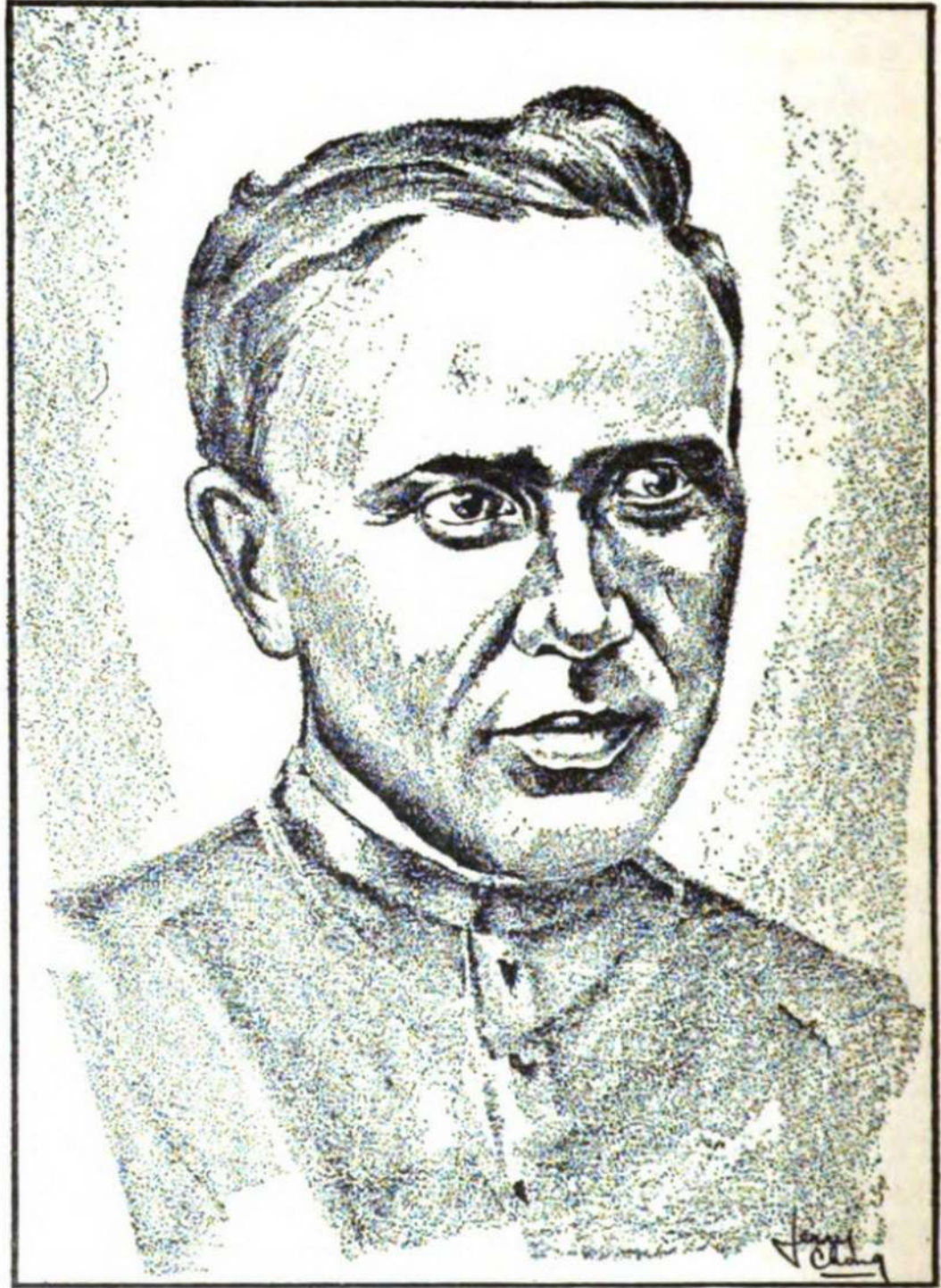
I received a majority of the votes of the settlement on election day, despite the fact, as I was later informed, that good Father Damien, the Catholic priest there, denounced me from the pulpit as a son of Belial and a person who should in no wise be voted for. I bear Father Damien no ill will. He doubtless was acting on orders from higher authority. Despite everything that can be said against him, Father Damien did a wonderful work. He improved conditions greatly, when help was available from no other source. The voting place for the entire island, other than the Leper Settlement, was at Kamalo. With the assistance of my coadjutor Paehaole, three parties of voters were organized—one at Halawa Valley, one at Kaluaaha, and one at Kaunakakai. From those places, nearly all the voters went on horseback to Kamalo, each party headed by a leader carrying a Hawaiian flag floating from a staff. Upon arrival, each party dismounted, four at a time, and marched to the polls, where they voted almost solidly for my colleague and myself. We were elected by an overwhelming majority.

*Father Damien
Calls Thurston
"Son of Belial"*

*Thurston and
His Colleague
Are Triumphant*

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

Here is an instance of sharp political practice in those palmy times. Two or three days before the



Father Damien. Sketched from a photograph in possession of the Catholic Mission, Honolulu

election, we were informed that the government had appointed fifty special policemen to maintain the peace on election day, and to see that we did nothing contrary to law. We did not propose to be outwitted. Suspecting that the force was designed to break up our organization, and that the money was to pay for each man's vote, as well as for his efforts to keep the peace, we gave out word that fifty bulldozers had been appointed "to do us up" and that, in self-defense, we intended to appoint fifty special private policemen to keep peace against the possible violence of the government specials. We immediately appointed fifty, among the most vigorous young men of the community, and paid them \$5 each. They entered upon their duties so enthusiastically that the government specials were cowed. So far as I know, not one showed his face in public on election day.

*Special Police
of Government
Fail to Appear*

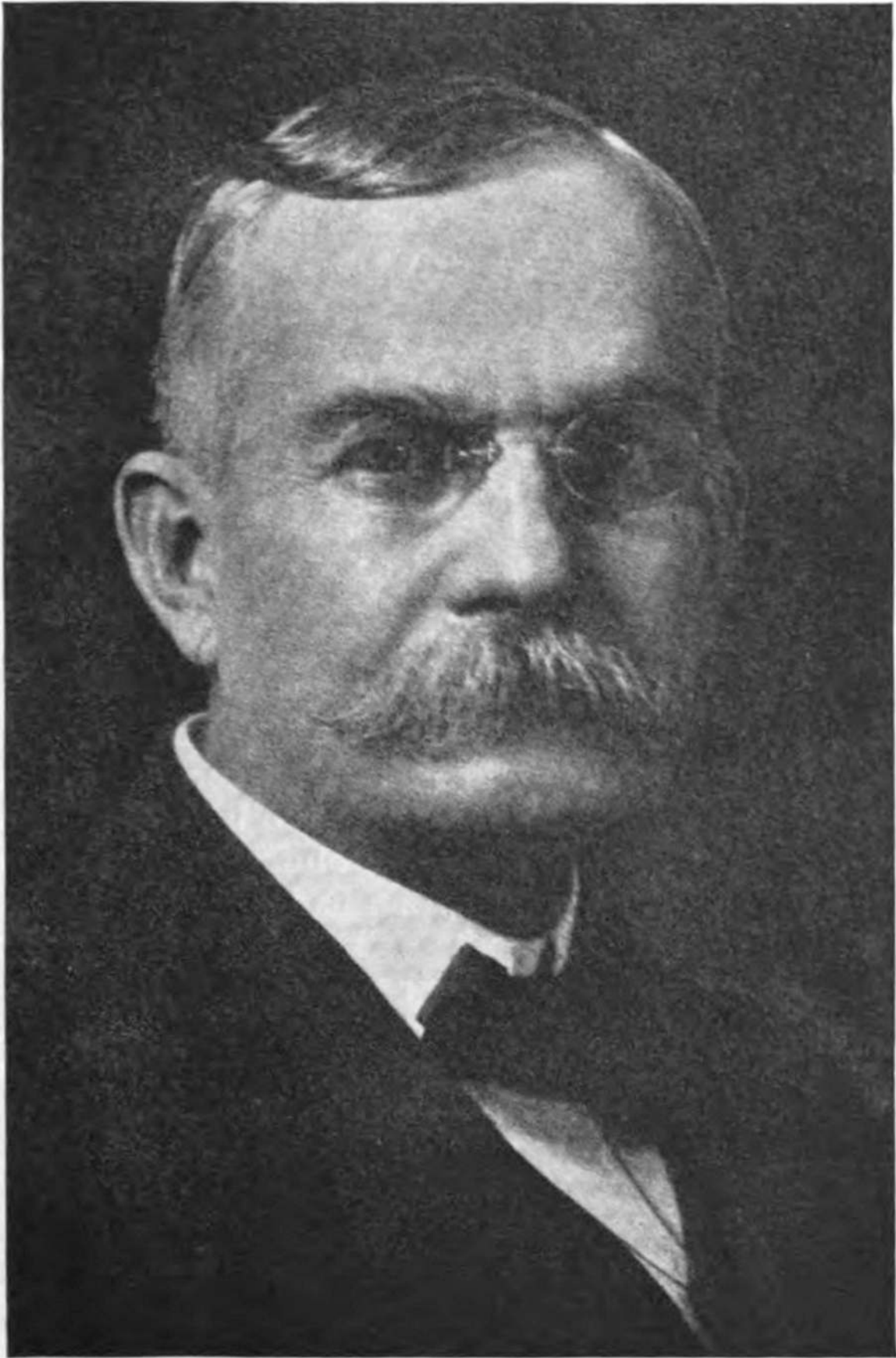
David Kalauokalani, senior, father of the present clerk of the City and County of Honolulu, who lived in the outskirts of Kamalo Plantation on Molokai, invited me to spend the night before election at his house, where I slept on the floor. He told me that the manager and owner of the sugar plantation was opposed to my candidacy; proposing to take no chances of the manager manipulating the laborers' votes, Kalauokalani and his wife went through the labor camps after dark and took all of the Hawaiian laborers to his house, where they slept on the floor on the veranda and about the premises. In the morning, they were marched in a body to the polls. The incident was unusually

significant, in that Kalauokalani, though a connection of the Kalakaua family, was a strong and independent thinker. During subsequent years, following the overthrow of the Monarchy, Kalauokalani and I became members of opposite political parties; until his death, however, we were close friends.

While campaigning, I spent a night in the valley of Halawa, at the east end of Molokai. As our party left the valley in the morning, we rode to the front door of a ranch owned by Mrs. Maria King, mother of Mrs. J. F. Brown, of Honolulu. One of my opponents, Nakaleka, came to the gate and called out to me: "What are you doing here, Kakina?" "Kakina" is my Hawaiian name. "I have consulted Lanikaula, and he tells me that there is no use for you to stump the east end, because you are going to get nothing here." Lanikaula was a famous old kahuna, who lived in a grove of kukui trees on top of the bluff at the east point of the island. Superstition had it that a person had only to go to Lanikaula's grove, cut a gash in the trunk of a great kukui tree growing in the center, insert a lock of his hair, and make a wish, incidentally giving a present to the kahuna; thereupon the wish would come true.

*Kahuna Cited
to Thurston
by Opponent*

It happened I had visited the Lanikaula grove on the day before, and had noted the freely gashed bark of the principal tree. When Nakaleka met me with this statement, I immediately replied: "Why, that is strange, because I visited Lanikaula myself yesterday, and cut a gash in his big kukui tree,



Mr. Smith was a law partner and fellow revolutionist of Mr. Thurston, and Provisional Government attorney-general

W. O. Smith

inserted a lock of my hair, and wished that I might get all the votes from the east end of Molokai. Still stranger, a voice came out of the tree and said that my wish would be granted." Apparently my familiarity with the Lanikaula superstition so affected Nakaleka that he turned away, nonplussed and silent. That kukui grove, I am now informed, has entirely disappeared. It was one of the most interesting places of Molokai tradition.

*Voice of Tree
Answers That
He Gets Wish*

A phase of my campaign on Molokai was the attitude of some Hawaiian women. Particularly, at a village on the east coast, a small group gave me enthusiastic support. Four of them, I was told, were so interested in my candidacy that they informed their husbands that they wished them to vote for me; if the husbands did not do so, the wives would abandon their mates. As a matter of fact, the Hawaiian women, although they had no votes, were prominent factors in politics. At that time, the Hawaiian law relating to married women and their property rights was the old common law of England, which had been adopted into the law of Hawaii. A married woman had practically no personal or property rights that her husband was bound to respect. According to the old English common law, a man could beat his wife with a stick, provided that it was no bigger around than his thumb. Also, when a woman married, she no longer had any property rights as against her husband. Her personal property immediately became his, and she completely lost her control of it.

*Married Women
of Those Days
Lacked Rights*

I had long resented that. The strong support

*Women Given
Full Title to
Own Property*

given me by the women of Molokai so focused my attention upon the subject that I, when a member of the legislature of 1886, endeavored to secure amendments to the law. Being a member of the minority, I failed. When I was an *ex officio* member of the legislature of 1888, as minister of the interior, I secured the passage of an act, which gave married women complete title to their individual property, and likewise control; by complying with the law concerning registration, a married woman could conduct an individual business in her own name, free from the control of her husband or his creditors. It remains the "married woman's law of Hawaii" to this day, and may be found in the *Session Laws of the Legislature of 1888*, Chapter XI, and in the *Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1905*, Section 2251.

*Nine Elected
Legislators
Independent*

After my election to the Legislature from Molokai and Lanai in February, 1886, I returned to Honolulu and continued, in a desultory way, the practice of law, although participation in the session of the Legislature materially interfered. The session of 1886 opened on the 30th of April, and closed on the 16th of October. Of the twenty-eight elected members of the house of representatives, only nine were independent of royal control. They were: J. W. Kalua, Lahaina, Maui; W. R. Castle, Wailuku, Maui; C. H. Dickey, Makawao, Maui; Cecil Brown, Koolauloa, Oahu; L. A. Thurston and A. P. Paehaole, Molokai and Lanai; S. B. Dole, Lihue, Kauai; Dr. J. Wight, Kohala, Hawaii; and J. Kauhane, Kau, Hawaii. In addition

to the elected representatives, the Legislature consisted of twenty nobles, appointed by the King, sitting as members of the single chamber, and four ministers, all of whom had votes *ex officio*, as though they were elected members. The ministers even assumed the right to vote on a question of want of confidence in the government; assisted by the members under royal control, they managed to do so. Not all nobles were subservient to the King, but so many were, or so many members were absent from the session, that the King had virtual control in most respects; the minority of nine elected members simply was a small brake on the royal Juggernaut.

*Minority Only
a Slight Brake
on Juggernaut*

So far as I recall now, only two occurrences were above the commonplace during the session of nearly six months: my apology to the Legislature, and an investigation of Gibson's treatment of the Lanai voters. The first was in the fourth week, when a bill was before the house to regulate the licensing and sale of alcoholic liquors. Among other provisions, one prohibited sale to "habitual drunkards." John M. Kapena, minister of finance, took the floor to say that the provision was useless, since no one could tell who was a "habitual drunkard." He was so intoxicated that he could scarcely stand, and he spoke thickly and in a drunken manner. His state was patent to everyone, to none more than to the member from Hawaii, J. L. Kaulukou. During Kapena's address, Kaulukou turned his face and smiled in shamefaced derision. Filled with disgust, I took the floor, when Kapena finished, and



John M. Kapena

*Would Forbid
Sale of Drink
to Ministers*

moved that the "Ministers of the Crown" be included in the list of those to whom no sale of liquor might be made. For two days, the royal members cogitated how to punish me for the "insult."

John M. Kapena then introduced the following resolution: "Resolved, that the Hon. L. A. Thurston, member for Molokai and Lanai, has abused his privileges on the floor of this house by grossly insulting the Minister of Finance and the other Cabinet Ministers, and that it is the sense of this House that the offending member make an apology to this House." On motion of J. L. Kaulukou, member from Hilo, the previous question was called, thereby preventing me from making any answer to the resolution, and it was adopted by the royalist majority. I asked for time in which to prepare a proper "apology," and was given three days; I received specifications of the alleged offense. Then I presented my "apology." Many interruptions and objections were made by the Royal Party members, but the gist of the "apology" appears in Frank Godfrey's *Proceedings of the Hawaiian Legislature, Session of 1886*, pages 63 to 66, as follows:

*Kapena Wishes
That Thurston
Make Apology*

"Representative Thurston now rose and stated that, in compliance with a resolution passed by the Assembly, commanding him to apologize to the House for certain words used during the debate on the liquor bill amendment on the 29th ult, he was now ready to present his apology.

"The floor having been given to him, Representative Thurston commenced by referring to the chronology of the matter saying that the words complained of were used during a debate which had occurred on Tuesday the 25th of May. On the following Friday a resolution was introduced calling on him for an apology, on Saturday he had asked for the specifications, nothing specific being mentioned in the resolution, that specification he had received last night and he to-day offered his apology.

"The specification presented to him by the Attorney-General, the introducer of the resolution of censure, was

to the effect that the apology was demanded for the speaker suggesting that the words "and Ministers of the Crown" be added as an amendment to a section of the liquor bill, then under debate, so that the portion of the said section would then read, (relating to the particular persons to be debarred from the privilege of obtaining liquor) as follows: "It shall not be lawful for any retailer of spirituous liquors to sell the same to minors or women, or to any person or persons who may be habitually intemperate *or to Ministers of the Crown.*"

"The speaker continuing said: 'Before complying with the resolution of this Assembly, I wish to state that which every member of this House who knows anything about Parliamentary law, already knows, there is no rule in Parliamentary law requiring me to comply with the resolution. By that law no member can be compelled to apologize for anything which does not appear upon the minutes of the House, and *there is not one word down on the record of this House* concerning the words used by me which are complained of. This point was made in my favor yesterday and I declined to take advantage of it. Last Saturday, after I asked for a specification of my offense, a prominent government official met me and said, "Mr. Thurston, you haven't the courage of your opinions. You know well enough what you are charged with and you are trying to evade it." I am glad, Mr. President, to have the opportunity to show whether I have the courage of my opinions or not.

*Glad of Chance
to Prove That
He Has Courage*

"By a vote of a majority of this Assembly it has been decreed that I have on the floor of this House abused my privileges and grossly insulted the Minister of Finance and the other Cabinet Ministers, and that it is the sense of this House that an apology is due from me. This action and this expression of opinion has become fixed as an indelible part of the record of this Session and cannot be blotted out.

"In consideration of the gravity of the offense charged I claim the right to make a statement of the circumstance under which this alleged insult took place, and under which this vote was passed—a right which hitherto has been denied me. I claim this right for the purpose of defending myself, and among honorable men it would

seem that this should be enough; but this House has shown me scant courtesy in this matter, and has ignored and denied me the sacred right of self defense. It may be necessary for me to show yet other reasons for being allowed to defend myself in this House, and, if other reason is needed, I claim the right to defend the name of an honored President of this Assembly. Thirty odd years ago Asa G. Thurston sat in this Assembly as its chief officer, and as my father's son I claim the right to defend his honorable name, the sole inheritance which he bequeathed me. The charge made against me is a personal one, and from its personal character I shall be obliged to speak in a personal manner of the Ministers, the Assembly and myself.

*Asa Thurston
Presided Over
the Assembly*

“The vote of censure, if such it may be called, which was passed by this Assembly, was presented by His Excellency John M. Kapena, Minister of Finance, who immediately began making remarks to the effect that I had been making lying statements about him. He was called to order for using unparliamentary language, and a ruling called for. Immediately after the ruling of the chair, the member for Hilo, Mr. J. L. Kaulukou, rose and with his characteristic gentlemanliness and sense of fairness, moved that *the resolution be adopted and the previous question be put*. If the member from Hilo was a stiff, cold corpse, and a question should come up within sound of him involving the personal character of a man, and that man had had no opportunity to speak in self-defence, I should expect that the Hon. J. L. Kaulukou's blackened and shrivelled lips would form themselves into a motion for the “previous question” and his bony skeleton hand to be raised to vote in favor of his own motion. For the sake of the reputation of my native country and the Hawaiian race, I am glad that the mover of this motion was not a native Hawaiian, but the son of an alien. (Sensation.)

*Mr. Kaulukou's
Skeleton Hand
Again to Rise*

“Against my protest that under the circumstances the previous question was unfair and indecent, it was put and carried, and the only member of the government party who had manliness enough to vote against it was the Attorney-General. I thank him for it, both on my own account and also as indicating that there is at least one

*Cabinet Keeps
Some Fairness,
Thurston Says*

spark of fairness left in the Cabinet, and that it is not the universal intention of that side of the House to carry everything by the sheer brute force of numbers. Thus I was denied the right which by every civilized nation is accorded to even its vilest criminals, the right which the Constitution guarantees to every citizen and every resident of this land—the right to speak in self defence. I was condemned unheard, without the opportunity to defend, to explain, to ask a question, without even a copy of the indictment against me, and on a charge without a specification of any kind. I speak of this thus strongly, not merely because I am personally affected by it, but because it involves a principle, the principle of fairness, of equity and of justice, without which no nation is safe and no Government sound. It is commonly supposed that only thugs and professional assassins strike in the dark, giving the victim no opportunity of self-defence.

“Acting on this same principle of unfairness, the editor of a so-called ‘independent journal,’” [*Daily Press*] “without waiting to hear my explanation or defence, and following the example set him, rushed to the rescue of the wounded dignity of the Minister of Finance and the other Cabinet Ministers, and in a half column editorial denounced me as having gone out of my way to insult His Majesty’s Ministers and the House, ‘restless under the itch for notoriety.’ I would not advert to this fact were it not that coming in the connection which it did, . . . the statements made in that paper” [*Daily Press*] “stand a part of the charge against me, and I have the right to defend myself against them.

*An Editor Who
Forgets Duties
Betrays Trust*

“I am a friend of independent journalism, and admire it, whether it agrees with my opinion or not; a truly independent journal is the guardian of private character as well as public liberty; but when the editor of an independent journal forgets the duties of his high trust and turns his paper into an engine for expressing his private dislikes, he degrades the profession of journalism.

“I know that the motives which actuated the editor of the *Press* in this matter were purely personal ones, arising from no desire for the public good, but out of his imagination that I was anonymously writing against him. And this is how I know it: A few days since a gentleman

said to him in this effect, "What are you getting after Thurston so for?" The reply was, in effect, "He has been writing some editorial against me in the *Bulletin* and is writing the column in the GAZETTE signed "ZIP." That there may be no cause for doubt in the matter, I will give the name of the gentleman—it is C. W. Ashford; and I can give other names if they are needed. I should not consider it any dishonor to be a contributor to either of those papers, but under the circumstances I think it is proper to say that since resigning the editorial management of the *Bulletin* a year ago last September, I have not written a line, other than advertisements, which has appeared in print in the *Bulletin*; and that, since the beginning of the last election campaign I have written nothing which has appeared in the GAZETTE *except* over my own signature in full and I sign my name Lorrin A. Thurston, not "ZIP."

* * * *

"Now, as to the alleged insult. The words which the specification furnished me charges against me are as follows: "By moving to add to Section 16A, of an act entitled An Act Amending Section 16, 16A., etc. relating to the regulation of the sale of spirituous liquors, the words, 'or to the Ministers of the Crown,' so that Section 16A shall read, 'It shall not be lawful for any retailers of spirituous liquors to sell the same to minors or women, or to any person or persons who may be habitually intemperate, or to the Ministers of the Crown.'

"Incidentally it may be mentioned that it is a queer commentary on our so-called advanced civilization, that *women* are classed in a certain category without objection, and as a matter of course, while the bare suggestion that it would be proper to class Cabinet Ministers in the same category is termed a "gross insult." This assembly has, however, recognized, and by its present action emphasized its recognition of that corner stone of our liberties, that it is the glorious privilege of the male sex only, to get drunk, and that any attempt to deprive Cabinet Ministers of that privilege will be crushed out with a strong hand. This brings me to consider whether or not it is proper for a member of this Assembly to be present upon the floor of the House taking part in a discussion in

*Only Men Have
Glorious Right
to Get Drunk*

an intoxicated condition. I consider that the presence of a member of the House in such a state, be he a Representative, Noble or Minister, is an insult to this Assembly and disgrace to this nation, and it would be perfectly in order to move that he should be removed from the House by the Sergeant-at-Arms and ordered to apologize to the Assembly. (Sensation.) If a man can lead a dissolute drunken life, to the neglect of his duties, and at the same time occupy one of the highest offices in trust in the gift of a nation——

“The Minister of Foreign Affairs (excitedly) ‘Silence sir! Stop!’

“The Minister of Interior (in union) ‘Order! Mr. President!’

“The Minister of Foreign Affairs. ‘Mr. President, this is too bad! disgraceful!’

“Representative Thurston (continuing and speaking rapidly)—unchecked and unrebuked, he becomes a moral plague spot and a debauching influence on the whole civil service and the entire community.’

“The Ministers were by this time partly to their feet, as well as Representative Kaulukou, and the scene was very interesting. Representative Thurston remained standing and silent but with a determined expression. The President used his instrument of office rather lustily for a few seconds and the Attorney-General, when quiet was restored, addressed the chair on a point of order that, the member speaking has no right to touch upon the moral grounds of the subject at the present time. The proper time to have spoken and acted was when the opportunity presented itself. Then was the time when the member had had a right to act. He desired the chair to rule in the matter.

“President Walker said that Representative Thurston was out of order in his last remarks, they were taking a too broad a range; he instructed the member to confine himself more closely to the subject proper.

“Representative Thurston desired to speak in argument to the point raised but the Attorney-General objected to any argument saying that the only course was for the member to appeal from the decision of the chair.

*Styles Kapena
a Plague Spot
on Community*

“Representative Thurston submitted to the decision of the chair and continued saying:

“By the wording of the resolution the idea is conveyed that I have especially insulted the Minister of Finance. In the amendment which was offered to the bill then under discussion, and which is alleged to be an insult, the Ministers are mentioned as a whole. When the Minister of Finance introduced this resolution, who told him that in moving to exempt the Ministers from the privilege of buying liquor I especially meant him? Mr. President, there is no accuser like a guilty conscience. The intuition of the Minister of Finance has been so keen, that, following its lead I hereby expressly state that if the Minister of Foreign Affairs, of Interior, and the Attorney-General had constituted the Cabinet, I should have offered no amendment and these remarks would have been unnecessary. If in any general remarks that have been made, to-day or previously, any Minister has thought that the coat fitted him so well that he has felt obliged to put it on, I exceedingly regret it. If any Minister has felt that the coat did not fit him, but has had his feelings aggrieved by the thought that other people might put it on for him, I am sorry that I should have thus inferentially aggrieved him, and if such Minister there be I hereby apologize to him.

“In aught which I have said either to-day or previously, either on the floor of this Assembly or elsewhere, I deny that it has been said with intent to insult this Assembly or any member of it. I recognize, Mr. President, as fully as any member of this House, the fact that the way in which the amendment complained of was introduced, is unparliamentary in that it contained the inference that the Ministers were unfit to be allowed the free use of intoxicating liquors. So far as I personally know, that statement or suggestion should not have been made concerning all of them; at the time it was made I had no thought in my mind of any other than the Minister of Finance, and had no intent to direct it to any other than he. As the intent is the gist of every offence, and I had no intent to offend the other members of the Cabinet I submit to those Ministers and to the Assembly, that with this explanation, what might otherwise have been con-

*How Did Kapena
Discern Thrust
Aimed at Him?*

*Other Cabinet
Members Are
Not Included*

sidered an insult, is no insult, and I owe them no further apology.

*Not an Insult,
But a Defense
of Legislature*

“ ‘As to the Minister of Finance, John M. Kapena, I deny that I have insulted him or through him the House; and I deny that I owe him an apology. Whatever I have said and whatever I may say concerning him, is not an insult to this Assembly but in defence of its honor and the honor of the nation.

* * * *

“ ‘In the words charged to be insulting, the point complained of is, that the inference can be drawn therefrom that the Minister of Finance is unfit to have the free use of intoxicating liquor. The Attorney General dared me the other day to repeat my remarks or to mention any names. I declined his “dare” then, but I take it up now. I have charged in public print over my own signature that the Minister of Finance was in an intoxicated condition on the floor of the House on that day, and nobody has denied it, in this House or out of it, and nobody can deny it. I hereby specifically repeat that charge. There he stood on that day bearing the commission of His Majesty the King; the chief of a Department in this Government; the guardian, under solemn oath before Almighty God, of a solemn trust; one of the shapers of the destinies of this nation. There he stood a Minister of the Crown in such a condition that he excited the open contempt and jeers of the members of his own party, discussing before this house the meaning of the words “habitual drunkard,” stating that they were of no use in the statute, as none could tell what a habitual drunkard was, that being a matter of opinion. It was at that moment that, filled with a feeling of unutterable disgust, I arose and offered the amendment which I did. (Commotion.)

*The Minister
Owes Apology
to the House*

“ ‘Is that the man I owe an apology to, and is the offence for which I am to be humiliated before this Assembly the making of a statement which conveys an inference that he is not to be trusted with the use of intoxicating liquors? He is the man who owes this house an apology. I have made charges and mentioned names specifically enough to meet the desire of the Attorney-

General, I hope; and I challenge a denial or an investigation of them.

“Mr. President and gentlemen: In so far as I feel that I have transgressed, I have obeyed the mandate of this house and made what reparation I could. But when I am asked to apologize to the Minister of Finance, I feel that I would stultify my honor and degrade this house by doing so, and I therefore respectfully request that you will excuse me, when—I decline to do so.”

The house spent three hours in debating whether I had apologized, but failed to decide. On the next morning, I heard that the house intended to expel me, and that Kaulukou would present a resolution for expulsion. Indicative of the feelings of the Molokai voters, I received a penciled note signed by M. Kane, one of my principal backers, who was one of the audience in the legislative hall. His note read: “*Mai kulou na kuli o Molokai*” (Do not bend the knees of Molokai). After the session had been opened, Kaulukou and I arose simultaneously. I claimed the floor, in that I was rising to a point of order. When Kaulukou persisted, Noble Sam Parker said: “Give him the floor, Kaulukou. Let’s hear what he has to say.” Thereupon Kaulukou took his seat. Again I quote from Godfrey’s *Proceedings of the Hawaiian Legislature, Session of 1886*, page 69:

*Molokai Asks
That She Not
Be Humiliated*

“Rep. Thurston said that by a resolution of the Assembly he had been ordered to apologize to the House for certain words used by him. Yesterday he had endeavored to comply with the resolution. But the House after a three hours’ discussion had come to the conclusion that he had not apologized. He thought that he had spoken plainly enough, and personally he did not think he should say anything further. But as it was the im-

pression of a large number of the members that he had not apologized he would now hereby repeat what he had said yesterday to wit: 'The words used by me were unparliamentary and I apologize to the House for having used them.' (Applause.)"

Representative Palohau said: "Why, I think they are making a lot to do about nothing. The House commanded Thurston to apologize, and now he says he has apologized. He should know, if anybody should, whether he has apologized or not. I do not think we should go any further in the matter." Attorney-General Neumann thereupon moved that the apology be accepted. The motion was carried. That ended the discussion.

A second incident out of the ordinary arose from the treatment by the Gibson-Lanai *regime* of the few persons who voted for me on Lanai. In my campaign on Molokai and Lanai in 1886, I heard that Walter Murray Gibson had ordered the Lanai natives not to vote for me; if I went to the island, they should not give me food, shelter, or horses to ride. When I did go there, all of those statements were confirmed by numerous persons. After the election, at which I received only a handful of votes in some sixty, the total Lanai vote, I was informed in Honolulu, by certain Lanai residents, that all persons who had voted against me were getting free pasturage for their horses, while those who had voted for me were not allowed such pasturage, and they were prohibited from taking the usual perquisites of *kuleana* holders, such as wood and water from the land, and fish from the sea.

As a member of the Legislature, I introduced a

*Gibson Tells
Lanai People
How to Ballot*

MEMOIRS OF LORRIN A. THURSTON

resolution, charging Mr. Gibson, then minister of foreign affairs and an *ex officio* member of the house, and asking an investigation. A select committee of three was appointed, which made an exhaustive inquiry, subpoenaing a number of residents of Lanai and taking their sworn evidence. I represented the complainants before the committee; the attorney-general, Paul Neumann, represented Mr. Gibson. After a month of investigation, the committee made a unanimous report. It

Thurston Asks Investigation of Mr. Gibson

STATEMENTS OF CONTRIBUTORS.

[Translation]

I, Kaawa, have given to W. M. Gibson, 2 goats, 6 turkeys, 2 fowls, 1 plate, \$3 50 in cash. I have given half a dollar for a certificate; this has been given to buy the land Palawai, Lanai. KAAWA.

I, Kaniniu, the widow of Kailihune, deceased, we two give to W. M. Gibson 800 goats, 2 horses, 3 turkeys, \$50 in cash, \$5 for the certificate as elected Bishop. *\$1.00 for my own certificate. All of these things have been given to buy the land of Palawai, Lanai.

KANINIU, ^{her} +
mark

* (\$100 in original.)

I, Huleia, have given to W. M. Gibson, 1 donkey, 2 fowls, half a dollar for the certificate; these are given to buy Palawai, Lanai.

HULEIA, ^{his} +
mark

It is Solomonā who has given to Haalelea \$180 to buy the land Palawai, Lanai; the receipt I have put into the hands of W. M. Gibson.

SOLOMONA.
J. W. PUOANUI.

Witness,

I, J. W. Pucanni, have given to W. M. Gibson 1 horse, 13 turkeys, for the purpose of purchasing the land of Palawai, Lanai; \$2 in cash.

J. W. PUOANUI.

—*The Shepherd Saint of Lanai*, page 13.

recited that Mr. Gibson was the controlling landowner on Lanai, that he was represented there by his son, Henry Gibson, and his nephew, J. J. Morehead, and concluded:

Controls Land; Is Represented by His Kinfolk

*Charges Made
by Thurston
Brought Home*

“Therefore your Committee are of the opinion, from a consideration of the foregoing evidence relating to the case, that, in accordance with the resolution introduced by the member from Molokai, Hon. L. A. Thurston, Mr. Gibson, in his capacity of a Government officer, is guilty of the offense charged, he being Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time of the oppression of the petitioners, and that all the charges made in the resolution have been brought home to him.”

Among those who signed the report were John W. Kalua, member from Wailuku, Maui, and J. Kauhane, member from Kau, Hawaii. They were two of the leading members of the Legislature at the time, among the ablest and most independent-minded of the Hawaiian leaders.

*Apparent Calm
After Session
of 1886 Ends*

After the adjournment of the 1886 session, on October 16, matters political proceeded as usual, so far as the public knew. Kalakaua having successfully laid the foundation for his financial program to profit from manipulation of the opium license, and for his military intrenchment at and about the Palace, to enforce his will against possible public resistance, nothing happened especially to ruffle the apparent calm in public affairs. Again I resumed the practice of law, interrupted only by the development of the Hawaiian League, a full account of which is given in the next chapter.



*In his younger days: William A. Kinney, ardent revolutionist,
whom Mr. Thurston calls the "most intense" of men*

William A. Kinney

CHAPTER VIII

THE HAWAIIAN LEAGUE AND REVOLUTION

The Hawaiian League was an outgrowth of a revolt in the public mind of Hawaii against the aggressions, extravagance, and debaucheries of the Kalakaua *regime*. The causes for the formation of the league, herein enumerated, are practically the same as those which produced Sanford Ballard Dole as a leader. "Debaucheries" and similar words may be questioned by some conservative persons, but only by those who do not know the facts. It is difficult for those who knew Kalakaua only as a genial man to conceive the possibility of his possessing a dual personality.

On the day after Christmas, 1886, as I stood at the front gate of my residence on Judd Street, near Nuuanu, Dr. S. G. Tucker, a homeopathic physician, drew up in his buggy and said: "Thurston, how long are we going to stand this kind of thing?" "What kind of thing?" I inquired. He replied: "The running away with the community by Kalakaua, his interference with elections, and running the Legislature for his own benefit, and all that." "Well," said I, "what can we do about it?" "I suggest," Dr. Tucker answered, "that we form an organization, including all nationalities, which shall force him to be decent, and reign, not rule, or take the consequences." After some discussion, I said I would consider the idea.

*League Grows
From the Idea
of Dr. Tucker*

In the afternoon, I went to the residence of William A. Kinney, at the corner of Judd and Liliha Streets, told him of Dr. Tucker's suggestion, and asked him what he thought. We discussed it at some length, Kinney taking to the proposal enthusiastically. He was more belligerent than Dr. Tucker or I, and suggested, if Kalakaua did not come to time, that conditions justified a revolution and deposition. He continued: "I have a book in my library describing the French Revolution, which I will show you." He got the book and pointed out the declaration made by the revolutionists and some of their orders. Among others, one called upon citizens in sympathy with the revolutionists to declare themselves, and requested that all arms be turned in to support the revolution. Those orders so impressed me that I took copies, which I utilized in connection with the proclamation overturning the Monarchy in 1893, and the orders issued immediately thereafter by the Provisional Government.

*French Orders
Later Utilized
in Deposition*

After interviewing Mr. Kinney, I discussed Dr. Tucker's suggestion with others, among whom were S. B. Dole, P. C. Jones, W. R. Castle, W. E. Rowell, C. W. Ashford, Major Benson, A. T. Atkinson, Dr. Martin, and Dr. N. B. Emerson. [Presumably the men whose initials are lacking were Major Henry M. Benson and Dr. G. H. Martin.—*Editor.*] I found them all in favor of the plan. We held several preliminary meetings with different persons; then decided to hold a general meeting of all who had been taken into conference thus far, at

which I was to submit a draft of a constitution. A meeting was held by the persons enumerated above, besides Dr. S. G. Tucker, W. A. Kinney, and myself, in an upstairs back room in the residence of Dr. Tucker, a two-story wooden building at the south corner of Fort and Beretania Streets. After thorough discussion, we agreed to form an organization on the lines above suggested, to be known as the Hawaiian League. I submitted a draft of a constitution, which was unanimously adopted.

*Thurston Draft
of Constitution
Given Approval*

The first section, which stated the objects of the organization, was deemed too plain-spoken to be retained safely, for it might fall into the hands of the authorities. Therefore we destroyed it, after the members had committed it to memory. So much time has elapsed that I do not recall exactly how the section read, and I have been unable to find any other member of the league who remembers its wording. To the best of my recollection, however, it ran about thus:

"Section I.

"The Hawaiian League is a voluntary organization, organized to secure efficient, decent and honest government in Hawaii.

"To the securing and maintenance of government of this character, we do hereby pledge our lives, our property, and our sacred honor."

*Life, Fortune,
Honor Pledged
to Good Rule*

The remainder of the constitution consisted simply of ordinary regulations for the administration of a body of the kind. It has never been published; therefore I include it here. The original penciled draft has remained in my possession ever since we organized. As something of historical

interest, I plan to deposit it in the Archives of Hawaii. It is as follows:

"Officers. A President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer, chosen by the Executive Committee from their own number.

"4

*Thirteen Men
Will Compose
the Executive*

"Executive Committee—To consist of 13 members of the league; the first seven members thereof to be chosen by the League; the members so chosen to appoint the balance of the committee. The first seven members to act as soon as chosen. Each member of the committee to hold office until removed by a majority vote of all members of the league.

"5

"Powers of Executive Committee.

"1. To elect officers from their own number.

"2. To appoint, from the members of the league, such subcommittees as they shall consider necessary.

"3. To accept or reject proposed new members.

"4. To call meetings of the league.

"5. Authority to decide, not more than two members dissenting, upon measures for the attainment of the object of the league.

"6. To fill vacancies in their own number so long as their number is not reduced to less than seven.

"7. All other powers not reserved to the League.

"6

"Reserved Powers of the League.

"1. To fill vacancies in the executive committee, when the number thereof is less than seven, by a majority vote of all members of the league.

"2. To remove any member of the executive committee by a majority vote of all members of the league.

"7

"Membership of the League.

"A majority vote of the executive committee, no member of the committee objecting, shall be necessary to the admission of members to the league. Each candidate, who shall have been so approved, before becoming a

*Majority Vote
Is Needed For
Each Admission*

member shall take the following oath, at a meeting of the league or of the executive committee:

"Oath. In the presence of Almighty God and of these witnesses, I do solemnly swear upon my honor as a man, that I will never divulge the existence of this league;" [Here a marginal insertion appears in the original. It is abbreviated; spelled out, it reads: "except with the express authority of the Executive Committee." A further note is: "11 voted Jan. 31."—*Editor.*] "that I will maintain inviolate its secrets; that I will do all in my power to advance its objects, and that I will aid and

*All Candidates
Make Promise
to Keep Secret*

*at a meeting of the league or of
the executive committee:*

*Oath. In the presence of Almighty
God and of these witnesses, I do sol-
emnly swear upon my honor as a
man, that I will never divulge the
existence of this league; that I
will maintain inviolate its secrets;
that I will do all in my
power to advance its*

*A significant passage from the constitution of the Hawaiian
League, Thurston collection, Archives of Hawaii*

defend its members who may be jeopardized in its service." [At this place, in the original, the following has been crossed out: "*Preliminary Oath.* Do you solemnly swear upon your honor not to divulge anything that may be said or done at this meeting"—*Editor.*]

"8

"*Finances.* There shall be no assessment of members except by unanimous vote of executive committee, approved by a majority vote of all members of the league.

"9

"*Amendments to constitution* shall be made by a two thirds vote of all members of the league."—Thurston collection, Archives of Hawaii.

*Thurston and
Kinney Named
For Recruiting*

A procedure for expansion of the league was agreed upon at the meeting. Mr. Kinney and I were appointed to interview persons whose names had been approved by the executive committee; if we found them willing to join, we should describe to them the character of the organization, read the constitution to them, besides reciting the destroyed portion, and administer the oath for which the constitution provided. At first, both Mr. Kinney and I were present at each interview; afterward we acted separately. I kept a list of the members in a little pocketbook, headed "Accounts for Collection—Honolulu," with the names entered consecutively.

William O. Smith, Mr. Kinney, and I were in a law copartnership under the firm name of Smith, Thurston and Kinney, with offices on the Waikiki side of Fort Street, two doors *makai* of Merchant Street. The offices contained a large front room, used by Mr. Kinney, and two smaller back rooms, used by Mr. Smith and myself. There was an open space above, between the two back rooms, so that whatever was said in one room could be heard in the other. The reading of the constitution to new members and the administration of the oath took place, as a rule, in my office. Mr. Smith did not approve of the organization, and called Kinney and me "a couple of damned young fools" for devoting so much time to it. We paid no attention to his criticism; by reason of the overhead connection between the two offices, however, Smith was kept in rather close contact with the development of the

*William Smith
Says Two Are
"Damned Fools"*

league. That his heart was in the right place, notwithstanding his first opposition, was evidenced by his later cooperation.

But the Smith Heart Is Found in Right Place

| <i>A/cs for Col. Honolulu</i> | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| <i>1</i> | <i>S. B. Dole.</i> | <i>1</i> |
| <i>2</i> | <i>L. A. Thurston.</i> | <i>2</i> |
| <i>3</i> | <i>P. R. Jones</i> | <i>3</i> |
| <i>4</i> | <i>W. R. Castle.</i> | <i>4</i> |
| <i>5</i> | <i>Dr. Tucker & G.</i> | |

| | |
|------------|-----------------------|
| <i>404</i> | <i>W. A. Bowen</i> |
| <i>405</i> | <i>H. W. Mist. AN</i> |

First and last members of the Hawaiian League, from the Thurston collection, Archives of Hawaii

Late in May, 1887, some 189 persons had joined the league. I attended a session of the circuit court at Wailuku, Maui, at that time; under authorization of the executive committee, to enroll such persons as I thought best, I swore in about a half dozen Maui men, of whom I recollect W. P. A. Brewer, Charles Bailey, and Louis von Tempsky. Clarence W. Ashford, a member of the executive committee, handled admissions in Honolulu during my absence. At my return to Honolulu, on

Maui Men Add Names to List of the League

June 27, 1887, the notebook containing the list of members, which Mr. Ashford had had, was given back to me, and has since remained in my possession. There were some 342 members then. Enrollments ceased about June 30, 1887. The last entry is numbered 405, and that figure represents practically the total membership. H. W. Mist was the last to join. After service as an officer of the British Navy, he had resided in Honolulu for several years; he was an educated man, of strong personality, and contributed editorials to the *Hawaiian Gazette*, a vigorous independent publication, chiefly edited by A. T. Atkinson.

*Mist the Last
to Join; His
Number Is 405*

A word, here, of the connection of W. L. Green with the Hawaiian League. He was quite prominent in Hawaiian business and politics before the league was formed. An Englishman by birth, he had engaged in business enterprises in South America, and had been in the California gold rush in 1849. Coming to Hawaii in 1850, he worked up from the bottom to a partnership in Janion, Green & Co., the predecessors of Theo. H. Davies & Co., Ltd., and was one of the founders of the Honolulu Iron Works. He was active in politics, having been minister of foreign affairs from 1874 to 1876, one of the promoters of the reciprocity treaty with the United States, and a signer of the treaty as minister of foreign affairs under Kalakaua in 1876. Afterward he was appointed the Honolulu representative of a London financial company, which made many loans on land in Hawaii. He and I became well acquainted, for he

employed me, as an attorney, to search titles and draft mortgages. Our acquaintance led to his joining the league. Poor health had forced him almost to withdraw from business, but the league so stirred the old Roman that he attended its meetings night after night, though they frequently lasted into the small hours; and he became a power in its counsels.

*Old Roman Is
Not Deterred
by Ill Health*

During the development of the organization, in the first half of 1887, many problems arose. One of the most important was how to precipitate the issue with Kalakaua. His attitude, his plan to enforce his will against the people, his military preparations about the Palace, all were well known; the league believed that he would resist its proposals forcibly, that he would fight. Consequently the organizing and strengthening of the league military was a task to which the greatest energy was devoted. V. V. Ashford, who had a decided military bent, was appointed by the executive committee to organize the military forces, and was made colonel of the Honolulu Rifles, an old-time company of sixty or seventy men. It was expanded into three or four companies, each about the same size as the parent organization had been. The officers were league members; Clarence W. Ashford, one of the executive committee, was captain of Company B. Never aspiring to military command, I was a private in that company.

*Still Colonel
Gives League
Hard Problem*

V. V. Ashford became one of the knottiest problems in the formative stage of the league. Although a vigorous member, he was thoroughly

*Other Ashford
Is Kindly Man
and Also Able*

vicious, the evil genius of his brother Clarence, an able man and kindly disposed. V. V. Ashford was forceful, a natural leader, as evidenced by his early attaining the command of the Honolulu Rifles; he was devoid of principle, ruthless toward others, as evidenced by his proposal that the King be shot in cold blood, and also by his cold-blooded intention to hang Walter Murray Gibson, thus warning men not to follow Mr. Gibson's example. A strong conservative wing of the league was convinced that less radical measures than the overthrow of the Monarchy were required, and all its influence was exerted to hold the radicals in check. Among the leaders of the conservatives were the "mission boys," the sons and grandsons of the early American missionaries. Two of the strongest conservatives were Sanford B. Dole and P. C. Jones, members of the executive committee. Radical policies advocated by V. V. Ashford drove them to resign from the committee and the league, and nearly wrecked the movement against Kalakaua, when the community had not been educated to forceful resistance. Mr. Ashford's restless opposition to conservative methods disrupted the reform government, which the league had sponsored; his extremism also led him to enter into a conspiracy with Robert W. Wilcox, later the leader of armed support of the Monarchy, to overthrow the throne. Mr. Ashford left Hawaii in fear of prosecution; finally he died in California.

*V. V.'s Policies
Drive Dole and
Jones to Quit*

Here follows an example of his attitude in league affairs. A meeting of the executive committee, to

which other members had been invited, was held at my residence on Judd Street. S. N. Hundley and George C. Potter, now superintendent of Queen's Hospital, both of Kealia, Kauai, attended for the first time. I remember that thirty-nine persons were present. V. V. Ashford, taking the floor, stated that he desired to have a question settled before we went further: that he, and others who felt as he did, had joined the league and were prepared to go with it to the end; that they were risking their lives and property; that he wanted it understood that they were not taking the risk for the general benefit of the community, but expected to be compensated. Then he presented a resolution: if the league were successful, all government offices should be filled by members only.

*Spoils System
Is Advocated
by the Colonel*

Such a proposal was a shock, as it made the league seem a spoils organization, instead of one for the public good. I was particularly fearful of the impression that might be made on the men from Kauai, who were having their first contact with the organization; and I asked Mr. Ashford to name the men who felt as he had described. His reply: "I am one, and my friend Mr. Livingstone, here, is another." Charles Livingstone, an employee of the Spreckels Bank in Honolulu, spoke in favor of the Ashford resolution. W. L. Green and W. R. Castle joined me in opposition. The meeting lasted until about eleven o'clock in the evening. Finally a compromise resolution was adopted, that qualification for office should come first; "other things being equal," league members should have preference.

Under those circumstances, Colonel Ashford submitted a plan to the executive committee. As colonel of the Rifles, he proposed that he offer a rifle as a prize to the member making the best shooting record; that a presentation ceremony be held in the armory at Beretania and Punchbowl Streets, where the Graystone Garage is now situated; that the prize winner's company be drawn up at the side of the armory; that the King be invited to present the prize; that arrangements be made for the King to advance alone, in front of the company; with the King thus placed, having an open yard at his back, the men, previously furnished with ball cartridges, should be ordered to take aim at the King and fire bullets into him, removing Kalakaua and precipitating the league movement against the Monarchy. Colonel Ashford advanced that suggestion in good faith and all earnestness. Perhaps I need not say that the executive committee immediately and unanimously rejected it.

*Ashford Offers
a Candid Plan
to Shoot King*

More light on Colonel Ashford's character was given me afterward, when a Hawaiian woman, the wife of a well-to-do Hawaiian of one of the "other islands," came to me with several letters in the colonel's handwriting, with which I was well acquainted. She told me that the colonel, who was an attorney of the supreme court of Hawaii, had acted as her lawyer; he had advised her to go home, and demand that her husband sell a piece of land for \$2,000, and pay her the money. In one of the letters that she submitted to me, Colonel Ashford,

*Advises Woman
How to Secure
Husband's Cash*

in his own hand and over his own signature, referred to his suggestion concerning the land, and said: "Make him do it, and if he refuses, kill him!" I asked her whether she wished me to do anything; she answered in the negative, explaining that she was merely trying to bring pressure upon Colonel Ashford in connection with some question pending between them.

Each league member was armed with a rifle and from five hundred to a thousand cartridges. Besides our own military, we had the support of the "*Drei Hundert*," chiefly composed of Germans, who were reputed to have served in the German Army. As a matter of fact, the organization numbered many fewer than three hundred; the members were not all former soldiers of Germany, nor were they all Germans. However, among the rumors that drifted into the community of the league membership, one of the "*Drei Hundert*" support, its strength and character, lost nothing in the telling. In my record of the membership of the league, I do not find the name of Mr. C. W. Ziegler, but I know that he joined; he tells me that he was sworn in by C. W. Ashford. Mr. Ziegler was a leader of the "*Drei Hundert*." I recall that E. H. F. Wolters and Carl and Harry Klemme also were members.

*German Outfit
"Drei Hundert"
Assists Cause*

Rumors of the league organization, its intentions and power, gradually filled the air; and Kalakaua's spirit rapidly frittered away. Toward the end of June, 1887, the executive committee felt that the military force was sufficient, and that the

*Gathering the
Largest Known
to That Time*

time was ripe to bring about a crisis; the committee therefore called a mass meeting for the afternoon of June 30, to be held in the armory of the Rifles at Punchbowl and Beretania Streets. Posters were printed, announcing the time, place, and object of the meeting: to consider governmental maladministration; in pursuance of the secretiveness that had characterized the league, no names appeared on the posters, "The Executive Committee" alone being signed. At the time appointed, however, practically every business place in Honolulu was closed; and the meeting was the largest and most representative held in Hawaii up to that time. The armory was packed. In front, on Beretania Street, the Honolulu Rifles were assembled in full force, the men being armed with rifles and ball cartridges, and the officers with revolvers. Colonel Ashford, commander of the Rifles, had informed the executive committee that he feared the King might attack the mass meeting, and consequently he was calling out his whole military strength as a precautionary measure. At the same time, the colonel informed the King that he was calling out the Rifles to hold the meeting in check.

On motion of Sanford B. Dole, P. C. Jones was elected chairman. Mr. Jones was president of C. Brewer & Co., Ltd., the largest American importing house and sugar plantation agency. At Mr. Jones' request, I introduced the resolutions. [They are published in full on pages 51 and 52 of Judge Dole's *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*.—*Editor.*] After several addresses, William R.

Castle moved, and Dr. N. B. Emerson seconded, that the resolutions be adopted; and the motion was carried unanimously. In addressing the meeting, I remarked that the King's letter reminded me of the story of Davy Crockett and the coon. [That letter, read before the meeting by Charles R. Bishop, was a capitulation from Kalakaua. It appears on page 53 of the Dole memoirs.—*Editor.*]

"Davy Crockett was a famous hunter in the old days of Kentucky, who achieved a notable reputation as an accurate shot," I explained. "One day, while hunting in the woods, he spotted a coon in a tree and took aim at him, whereupon the coon called out: 'Hold on, Davy! Don't shoot! I'll come down!' Apparently the King saw this meeting first, and accordingly announced that he would 'come down' before the meeting shot. A question for this meeting to decide, however, is whether it is going to shoot or not. We are ready to shoot, and I am in favor of going ahead with the ceremony and adopting these resolutions, whether the King wants them adopted or not." Afterward I was charged with having called the King a "coon," a Negro, reference being made to a popular intimation that Kalakaua was the son of a Negro barber. I then denied, and I now deny, that there was any such intimation in my remarks; I told the story simply to illustrate the fact that the coon, as well as Kalakaua, "came down" when the coming seemed good.

*How Coon Told
Davy Crockett
Not to Shoot*

*No Intention
to Call King
Son of Negro*

Alexander Young, manager of the Honolulu Iron Works, said that he spoke for the employees

*But Kalakaua
Must Be King
and Not Knave*

of that company. He was ready to shoulder a musket and defend Kalakaua, if Kalakaua would be a king, and not a knave. Some men counseled waiting, but Mr. Young opposed that; he favored striking while the iron was hot. Hawaii should have a new constitution as soon as possible; if the King would not act voluntarily, he must be compelled. Dr. S. G. Tucker said that the meeting resembled a consultation of doctors over a patient. He did not know how honest the King's letter was; Kalakaua had sent in his submission before it was asked. Hawaii had waited for years to have grievances redressed, and would wait no longer. Kalakaua should understand the abyss from which he had barely escaped.

Sanford B. Dole said that the constitution provided that the King should conduct the government for the common good; and the people had a right to assemble and consult for the common good. Kalakaua had not so conducted the government; this meeting was called to give him one more chance. Mr. Dole held the King more responsible than his ministers, for Kalakaua had interfered unwarrantably with his cabinet, and had "sold his sacred oath to the highest bidder;" public money had been spent in every possible way; not to sympathize with the movement sponsored by the meeting was almost treason.

*Majesty Sells
Sacred Oath to
Highest Bidder*

William A. Kinney spoke in general support of the resolutions; he emphasized that the keynote was to secure a new constitution, and that speedily, for the present "miserable rag of a constitution"



Colonel Ashford proposed to shoot Kalakaua in cold blood and likewise to hang Walter Murray Gibson as a warning

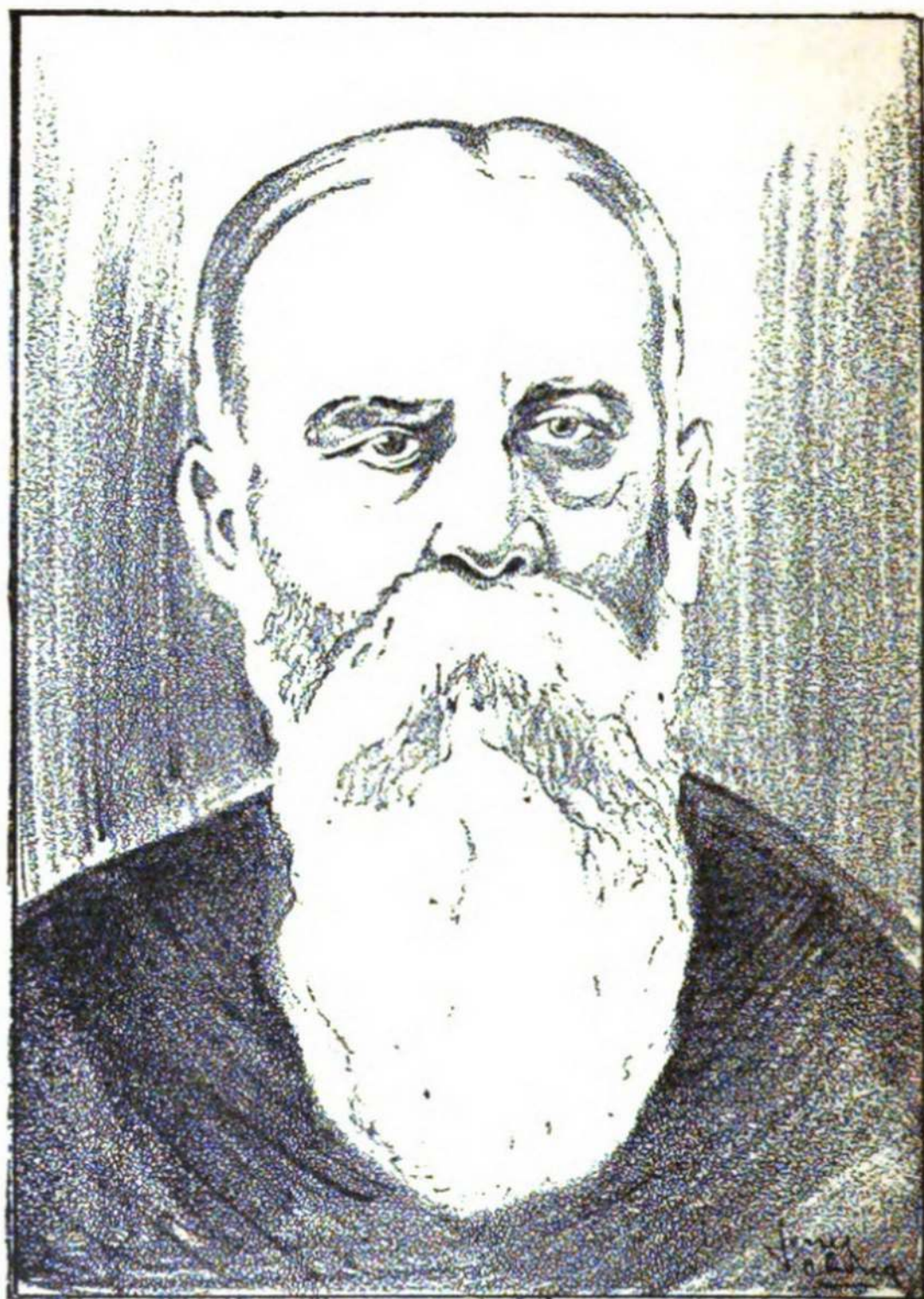
Volney V. Ashford

was insufficient. If a new constitution was not to be had, he would not have been there; the movement had gone too far to turn back. Should the King think that he could have his own rights and those of seventy thousand others as well, the King was mistaken. A reconstructed government was wanted; to secure it, Mr. Kinney was prepared to stake "his life, his property, and his sacred honor." These men also addressed the meeting, advocating the resolutions and stressing the immediate adoption of a new constitution: Henry Waterhouse, R. J. Greene, L. C. Ables, Cecil Brown, E. M. Walsh, J. M. Vivas, J. D. Tucker, C. W. Ashford, and W. H. Rice, of Kauai. [See the Dole memoirs, pages 53 to 55, for the addresses of William L. Green and Charles R. Bishop, and for the names of other speakers.—*Editor.*]

Paul Isenberg, senior, and Henry P. Baldwin opposed the promulgation of a new constitution immediately. Mr. Isenberg was a member of the firm of H. Hackfeld & Co., one of the largest importers and sugar agents of the kingdom, and had been manager of Lihue Plantation, Kauai. His was the impressive demeanor of the old-time plantation manager, captain of several thousand persons. As he announced his opposition, a storm of protest arose from all parts of the hall. He stood stolidly, looking at the audience until the uproar ceased; without a word of comment on the outcry, he continued his address. After the demonstration against Mr. Isenberg, only a brave man would have advocated the same policy, but

*Movement Has
Gone Too Far
to Turn Back*

*Two Opposed
to Immediate
Constitution*



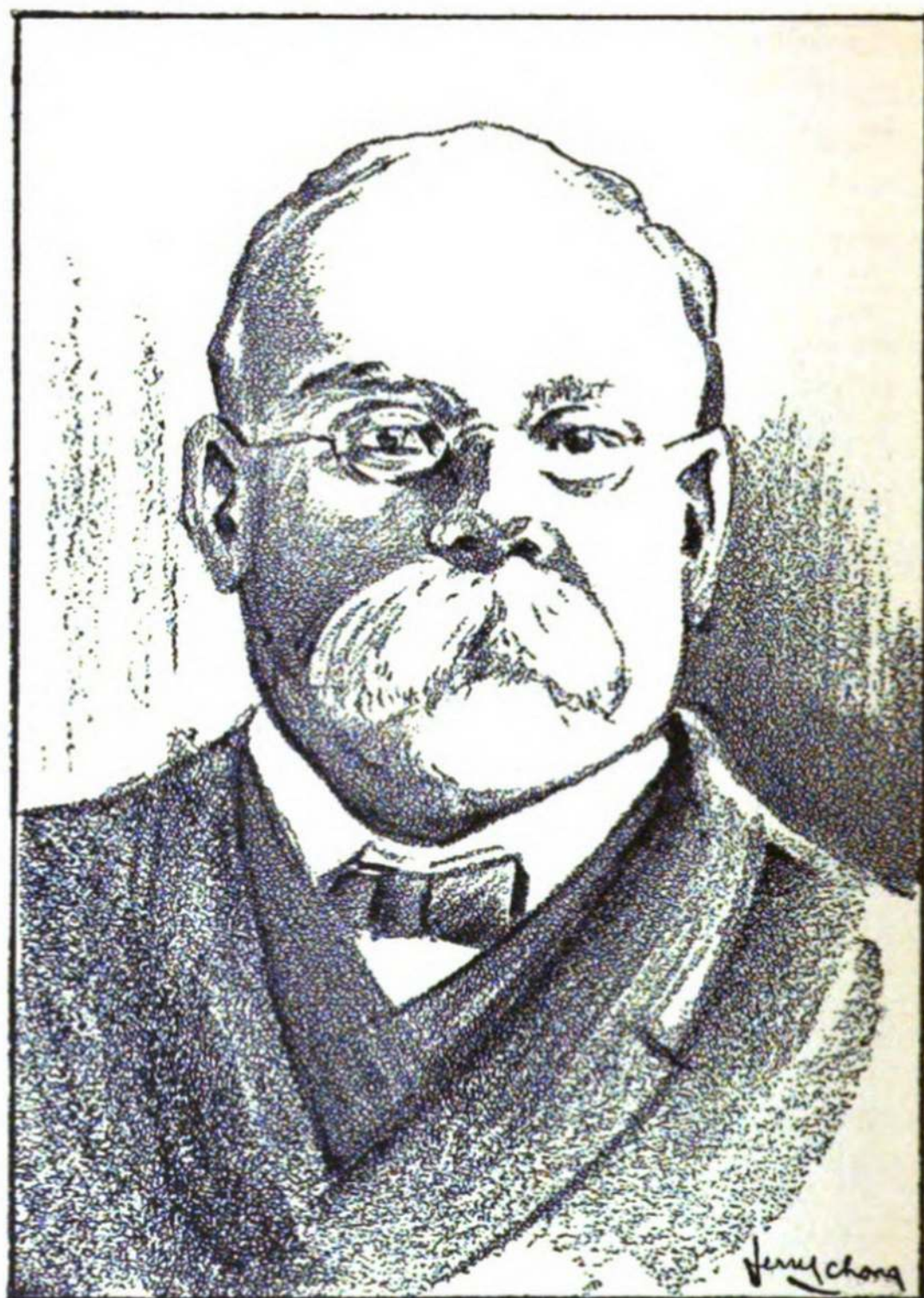
Paul Isenberg

Mr. Baldwin was that man. Both he and Isenberg, being from the country, did not realize the extreme feeling of Honolulu. Changing the constitution by a convention, elected for the purpose, would have given the King every opportunity for manipulating the election and for chicanery thereafter, so as to render adequate changes almost hopeless.

While favoring the resolutions as a whole, Mr. Baldwin announced that he opposed a new constitution immediately. Then the meeting broke into a roar of protest. William A. Kinney was the most intense man I have ever known. In my mind's eye and ear at this moment, I can see and hear him clearly, charging down the center of the hall, shaking his fist at Mr. Baldwin, and shouting: "No! No! No! Sit down!" Shouts, yells, howls arose everywhere. Mr. Baldwin stood for a moment; he raised his hand, requesting silence, which came, immediate and complete. "I see," he said, "that this meeting does not agree with me on this point, and therefore I will say no more." The audience received the statement with an audible sigh of relief.

*Kinney Rushes
Down the Hall
in Hot Protest*

Mr. Jones, chairman, appointed a committee of thirteen, which immediately waited on the King at the Palace. [The names of the members of the committee are given in the mass meeting resolutions, page 52, Dole memoirs.—*Editor.*] On July 1, 1887, the King made a written reply to the citizens' committee, as follows:



Henry P. Baldwin

*"To Honorable Paul Isenberg and the gentlemen
composing the committee of a meeting of
subjects and citizens.*

"GENTLEMEN :

"In acknowledging the receipt of the resolutions adopted at a mass meeting held yesterday and presented to us by you, we are pleased to convey through you to our loyal subjects as well as to the citizens of Honolulu our expression of good will and our gratification that our people have taken the usual constitutional steps in presenting their grievances.

"To the first proposition contained in the resolutions passed by the meeting, whose action you represent, we reply that it has been substantially complied with by the formal resignation of the ministry, which took place on the 28th day of June, and was accepted on that date, and that we had already requested the Hon. W. L. Green to form a new cabinet on the day succeeding the resignation of the cabinet." [Attention should be invited to what seems a falsehood by Kalakaua. He says that William L. Green was invited, on June 29, to form a cabinet. But in the Dole memoirs, page 54, Mr. Green is quoted as having said at the mass meeting of June 30: . . . "if it should ever happen that I should head a Ministry . . ." Consequently, when the mass meeting was held, Mr. Green had not been requested to be premier; apparently Kalakaua antedated his submission to save his face.—*Editor.*]

"To the second proposition we reply that Mr. Walter M. Gibson has severed all his connections with the Hawaiian Government by resignation.

"To the third proposition we reply that we do not admit the truth of the matter stated therein, but will submit the whole subject to our new cabinet, and will gladly act according to their advice, and will cause restitution to be made by the parties found responsible.

"To the fourth proposition we reply that at our command Mr. Junius Kaae resigned the office of registrar of conveyance on the 28th day of June, and his successor has been appointed.

*Kalakaua Says
That Ministry
Has Resigned*

*King Refuses
to Admit the
Opium Scandal*

“To the fifth proposition we reply that the specific pledges required of us are each severally acceded to.

“We are pleased to assure the members of the committee and our loyal subjects that we are, and shall at all times be, anxious and ready to cooperate with our councillors and advisers, as well as with our intelligent and patriotic citizens in all matters touching the honor, welfare, and prosperity of our Kingdom.

“Given at our palace this first day of July, A.D. 1887, and the fourteenth year of our reign.

“KALAKAUA, REX.”

—*Hawaiian Islands. Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. . . . Transmitted to Congress from January 1, 1893, to March 10, 1894, page 1611. (Hereafter cited as Morgan's Report.)*

The statement, in the King's reply, that the Gibson ministry had resigned, was the first public announcement of that fact. The denial by Kalakaua, that he had received a \$71,000 bribe from Aki for the opium license, must be considered in connection with his admission to me that the charges were true, as I have set forth in the analysis of his character.

Soon after daybreak on July 1, 1887, when the community was in a state of suppressed excitement, the fact became known that the manifest of a steamer, just arrived from Australia, contained an item of a large number of guns, said to be rifles and consigned to a man supposedly friendly to the government. The community immediately jumped to the conclusion that the guns were intended for use by the King against the league. Without consulting the executive committee, Colonel V. V. Ashford, commanding the Rifles, ordered them under arms; sent an armed detail to the Australian

*Arms Shipment
Thought to Be
Against League*

steamer at the dock; seized the guns and took them to the armory; dispatched soldiers to the residence of the prime minister, Walter M. Gibson; arrested him and his son-in-law, Fred Hayselden; marched them through town; and confined them in a stone warehouse on the wharf at the foot of Nuuanu Street.

*Soldiers Seize
Guns at Dock,
Arrest Premier*

When I arrived at my law office, about eight o'clock in the morning, I learned of the events. My partner, William O. Smith, was leaving the office with a rifle in his hand. "W. O.," said I, "what in thunder are you doing with a rifle?" He answered: "This is one of the times which show what a man is made of. Where is your rifle? Get it, and come down here as quick as you can." He told me of the arrival of the arms on the steamer and of what was occurring. I returned on horseback to my home, got my rifle and ammunition belt, and again went to my office. Telephoning to the executive committee of the league, I called a meeting, to be held at once in the law library of the Honolulu Bar Association, upstairs in the Campbell Block, at Fort and Merchant Streets.

Then I went to the water front to learn what was occurring. At the open front door of the warehouse, Mr. Gibson sat on a nail keg, with Hayselden standing beside him. A member of the Rifles stood guard at the entrance. Everything appeared quiet; I went to the law library, to meet the league executive committee at 9 A. M. On my way there, I was informed that Colonel Ashford intended immediately to hang Mr. Gibson

*Thurston Hears
Ashford's Plan
to Hang Gibson*

*Strike Terror
in Community,
Colonel's Aim*

from the yardarm of a sailing vessel then lying opposite the warehouse in which Mr. Gibson was confined. I informed the executive committee; it immediately summoned Colonel Ashford, and interrogated him. He replied that he intended to strike terror into the community, so that all might understand that no one could do, with impunity, the acts of which Gibson had been guilty. Immediately and unanimously, the executive committee repudiated the colonel's plan, and directed that Gibson be transferred to Oahu Jail. There he was given an option, to remain and stand trial "for high crimes and misdemeanors," whatever that might have meant, or to depart for San Francisco. Mr. Gibson chose the latter; and he died in San Francisco within a short time, as heretofore told.

*League Must
Provide New
Constitution*

One unexpected problem of the league was the drafting of a new constitution. In view of the King's preparations for resistance, the league had expected a fight, and had prepared for one; but the league had not anticipated that Kalakaua would surrender out of hand. When he groveled, as he did in his letter to Charles R. Bishop, and expressed a willingness to promulgate a new instrument, the league had to provide one, and it had not been formulated. Receiving the King's written reply, the executive committee invited a number of men to assist in formulating a document, and began drafting a constitution that very night at the home of Henry Waterhouse.

In almost continuous session, by night as well as

by day, until July 6, 1887, when the task was completed, the committee got the constitution into type. Some deficiencies developed; all things considered, I think that the results were exceedingly creditable. The constitution was sent by the executive officers of the league to the cabinet; the cabinet read it to the King in the afternoon of July 6. He listened attentively; without question or objection, he signed. An allegation has been made that the 1887 constitution was not legally enacted; it should receive comment here. Unquestionably the constitution was not in accordance with law; neither was the Declaration of Independence from Great Britain. Both were revolutionary documents, which had to be forcibly effected and forcibly maintained.

*No Objection
Made by King
When He Signs*

Two weeks or so after the signing, Kalakaua related a pathetic incident to the cabinet. He consented to meet another committee of thirteen, representing an organization of native Hawaiians, who wished to discuss another new constitution. The committee presented resolutions, setting forth that the *haoles* (white men) had forced the King to sign a constitution of which the committee did not approve, and requested Kalakaua to grant another instrument more to the native liking; moreover, the resolutions gave the King twenty-four hours for reply. Said Kalakaua, as he told the ministers: "There appears to be a mistake in your understanding of the situation. You say that the new constitution is the *haoles'* constitution. Let us see!" I sent for the original copy. Turning to the

*Hawaiians Ask
Still Another
Magna Charta*

signature, I said to the chairman of the committee: 'Here, look at this! What name is that?' He looked at the signature and answered: 'Kalakaua. Your name.' 'Sure,' I said, 'that is my name. There isn't the name of a *haole* on that constitution. That is my constitution. Therefore your committee has made a mistake; this is not the *haoles'* constitution, this is Kalakaua's constitution. That is all there is to it. Now, you never mind about the twenty-four hours; this is all the answer that you need. You men go home now, and behave yourselves.' I bowed them out; and they went away."

*"My Document,"
Kalakaua Tells
the Delegation*

CHAPTER IX

SERVICE AS MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

In the resolutions adopted by the mass meeting of June 30, 1887, Kalakaua was asked to call one of four men to assist him in selecting a new cabinet. On July 1 he called W. L. Green, one of the four named. Mr. Green chose a cabinet as follows: W. L. Green, minister of finance and premier; Godfrey Brown, minister of foreign affairs; Clarence W. Ashford, attorney-general; Lorrin A. Thurston, minister of the interior. When Mr. Green informed Kalakaua of his selections, the King replied that they were satisfactory, myself excepted; under no circumstances, said he, would he approve Mr. Thurston. Mr. Green replied that he had no other man to suggest, that the minister of the interior would be Mr. Thurston or nobody; thereupon the King submitted and signed the commissions.

*King Balks at
Mr. Thurston;
Green Has Way*

Mr. Green and Joel C. Cohen, now president of the Consolidated Amusement Company, figure in one of my vivid recollections of the cabinet. Mr. Cohen was representing a California wine association in Honolulu. Some good citizens alleged that he was flooding the country with crude wine called "Dago red"; not only was it adulterated, said they, but it also was poisonous; they wished a stop put to such doings, and filed a complaint against Mr. Cohen with the minister of finance.

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION



KALAKAUA.

By the Grace of God, of the Hawaiian Islands, King:

To Louren A. Thurston Greeting:

Now We, that We, reposing special trust and confidence in your wisdom, integrity and fidelity, have constituted and appointed you, and by these presents do hereby constitute and appoint you _____

Our Minister of the Interior

to faithfully discharge and perform all the duties pertaining to said Office, under the Constitution and Laws of Our Kingdom. And all persons are hereby commanded to respect this your authority.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto set Our hand, and caused the Great Seal of the Kingdom to be affixed at Our Palace of Solani in Honolulu, this first day of July _____ A. D. 1857 and in the fourteenth year of Our Reign.



By the King
W. L. Queen

Kalakaue Roy.
Minister of ~~Foreign Affairs~~ Finance

Mr. Thurston's commission as minister of the interior, from his personal file

So serious did the charges seem that Mr. Green asked the cabinet to sit with him in a hearing of the complaint. As I have said, Mr. Green was in ill health, a semi-invalid. He usually slid down in his chair, and sat on the small of his back during lengthy interviews. Now he took his usual attitude, with his hands folded over his breast, his eyes shut, and his glasses on top of his head.

*Cabinet Asked
to Hear Charge
Against Cohen*

After the complainants stated their case, Mr. Green opened his eyes and asked: "Are you through?" They were. He sat upright, clenched his fist, and thumped a table. "Then I have something to say," he began. "The complaint is that Mr. Cohen is selling adulterated and poisonous liquor in Hawaii. I ought to know something of the liquor business—I've been in it for forty years, and I know it, root and branch. I tell you gentlemen that the chief adulterant used in Hawaii is water; and the chief poison is alcohol—and that is all there is about it!" Again he thumped the table, and slid back. There was nothing more to be said; the complainants faded away.

Mr. Green became greatly interested in the geology of the islands, and investigated and wrote much on volcanology. Among his scientific works, he enunciated the theory that the moon was produced by centrifugal force when the earth was molten, being thrown from that portion of the earth now covered by the Pacific Ocean. He embodied his ideas in two volumes, entitled *Vestiges of the Molten Globe*. My understanding is that his theories have been accepted by the scientific

*Two Books on
"Vestiges of
Molten Globe"*

*Name of Green
to Be Honored,
Says Hitchcock*

world as probably correct. [A brief appreciation of Mr. Green's writings, particularly his "tetrahedral symmetry" of the earth, will be found in Dr. Charles H. Hitchcock's *Hawaii and Its Volcanoes*, pages 302 to 305. Says Dr. Hitchcock: "William Lowthian Green, (1819-1890) born in London. . . . The memory of William Lowthian Green will be honored henceforth because of his success in showing why the earth has assumed its present relief. Our most eminent authors have heretofore failed to discover the principle regulating the contraction of the earth, almost to the point of denying the existence of any rational element in the development. . . . Upon examining a terrestrial globe it is easy to block out the tetrahedron with the apex at the south pole and the angles proceeding northerly by the way of South America, Africa and Australia; with basal angles in North America, Scandinavia and northeastern Asia, and a north polar ocean resting upon the base of the figure." Ill health compelled Mr. Green to retire from the cabinet on July 22, 1889; he died on December 7, 1890.—*Editor.*]

*Strange Story
Told Thurston
About Colonel*

Some days after the appointment of the new ministry, a man told me that Colonel V. V. Ashford had bunkoed the King out of \$5,000 when the mass meeting of June 30 was in progress. I replied that I did not believe the statement. Said my informant: "All right, send for Ashford and ask him. He will probably admit that he got the money." Calling Colonel Ashford to my office, I said: "I am informed that, while the mass meeting was in

session at the Rifles' Armory, you went to the Palace and bluffed the King out of \$5,000. What have you to say?" Colonel Ashford replied: "Without admitting that I did any bluffing, I admit that I got \$5,000 from the King." "On what theory did you get it from him?" I inquired. "I was despoiling the enemy," replied he. "How do you make that out?" I asked.

"Yes," Ashford Admits, "I Got Five Thousand"

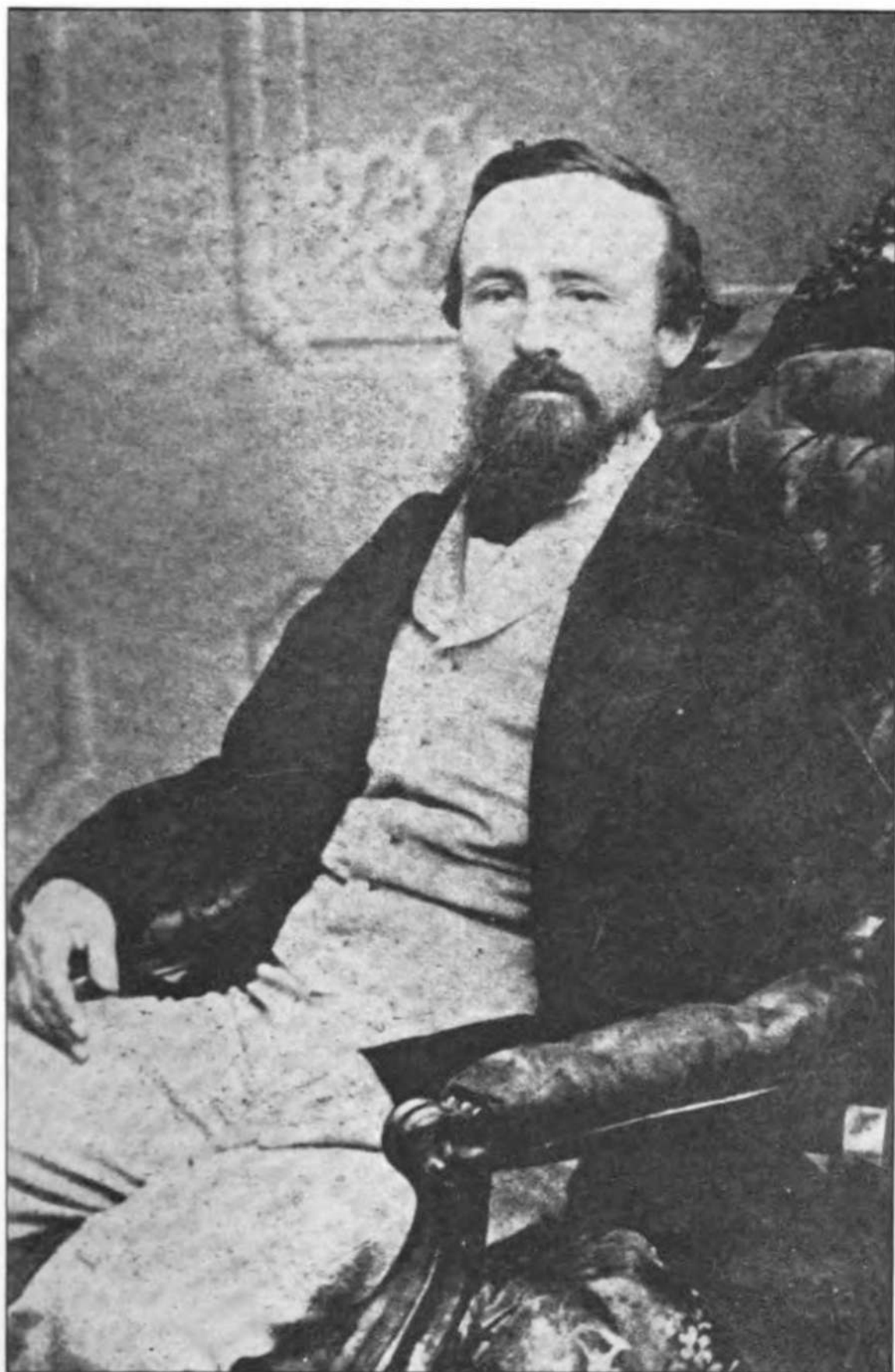
"Why," he said, "the league was acting in opposition to Kalakaua, and was prepared to fight him, if necessary. I did not believe that he would lie down, but I fully expected that he would fight; consequently, any way in which I could diminish his resources to carry on the fight against us, was 'despoiling the enemy,' and I did it." "And now that we are not at enmity with the King, and he is not 'the enemy,' what do you propose to do with the money?" I wished to know. He answered: "I propose to keep it." I told him that I considered his position untenable; since he was a leading executive of the government, the cabinet could not approve his action, and I requested him to restore the money to Kalakaua. That he refused to do; thereupon I informed him that I should have to report the affair to the ministers for their decision. "Very well," said he. "Do as you please."

I reported to the cabinet, which included, as attorney-general, Colonel Ashford's brother Clarence. The cabinet passed a unanimous resolution, directing the colonel to return the money to the King, and deputed me to wait on Kalakaua and secure his statement of the facts. I met the King

by appointment at the Palace, told him what I had heard from Colonel Ashford, and that the cabinet wished a statement from him. When the mass meeting of June 30 was being held, said Kalakaua, Colonel Ashford, dressed in his military uniform, went to the Palace, which was a little more than a block from the Armory. Upon being ushered into the King's apartment, he demanded \$5,000 in cash.

"I replied that I did not have \$5,000 with me," Kalakaua continued. "Mr. Ashford said: 'There is plenty of money there,' and pointed over his shoulder with his thumb at the Government Building across the street. I replied that it was government money, not mine, and that Joe Carter" [Joseph O. Carter, the treasurer] "would not let me have it anyhow. Mr. Ashford said that I could get the money if I wanted to; if I did not get it, he would blow my head off. I asked to consult the attorney-general" [Antone Rosa]. "Mr. Ashford consented, and I sent for Rosa. He came; I discussed the situation with him. He called my attention to the fact, which he knew, that Queen Kapiolani and her two sisters had deposits in the postal savings bank, aggregating something over \$5,000, and suggested that I draw the money to satisfy Mr. Ashford. I agreed to Mr. Rosa's suggestion," Kalakaua went on, "secured the three pass books, and sent Mr. Rosa to the post office with them. He drew \$5,000 from the three accounts, receiving the money in gold coin in a bag, which he brought to me at the Palace, and I handed it to Mr. Ashford."

*Blow Head Off:
Ashford Threat
to His Majesty*



William Lowthian Green was a cabinet minister and business man, and distinguished himself as a scientific writer

W. L. Green

I told the King that the cabinet had decided that Colonel Ashford must return the money, and I requested the King to give me a written statement in support of the cabinet's demand. He excitedly replied: "Mr. Thurston, what I have said to you is entirely confidential. The transaction which I have detailed to you is entirely one between Colonel Ashford and myself. I do not propose to demand return of the money from Colonel Ashford, and I do not wish you or the cabinet to take any action." When I said that the cabinet members must act, or they would practically be parties to dishonesty, Kalakaua replied: "I have already told you, Mr. Thurston, that the transaction was a private one. If the cabinet attempts to reopen the question, I will deny that I gave any money to Colonel Ashford, and will repudiate this statement to you. I tell you I do not wish anything further done." Evidently the King was fearful, if an attempt was made to compel Ashford to disgorge, that the latter would take vengeance. I reported the King's statement to the cabinet. Against my earnest protest, that body decided to drop the subject, partly because of the King's attitude, but especially on the ground that, if legal action were taken against Colonel Ashford, Kalakaua could not be compelled to testify, for he was not subject to legal process. To my mind, that was the weakest act of the so-called "Reform Cabinet." Their action returned to plague the ministers afterward.

Kalakaua himself seemed to recognize that an era had ended with the retirement of the Gibson cabinet. I quote a letter of his to Liliuokalani.

*Kalakaua Holds
That Incident
Is Confidential*

*Return of Gold
Now Is Dropped
by the Cabinet*

"Honolulu July 5, 87

"Dear Sister:

"We are just passing through a tremendous Crises. Happily averted since Teusday 28th of June of last week. I have appointed my Ministers. Mr Green as Minister of Finance and Premier. Mr Thurston as Minister of Interior and Mr Godfrey Brown Minister Foreign Affairs Mr C. A." [W.] "Ashford Attorney General. Both Thurston and Ashford have made necessary apologize for their former conduct towards me. So we are now in full sympathy, and I think we can get along together. But the fault of the whole matter is that the several firms of Brewer & Co. E.O. Hall & Son J.T.Waterhouse and Co. S.N.Castle & Co. have distributed promiscuously the arms to every body that now I believe they regret it, not being able now to quiet matters.

"Mother" [Mrs. John Dominis, mother of John O. Dominis.—*Editor.*] "is still comfortable and you and John" [John O. Dominis.—*Editor.*] "may yet have an opportunity to see her.

"Aloha Kaua a nui!

"KUNANE." [Brother.]

Just what His Majesty meant by "apologized," so far as I am concerned, I do not know. I was not aware of any apology. The incident most approaching one occurred early after my appointment to the ministry, when I called on the King, and said that I hoped to be able to deal amicably with him, and that I hoped he would regard me as wishing to work with him in an entirely friendly attitude. Those hopes were destined to be vain: throughout the three years of my cabinet membership, I scarcely ever had a friendly word from

*Thurston Hope
of Cooperation
With King Vain*

Kalakaua; and his demeanor toward the cabinet, and toward me personally, was almost invariably hostile or sullenly sufferant. Only once, in those years, did his bearing improve. That was for a short time after the Wilcox insurrection of July 30, 1889, when he apparently looked to the cabinet for support against Liliuokalani and Wilcox, and his manner became somewhat pleasanter.

*Royal Attitude
Improves Once
After Outbreak*

In the last six months of 1887, after the appointment of the Green cabinet, Kalakaua largely ceased his political manipulation; and I had an opportunity to attend to the business of the interior department, the practical working department of the kingdom. There were no local governments then, city or county; all details were under the central administration in Honolulu. Consequently the interior department had charge of much, which I enumerate.

Locating, constructing, and maintaining roads, harbors, wharves, and government buildings. Administering the post office and the postal savings. Control of the government lands, including issuance of royal patents, both upon land awards made by the earlier land commission and upon new sales and leases. Initiating a homestead system under a law formulated by Sanford B. Dole and passed in 1884, but totally neglected up to that time. Constructing and maintaining school buildings, locating and extending school premises, although education itself was under a national board of education. Managing immigration, which embraced the bringing of laborers from the Western

*Charged With
Multifarious
Official Duty*

*Beginning Now
of Waterworks
in the Country*

Portuguese islands of the Atlantic and from China and Japan. Public health, including the Leper Settlement, on Molokai, and the leper segregation station, in Honolulu. Honolulu waterworks and several county waterworks systems, which were begun about that time—previously there had been no organized waterworks elsewhere than Honolulu. Details of public health and immigration were handled by boards, but the minister of the interior was a member and virtually the executive manager.

One may deduce, from the enumeration of my duties, that my time was occupied during the ensuing three years, although the public mind and my attention were hampered, more or less continuously, by schemes of Kalakaua to resist the cabinet and to recover his former arbitrary control. Liliuokalani, moreover, diverted the attention of the ministers from ordinary governmental affairs by her schemes, not only against the cabinet, but also against her brother Kalakaua, with the object of forcing him to abdicate in her favor. Intrigues and an insurrection by Robert W. Wilcox and other supporters of Liliuokalani looked toward the same end.

*Road System Is
Likewise Begun
Under Thurston*

Those three years, from 1887 to 1890, probably were the most intense in Hawaiian history, practically as well as politically. They witnessed virtually the beginning of a road system. On the Island of Hawaii, in 1887, few roads existed. A dirt right of way ran from Punaluu to Pahala, another through Kohala District, another from Ka-

waihae to Waimea; there was not another road on the whole island. Foot and horse trails alone served the other districts. Hilo had streets from the Wailuku River, on the one end, to the Waio-lama Stream, about halfway from the town of Hilo to the Waiakea River, on the other. The town boasted only one wheeled vehicle: a one-seated phaeton, which was borrowed by the families of Hilo to give ill persons rides during convalescence.

*Single Vehicle
Rolls Its Way
in Hilo Town*

Here I wish to record my appreciation of the ability shown by a native Hawaiian as a road engineer and constructor. One of my schoolmates, at the Haleakala Boys' Boarding School in the early 1870's, was Robert Kalanipoo, who had been sent to the school by the board of education from Koolauloa District of Oahu. When I was minister of the interior, he became a road overseer in Honolulu, and there gained knowledge of road engineering and construction. After construction of roads in the Kona District was planned, the first two roads were: one from the port of Hookena, South Kona, extending for several miles into the interior; the other from Holualoa, just south of Kailua, in North Kona, also extending into the interior for several miles. As I recollect, surveys were made for both roads; Kalanipoo was put in charge of the laying-out and construction of the Hookena highway, and did excellent work. The Holualoa road was constructed first, in the North Kona District, because a sugar plantation had been established there by J. Coerper, and a road was

intended to facilitate his business, as well as benefit the whole community.

Kilauea volcano, on the Island of Hawaii, was reached by horse trail from Pahala, on the south shore. In the time under discussion, a wagon road right of way was opened by Peter Lee; passengers, arriving by steamer at Punaluu, were taken to the volcano by horse-drawn vehicles. On the Hilo side, only a horse trail led from Hilo through the woods to Olaa. The trail there crossed the so-called "ti swamp," on which there was not a single residence or an acre of cultivated land, thence to the lava flow beyond, and to the volcano. Usually the trip from Hilo to the volcano required nine hours, from eight o'clock in the morning, say, to five o'clock in the afternoon; but many tourists took two days, spending a night at a native grass hut at the Halfway House on the lava, nearly opposite the present Mountain View. Samuel G. Wilder, president of Wilder's Steamship Co., built a landing at Keauhou, at the south end of Puna District; and Wilder steamships, plying to Hilo, landed volcano passengers at Keauhou once a month. They were taken up the bluff, four or five miles, to a station, established by Mr. Wilder; thence they went to the volcano over a roadway cleared through a jungle, on two-wheeled breaks, which carried two passengers and their baggage, besides a driver. That was considered a great advance in transportation.

*Great Advance
Made in Travel
to the Volcano*

A beginning was made to open a road from Hilo to Kilauea. Since the wooded section between

Hilo and Olaa was originally rocky lava, an assumption arose that the wooded area on the way to the volcano was rocky. Plans were made to run the volcano road through the woods and across the "ti swamp" at Olaa to the lava flow on the Puna side, and to haul a-a lava from the woods to surface the road on the pahoe-hoe. John M. Lydgate made a survey from Hilo to Kilauea. When he had carried it to the Halfway House, he reported that he had been unable to find any a-a rock, the entire section apparently being covered with deep soil. I was skeptical, and went to see for myself. Mr. Lydgate had run a crosscut into the woods; he took me there. For approximately four and one-half miles, we found no a-a, but deep soil everywhere. The discovery caused a complete change in the location of the road, and resulted in Olaa becoming an agricultural district.

*Rock Expected;
Lydgate Finds
Only Deep Soil*

From the place where the volcano road left the woods on the Olaa side, it was diverted from crossing the "ti swamp" to a location straight up the hill, directly toward the volcano, and thence through the woods to just above the place now known as Glenwood, where the soil practically ceased, and the road once more debouched upon the lava flow. The Olaa section thus traversed was densely wooded, entirely unpopulated, and uncultivated. It was crown land; soon the crown land commissioners opened it to settlement, first to Hawaiians alone, and then to settlers of all nationalities. An influx of whites speedily occurred; at one time, there were well over a hundred white families set-

*Olaa District
Now Is Opened
to Settlement*

*Coffee Failure
Spells the End
of Homesteads*

tled in the woods of Olaa. Coffee was planted, and the first crop, harvested about the third year from planting, gave an excellent yield. As the years went by, however, the second crop was less than the first; the third crop decreased radically; and the fourth was a failure. Those facts ended the most promising homesteading ever initiated in Hawaii. All of the Olaa settlement was threatened with bankruptcy, from which it was saved only by the development of the Olaa Sugar Co., Ltd., after annexation.

*Road Built to
Waikiki Beach
Across Swamps*

Road development on the Island of Maui included the construction of a driveway around the south end of West Maui, connecting Wailuku with Lahaina. The former route between those places had been by horse trail, which went up over the mountain, crossing some twelve or fifteen hundred feet above sea level. Prior to the period under discussion, there had been no macadam construction of roads, or other attempt to apply metal to the road surface, anywhere in the kingdom. During this time, not only were roadways laid out, but metaling was begun. In addition to the volcano road at Hilo, roads were surveyed and laid out through the Kona, Puna, Hamakua, and Hilo Districts of the Island of Hawaii. The macadamizing of the Honolulu streets, which had already been begun, was pushed energetically. A macadamized road was built across the swamps to Waikiki; a driveway was opened to and around the top of Punchbowl, and back of the latter hill, to Tantalus, and the region beyond, to an elevation

of about fifteen hundred feet. There had been a dirt road from Honolulu to Waialua; it was re-surveyed, and macadamizing on the relocation was begun. Wagon roads on the Island of Kauai also were pushed.

The waterworks system in Honolulu was greatly expanded. Theretofore the supply had been drawn almost exclusively from springs situated in Nuuanu Valley back of the Royal Mausoleum, and from a ditch taken from the Nuuanu Stream at that place. The system was extended up the valley to include springs and the streams of Hillebrand Glen, near Luakaha, in Nuuanu. The land at Hanaiakamalama, known as "Queen Emma's Place," was purchased from the Queen Emma Estate, and the water rights pertaining thereto were secured by the government.

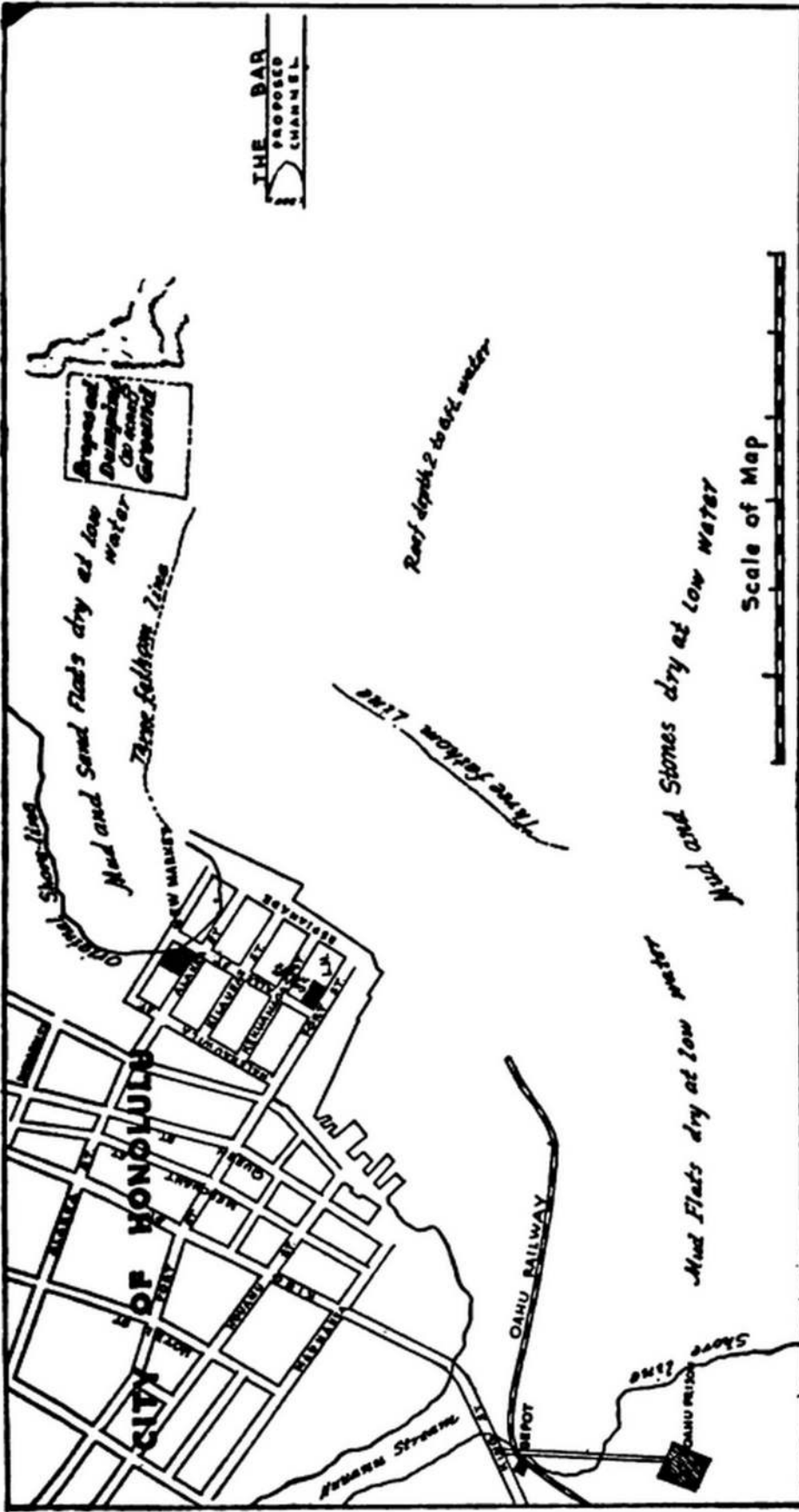
In 1872, when I was attending the Brewster School at Wailuku, Maui, I had become acquainted with Charles B. Wilson, then a young blacksmith of the town, son of an English father and a Tahitian mother, and father of John H. Wilson, the present mayor of Honolulu. Afterward Charles B. Wilson was superintendent of the Honolulu waterworks, holding the position when I was appointed minister of the interior in 1887; and I continued him its most efficient superintendent during my term of office. As minister of the interior, I was also a member of the board of health, and visited the Leper Settlement on Mokolai several times. The settlement lacked a water system then, rain water from the roofs of houses

Charles Wilson
Efficient Head
of Waterworks

being the only source; I secured an appropriation from the Legislature to pipe water from Waikolu Valley, and sent Mr. Wilson to install the system, which he did to my great satisfaction. It still furnishes water to the settlement. Mr. Wilson afterward was marshal under Liliuokalani, and was marshal at the overthrow, and her close friend and principal adviser. He and I had many contacts, all arising from the acquaintance made while I was a schoolboy at Wailuku.

*Trans-Pacific
Steamers Must
Anchor Outside*

At Honolulu the entrance to the harbor was only twenty-four feet deep and two hundred feet wide. Comparatively small steamers alone could enter; all of the trans-Pacific Asiatic vessels had to anchor outside, and transfer passengers and freight by lighters to a wharf. There were no docks east of the vicinity of Pier 7, and none west of Pier 14. Soundings and borings of the entrance to the harbor were secured, and preparations made for deepening and widening the entrance, preparatory to dredging, which later was done, and to the construction of wharves, the development of which began soon thereafter, both by the government and by the Oahu Railway & Land Co. An entire section between the harbor and the Oahu Jail was used for fishponds; that by the Oahu Jail, as well as that on the *mauka* side of King Street between Nuuanu Stream and the roadway now running *mauka* from the railroad station, was covered entirely by swamps. Along Nuuanu Stream, the government had erected wooden shacks, which were rented to Chinese laundrymen as washhouses.



Honolulu harbor, showing the proposed deepening of the bar, drawn from a blue print by G. F. Allardt, C.E., to accompany a report of July 19, 1890. Limitations of space forbade the inclusion of some details on the right of the blue print. Mr. Allardt was commissioned by Mr. Thurston, about May, 1890, to investigate the dredging of the bar and to report; before he could do so, Mr. Thurston had retired from the cabinet, and the report was addressed to Charles N. Spencer, his successor as minister of the interior. The drawing is from a copy of the original report, Hawaiian Historical Society, Library of Hawaii

All of the reclaiming of land in those districts, and building development thereon, has been done since the period under discussion.

During my incumbency of the interior department between 1887 and 1890, incidents occurred that later assumed some significance. The entire west side of the harbor of Honolulu was a fishpond or a shallow tideland area. B. F. Dillingham, then constructing the Oahu Railway around the island, acquired title to a considerable part of that section. He desired to extend his tracks to deep water in Honolulu Harbor. When a survey of the proposed terminus was made, a margin of shallow water lay between the outer edge of the title owned by Mr. Dillingham and the deep water of the harbor. Mr. Dillingham proposed to dredge slips in his land and to build wharves; he applied to the interior department for permission to dredge through the shoal water lying outside his property, so as to give access to the piers.

As minister of the interior, I had no objection to his constructing wharves on his holdings, but I favored the government keeping control of the entire water front. Accordingly I refused to permit him to dredge through the shallow water. He insisted that I had no right to take such a position, that his title land originally faced the deep water of the harbor, and that the shoal water now lying between the title line and the deep water had resulted from accretion of material brought down Nuuanu Stream. By law, if his contentions were correct, such an accretion would belong to the ad-

*Title of Lands
in West Harbor
to Dillingham*

*Does Accretion
of Nuuanu Silt
Make Shallows?*

jaacent title. If such shallow water were not accretion, but existed when the title line was laid out, the land belonged to the government; and to dredge it out now would be surrender by the government of its harbor front title to the private title in the rear. I did not know, and there did not seem to be any evidence available, whether the shallow water in question was accretion, in which case it would belong to Mr. Dillingham, or whether it was originally there, prior to the granting of private title to Mr. Dillingham's predecessors.

In settlement, I proposed that Mr. Dillingham admit that the land belonged to the government, but that the government grant him a lease, permitting him to dredge through, so as to give the railroad access to deep water, and allow him to build wharves on the dredged slips. Ultimately he accepted my suggestion, and a lease was granted. He dredged through the land, and constructed the wharves of the Oahu Railway & Land Co. on the

*Dredging Done,
Wharves Built
by the Railway*

Minister of Interior presented petition of the Oahu Railroad & Land Co. for approval of the location of their terminal division east of the Prison Road from King St. Approval was granted of the location of the line, but not an approval of the amount of land to be given them by the Government in connection with the water front which is to be the subject of a special written agreement

—Cabinet minutes, October 30, 1889, Archives of Hawaii.

*Ashford Enters
and Withdraws
an Accusation*

west side of the harbor. That action on my part, as minister of interior, gave the railway company the advantage of a terminus on deep water, and gave the public the advantage of increased wharf space; at the same time, it maintained the government title to the water front. My action was approved by the cabinet. Afterward a contention was made that I surrendered the interests of the government to Mr. Dillingham; C. W. Ashford, in his campaign as a candidate for the legislature of 1892, so maintained, although he, as attorney-general when the lease was signed, had approved. He subsequently withdrew the charge, and admitted that he had made it simply as campaign material. I go into such details now only as a defense to the allegation. At one time, it appeared to be pressed seriously against my administration of the interior office.

CHAPTER X

KALAKAUA AND HIS SISTER LILIUOKALANI

After the death of Kalakaua's brother Leleiohoku in 1877, Kalakaua made his sister, Mrs. Lydia Dominis, his successor, under the name of Liliuokalani. Thenceforth she appeared to feel that she had an interest in the throne; both by her public declarations and her acts, she made her feeling understood. She and Kalakaua's wife, Queen Kapiolani, were in London, attending Queen Victoria's golden jubilee, when the Hawaiian League demanded a new constitution; they returned soon after the constitution was granted. Liliuokalani did not conceal her dissatisfaction at the new instrument, which curbed the powers of the sovereign. She stated publicly that she wished she had been "wearing the pants" on June 30, 1887, that the King's submission to the league was cowardice.

From that time forward, until her own accession to the throne in January, 1891, she was in an almost continuous maelstrom of negotiation and scheming to bring about Kalakaua's abdication and her own elevation to the throne. I was a member of the cabinet for three years, and knowledge of those and other facts was brought home to me somewhat forcibly. In addition to my recollections, I have checked the record in various sources. From Liliuokalani's diary, in her own handwriting, part of which is in the Archives of

*Princess Named
Heir to Throne
by Her Brother*

*She Seeks His
Abdication and
Her Elevation*

Hawaii and part in the library of the Bishop Museum, I take the following extract.

*Will She Take
Crown? Yes, If
King Is Wrong*

December 20, 1887: "Young James Dowsett came to-day and told me that they wanted me to be Queen—because they said they could not do anything since the King vetoed Militarys—Gov—police bills - Told him if it was particularly necessary if the King abdicate I would — if " " " was doing wrong — I would but not till then - In the evening went and told the King — told C' - of it and went to rehearsal at Laihulu - . . ."—Liliuokalani's diary, Archives of Hawaii.

On page 186 of *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, I find the following:

"During the session of the legislature for the year 1888, Mr. James I. Dowsett, Jr., a young man, came to my house at Muolaulani, Palama, to inform me that he had been commissioned by those members who belonged to the missionary party to inquire if I would accept the throne in case my brother should be dethroned. To my indignation at the proposition was added astonishment that the request should come from a mere boy eighteen years of age; and I responded at once to his remark by saying, with some emphasis, that such a proposal was not to be considered. My answer would be 'No,' and this final."

I was minister of the interior from July 1, 1887, to June 16, 1890. I was intimately acquainted with James I. Dowsett, junior, having been a school-mate of his at Punahou in the middle 1870's. After my Punahou days, I was a member of the Athlete Baseball Club for several years, playing left field, while Dowsett was right fielder. He was part-Hawaiian, more or less interested in politics, and was elected to the Legislature in 1888. One day he appeared at the interior office and said to me: "Thurston, don't you think we have had about

*Young Dowsett
Asks Question
of a Minister*



Autograph facsimile: thus Liliuokalani signed a proclamation naming Kaiulani as heir to the throne, March 9, 1891

Liliuokalani K.

enough of Kalakaua?" "Why?" I asked. "Why," he said, "he is all the time bucking and interfering with the government, and I think we had better get rid of him." "Whom would you put in his place?" I inquired.

"Liliuokalani," he answered. I was interested, and went on: "Do you think she would take it?" "Sure she will!" replied Dowsett. "How do you know?" I persisted. "On general principles!" "This is a matter in which you must be certain," said I. "You cannot afford to depend on any 'general principles.'" "Well," he continued, "I will go and ask her and see what she says." "All right," I said. "If she gives you an answer, let me know." He went away, returned in the afternoon, told me he had seen Liliuokalani, and reported: "She'll take it, all right!" "Did you see her and ask her?" I inquired. "I went to Washington Place," he replied. "They told me that she was at some exercises being held at the Kawaiahao Girls' School, and I went there and asked to see her. She came to the veranda, and I asked her the question, and she said that she would take the position if it was offered to her."

*Dowsett Story
Is Similar to
Diary Passage*

Liliuokalani is mistaken when she states in her book that Mr. Dowsett was "a mere boy eighteen years of age." Mr. Dowsett was of the same age as I—we were both thirty years old then. I have checked the date of his birth: he was born on November 9, 1858, while I was born on July 31 in the same year. Moreover, she is mistaken when she states in her book that she indignantly refused

*Reform Cabinet
Never Proposed
King Step Down*

Dowsett's suggestion: her diary, made in her own handwriting on the day the incident occurred, says that she agreed to accept the throne if the King abdicated, which is exactly what Dowsett reported she said. So far as I know and believe, that was the only occasion when Mr. Dowsett discussed abdication by Kalakaua and Liliuokalani's elevation to the throne. There was never, at any time, any proposal by the cabinet or the party that Kalakaua abdicate and that Liliuokalani succeed; if any such plan had been offered or even contemplated, I certainly would have been aware of it. Every suggestion of the nature, except the one made by young Dowsett, originated in or near Liliuokalani's household.

On page 187 of *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, I find the following:

"He" [W. R. Castle] "announced to me that he had come to propose that I should accept the throne, to which I should at once ascend, and receive the support of the missionary party. I demanded of him how my brother could be dethroned. Did they mean harm to his person? He denied that there was any such intent, but declared that King Kalakaua must retire, and that I should assume his position as the reigning sovereign. . . . I allowed Mr. Castle to explain as fully as he pleased their designs, and then I told him with firmness and decision that I would have nothing to do with them in this matter. Seeing that I firmly declined the proposal, Mr. Castle retired." . . .

I had not known of any negotiations between William R. Castle and Liliuokalani; upon reading the foregoing, I asked Mr. Castle whether he had any statement to make. He answered: "I never, at any time, made a proposition to Liliuo-

kalani that Kalakaua be forced to abdicate and she be made sovereign herself. Her statements, both in her diary and book, that I made proposals to that effect, are willful perversions of the facts. This is what actually occurred. It had been repeatedly asserted to me that Liliuokalani was scheming to force her brother to abdicate in her favor. The reports came from so many sources that I decided to hear from her own lips exactly what her intentions were. Accordingly I waited upon the lady, stated to her that I was informed she thought Kalakaua should abdicate in her favor, and that, if he did, she would accept the sovereignty. Then I asked her whether she had been quoted correctly, whether she would, in fact, accept the throne if it were offered to her. In reply to my inquiries, she gave me a positive statement that she thought her brother should abdicate, and that, if he did, she would accept the position as sovereign."

*William Castle
Says the Queen
Perverts Facts*

In support of the statement by Mr. Castle, I cite the following extracts from Liliuokalani's diary:

January 16, 1888: "W. comes in to consult W. on matters of importance - " [Mr. Thurston believed that the two initials stood for Robert W. Wilcox and Charles B. Wilson.—*Editor.*] "I advise them to use only respectful words and no threats but to explain the situation to him" [the King] "how everything & the state of the country might be changed should he abdicate if only for a year, then he should take the reigns again, and reign peaceably the rest of his life. W. & W went to the King and after explanations he told them he would think it over. I waited at Hinano Bower. . . ." January 17, 1888: "Came home W- told me the result of their proposition to the King — he said wait a while — I said yes, then wait. . . ."—Liliuokalani's diary, Archives of Hawaii.

*Two Men of
Same Initial
in Conference*

*Case Against
the Revolution
Aim of Queen*

Such discrepancies between Liliuokalani's diary and her book, and between her versions and those of Messrs. Dowsett and Castle, have more than one explanation. When the book was published, the Queen was less interested in the facts than in attempting to establish a case against the Hawaiian League and its leaders, the Provisional Government and the Republic, for her interests and against the United States government. [*Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* was published in 1898.—*Editor.*] Moreover, the book was not written until approximately ten years after the events occurred; although in the name of Liliuokalani, it was edited and in large part written by Julius A. Palmer, junior, of Boston. The English of the book, as compared with that of the diary, is evidence of my statement. Liliuokalani personally was incapable of using such clear-cut English as that published. Mr. Palmer knew nothing of the facts, but came to Hawaii after the overthrow of the Monarchy; a lick-spittle person, worshipping at the feet of his royal patron, he was capable of making any statement that he thought might benefit her, regardless of its accuracy.

*Try to Compel
Abdication of
King Kalakaua*

As I recall, some time prior to the insurrection by Robert W. Wilcox on July 30, 1889, I, the minister of interior, was informed by a responsible person that Charles B. Wilson and others had attempted to force Kalakaua to abdicate in favor of Liliuokalani. When I expressed incredulity, my informant suggested: "You know Charlie Wilson well. Send for him and ask him about it. He will

doubtless tell you." So I sent for Mr. Wilson, who came to the interior office. "Charlie," said I, "I am told that you tried recently to bluff the King into abdicating in favor of Liliuokalani. What are the facts?" Looking somewhat startled, he replied: "I had an interview with him one night last week on the subject." "That interests me," I observed. "Tell me the story."

After some moments, he said: "We came to the conclusion that Kalakaua was no longer any good as king, and that he had better get out in favor of Liliuokalani. A number of us decided to bring the question to a head, and we got up a meeting at Liliuokalani's Palama residence, and decided to put the plan through. We had two or three hundred men armed with rifles; we appointed a committee consisting of Sam Nowlein, the commander of the King's Guard, myself, and" . . . [Mr. Wilson gave the name of the third member, which has slipped my memory. Doubtless the man was Robert W. Wilcox, to judge from Liliuokalani's diary.] Mr. Wilson continued: "We marched from Liliuokalani's place at Palama, about half-past nine at night, to Palace Walk" [now part of Hotel Street], "where we halted our men, in the street back of the Palace. Our committee then entered the Palace yard, and went to the back door of the building. There we were met by a soldier with a rifle in his hands. We asked for the King. The soldier replied that the King was upstairs, but that we could not see him. I asked why. He answered: 'Those are the King's orders.' No one

*Armed Men Go
From Residence
of Liliuokalani*

*Nowlein Orders
Guard to Step
Aside: Obeyed*

was to be admitted, except on the King's say-so. Sam Nowlein stepped forward, and asked the guard: 'Who is your commanding officer?' 'You are,' said the soldier. 'Then,' said Nowlein, 'I command you to stand aside.' The soldier obeyed; and our committee entered. When we got upstairs, we started into the King's apartment. In the little hall leading to it, we met another soldier, posted at the door which leads to the garret. He also had a rifle. We asked where the King was; the soldier said that he was in the garret tower room. We said we wished to see him; the soldier replied that we could not. When I asked why, the soldier answered: 'Those are the orders of the King, that I should admit no one except upon his order.' Again Sam Nowlein said: 'Who is your commanding officer?' The guard replied: 'You are.' Nowlein said: 'Then I command you to stand aside.' The guard immediately obeyed; and we went upstairs to the tower. There we found the King alone.

"He asked us what we wanted; we told him that we were a committee representing those who thought the interests of the community required that he abdicate and that his sister Liliuokalani be made queen. He demanded our reasons; we gave them. He argued with us, and continued the argument until nearly eleven o'clock. Finally we told him that the question was no longer open to argument, that we wished him to abdicate voluntarily; if he did not do so, we should be obliged to remove him by force. He replied: 'Well, gentlemen, if that is your decision, I do not agree with you, and

you will have to do what you think best.' Our committee withdrew and went to the street to call our men into action, but the delay had been so long that most of our men had got cold feet and slipped away home, so only about fifty were left. We did not feel that they were a strong enough body with which to precipitate a fight, and we went home also." "And what are you going to do next?" I inquired. "I do not know that we are going to do anything," Mr. Wilson answered. "Is that all?" asked I. "So far as I know, it is," said he.

*Finds Attack
of Cold Feet
Scatters Men*

"Charlie," said I, "this interests me very much. I wish you would put that story in writing and sign it, and give it to me." "All right," he agreed. Thereupon he wrote the statement in his own hand, practically as I have quoted it, signed it, and gave it to me on the next day. I have had it ever since, and I have never heard any more of the incident.

After the promulgation of the constitution of 1887 and the commissioning of the Green cabinet, Kalakaua was somewhat quiescent, although he soon began to get his second wind. Recovering from his fright, he began to scheme and manipulate politically against the cabinet, with the aim of recovering the powers that he had lost under the new constitution. On July 29, 1889, when political affairs were critical, and a forceful outbreak was imminent, the cabinet demanded that certain Gatling guns and material stored at the barracks of the Royal Guards be transferred to the control of the minister of foreign affairs, and be delivered to the police department. Kalakaua refused to comply;

*Majesty Longs
to Regain His
Vanished Power*

care of the Marshal. His Majesty claims that he has the right as Commander in Chief to negative for reasons any order made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the disposition of military equipments, and declines to consent to the delivery of the carriages until the Courts shall decide the matter in controversy

—Cabinet council minutes, July 29, 1889, Archives of Hawaii.

the issue became so acute that it culminated in a formal written demand by the cabinet upon the King—a resolution that appears in the record of the cabinet. It is as follows: "The Cabinet advise Your Majesty to turn over the control of the arms belonging to the Government in your possession to the Minister of Foreign Affairs." Ultimately the King submitted. On July 30, 1889, the Wilcox insurrection occurred, in which Wilcox seized the Palace grounds.

*Island History
Is Incomplete
Without Wilcox*

A history of Hawaii would be extremely incomplete if it did not devote considerable space to Robert W. Wilcox. He and I were schoolmates at the Haleakala Boys' Boarding School in the early 1870's; I became intimately acquainted with him and knew him well until his death on October 23, 1903. His father was an old-time Connecticut man, who came to the islands in the early days; his mother was a Hawaiian woman. Although politically opposed to Wilcox at virtually all times, I wish to say that we always were good friends, and that I recognized his courage, political industry,

and genial, friendly disposition. At some time prior to 1887, he and other Hawaiian youths were sent abroad for education, under an appropriation provided by the Hawaiian Legislature; Wilcox was placed in a military school in Italy. After the new cabinet entered office in July, 1887, he was recalled, and returned to Honolulu in the latter part of that year. With him he brought a young Italian wife, who was said to belong to a noble Italian family. A story was told, at his return to Hawaii, that he had been reputed in Italy to be a natural son of King Kalakaua; as such, he had been accredited there.

*Sent to Italy
For Education;
Brought Home*

Being in Hawaii again, with a wife and no income, he applied to me, as minister of the interior, for a position. I spoke to Charles B. Wilson, then superintendent of the Honolulu waterworks; he said that the department needed maps, showing the locations and sizes of the water pipes, and suggested that the work of making maps be offered to Wilcox at a salary of \$100 a month. Under the conditions, the salary was fully the equivalent of \$200 today. Wilcox had received some engineering education in Italy, he had had a fair common-school education in Hawaii, and he should have been competent to do the work. He accepted the offer; after about two weeks, he resigned, saying that Mr. Wilson wished a map with measurements in feet and inches, whereas Wilcox had learned meters and the metric system generally in Italy, and he could not transpose the systems. That absurd explanation was the only one he ever gave for his resignation.

*Transposition
of Meters and
Feet Too Much*

*Italian Consul
Helps Them Go
to the States*

Charges were soon heard that he was scheming a political revolution—I have forgotten just with whom or against whom; the evidence was rather conclusive, and legal action impended. His wife interceded, however, and told me, if the charges were dropped, that they would leave the kingdom. Mr. F. A. Schaefer, the Italian consul, also interposed, and advanced or raised the money to pay the expenses of the Wilcoxes to the States; they left Hawaii, and the charges were not pressed. Mr. Wilcox obtained employment as a civil engineer on the Pacific Coast. Subsequently I was informed that he and his wife had separated, and that the Pope had annulled the marriage. In a year or so, Wilcox returned to Honolulu.

*Does Kalakaua
Apprehend What
Is Astir Now?*

Again unemployed, he speedily drifted into mischief; rumors were abroad that he was evolving a scheme—said to be with Kalakaua—to overturn the cabinet, and to restore to the King his lost powers. The outcome was the so-called “Wilcox Insurrection” of July 30, 1889. Wilcox then was living at the country residence of Liliuokalani, the King’s sister, at Palama, in the outskirts of Honolulu. Curtis P. Iaukea, who was the King’s chamberlain at the time, recently informed me that he was conversing with the King at the Palace when J. K. Kaunamano, of Hamakua, Island of Hawaii, arrived in much excitement, and asked: “Do you know what Wilcox is doing?” Kalakaua replied that he had a general understanding.

Kaunamano resumed: “You think that he is coming to cooperate with you against the cabinet.

As a matter of fact, he is coming in the interests of Liliuokalani, to take action against you and put her on the throne. I have just come from where he is getting ready to do that, at Liliuokalani's Palama house, where I heard it. I have come immediately to tell you." "Well," said Kalakaua, "if that is so, I will act accordingly." He thereupon ordered Captain Robert Waipa Parker, an officer of the Royal Guards, to remain in the Palace building with a detachment; if Wilcox arrived with his forces, to let him operate in the yard, but to keep him out of the Palace itself. Taking other guardsmen, and accompanied by Colonel Iaukea, Kalakaua went to the boathouse in the shallow water of Honolulu harbor, where he remained for the remainder of the night and throughout the next day.

*King Retreats
to a Boathouse
in the Harbor*

Not long after the King's departure, Wilcox and several hundred armed men took possession of the Palace grounds, but Parker excluded them from the building. Unopposed, Wilcox seized a battery of four bronze guns, which the King had purchased from Austria on a tour of the world. They were stored in the barracks of the Royal Guards across the street, back of the Palace precincts. Wilcox posted them, with ammunition, on the four sides of the Palace, each commanding an entrance gate to the grounds. Cooperating with Wilcox were Robert Boyd, another Hawaiian youth, who had attended a naval school in Italy, and one George Markham. Wilcox was nonplussed to find, on his arrival at the Palace, that the King was not there, as he had expected; and he waited to ascertain

what might develop, without taking any precautionary defensive measures. Dressed in his full Italian uniform, he presented a fine sight; otherwise, his military arrangements were ineffective.

The cabinet, made aware of the revolutionary movement, drew upon the volunteer military forces of the government; between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, an attack was begun upon the Wilcox forces with rifle fire from buildings on all four sides of the Palace. The first shots were fired from the Opera House, across King Street, where the Federal Building now stands. Fire was concentrated upon the cannon standing in the open, in front of the Palace on the King Street side. A number of cannon shots were fired at the Opera House, the shells being loaded with shrapnel. Some scarred the front of the building; some passed through the front windows and exploded within, though no one was hurt. Among the Opera House volunteers was Sanford B. Dole.

*Crews of Guns
Early Objects
of Rifle Fire*

Several members of the two gun crews on the King Street and Ewa sides were soon killed by rifle fire; the others escaped into the basement of the Palace or into the bungalow, a wooden building in the north corner of the grounds. Those who sought refuge in the basement were taken in charge by Captain Robert Waipa Parker, who telephoned to a government official that the insurrectionists were his prisoners. He was instructed to send them from the front gate on the run; and several prisoners were hurried from the yard, one at a time, during the afternoon. There were no

shots from the other cannon, although a gunner on the Ewa side was killed while in the act of pulling a lanyard that would have fired a gun. When he fell dead, only a few inches of slack remained in the lanyard. The piece was trained squarely upon a wooden building situated across Richards Street, opposite the Palace gate on that side. About a dozen of the government defenders were in the building; all might well have been killed if the cannon had been fired.

*Gunner Killed
While Pulling
Fatal Lanyard*

Late in the afternoon, there was almost continuous fire from several hundred rifles in buildings surrounding the Palace, which brought no response from the insurrectionists. Approaching darkness caused anxiety to the government, as to what might happen during the night. William E. Rowell, superintendent of public works, devised a plan of attack that proved successful. He procured sticks of giant powder, with fuses attached, and strapped two twentypenny spikes to each stick. Hay Wodehouse, oldest son of the British commissioner, was the efficient catcher of the Honolulu Baseball Club, with a good throw to second base; accordingly he was enlisted to throw the improvised bombs from behind the north corner of the Palace wall, which was high and of stone, and protected him from shots. When the bombs fell on the bungalow and exploded, tearing great holes in the roof, the insurrectionists within thought that they were being bombarded by cannon. After only three or four bombs had fallen, one man wrapped himself in a sheet taken from a bed; with hands up-

*Baseball Skill
of Advantage
to Government*

*Police Station
Sees the Close
of Insurrection*

raised, he rushed from the building, shouting: "We surrender! We surrender!" The insurrectionists, including Wilcox, were marched from the Palace to the police station under a guard; and the insurrection was over.

One Albert Loomens, a Belgian, connected with the insurrection, was indicted for treason, convicted by a white jury, and sentenced to death. Wilcox was acquitted of a similar charge by a Hawaiian jury, for he testified that he had gone to the Palace on a specific understanding with Kalakaua and on invitation from him. Hence, the defense pleaded, as Wilcox went to the Palace with full knowledge and approval of the King, Wilcox

Minister of Foreign Affairs read letter from Mr R. W. Wilcox requesting the return of his (Italian) Uniform and sword taken from him after his capture on July 30th last: Agreed that the Minister will reply stating that the Government has upon request of the Italian Government, delivered said Uniform to the Italian Consul here; also that the Minister has never had possession of the sword.

—Cabinet minutes, March 19, 1890, Archives of Hawaii.

had not committed treason. Loomens received a commutation of sentence; afterward he was allowed to leave the kingdom.

I was not in Honolulu during the insurrection. A day or two before it occurred, the board of health received information from the Leper Settlement

on Molokai that several men had taken possession of a building, had armed themselves with clubs and knives, and were defying the authorities. Being a member of the board, I was deputed to go to the settlement and see what could be done. I took two policemen, one white man, one Hawaiian, and left on July 29, 1889, for Kaunakakai, Molokai. In the morning, we went up the mountain to the residence of Mr. R. W. Meyer, the settlement superintendent; accompanied by him, we descended the pali to the settlement. When we arrived at Kalau-papa, we learned that the men who had defied the authorities, and who had been drinking *okolehao*, a raw alcoholic liquor, had suffered an attack of cold feet, and had dispersed. We found their leader, arrested him, and started him toward jail.

*Arrest Leader
of Mutiny and
Start to Jail*

As we marched through the settlement, approaching the landing, a small steamer came to anchor and sent a boat ashore. The purser delivered to me a note from a member of the cabinet in Honolulu, saying that an insurrection had broken out, led by Mr. Wilcox, and requesting that I return immediately by the steamer that carried the message. That I did, leaving Mr. Meyer in charge of the situation on Molokai, which he handled satisfactorily. Suggestions have been made that I ran away from Honolulu on the eve of the insurrection because I feared it. Opinions may differ as to which is the more dangerous, a military insurrection in Honolulu or a drunken row at the Leper Settlement. Indeed, not so very long before the incident above recounted, when some children of

lepers were being removed from the settlement to a school in Honolulu, one of the government employees had been disemboweled and killed by a leper at the landing. There was virtually no penalty for a murder committed at the settlement, since the inmates were already confined for life, which most of them considered as bad as death. No punishment was inflicted upon the slayer. As a matter of fact, I knew nothing of the impending insurrection when I went to Molokai. Personally, between an insurrection in Honolulu and an embroilment at the Leper Settlement, I should much prefer to face the former.

*Little Penalty
For a Homicide
at Settlement*

Relations between the cabinet and the community, on the one hand, and Kalakaua, on the other, became so strained after the insurrection that the community demanded that the eight-foot stone wall around the Palace premises, which had afforded Kalakaua a defense behind which he could maintain armed resistance, be removed; and the cabinet made demand upon the King, who promptly registered opposition. But the cabinet was insistent; in defiance of Kalakaua, it gave orders for the immediate removal of the wall; and the orders were obeyed. After the Green cabinet retired from office, the King obtained a legislative appropriation, with which an iron fence was constructed around the Palace at large expense. The fence remains in place.

*Cabinet Orders
Wall Removed;
Down It Comes*

Exact details of the true inwardness of the insurrection were never divulged. From all that I have been able to ascertain, especially in view of

Mr. Iaukea's statement concerning the report made to the King by Kaunamano—although Kalakaua believed that Wilcox was coming in his interest, against the cabinet and the constitution, Wilcox really was acting in behalf of Liliuokalani and against Kalakaua,—my understanding is this: Wilcox organized an insurrection, on general principles, against the constitution and the cabinet. He did so with the full knowledge and approval of Liliuokalani, intending to depose Kalakaua and establish her on the throne. Kalakaua, having learned that Wilcox planned an insurrection, got into contact with him, and they agreed that Kalakaua should cooperate with Wilcox in a movement against the ministry. When Kalakaua heard from Kaunamano that the movement was directed against Kalakaua himself, and for Liliuokalani, the King crossed Wilcox and ordered Captain Parker to exclude him from the Palace, though permitting him to take possession of the premises, while Kalakaua retreated to the boathouse. Thus the King was left in a position to side with Wilcox, if he were successful, or to repudiate him, if he failed; and Kalakaua did repudiate him after the failure. Kalakaua's bad faith was demonstrated when Wilcox, on trial for treason, revealed that he took possession of the Palace grounds with the full knowledge and consent of the King, and with the understanding that the King would meet him there. The insincerity of the royal family, the complete rottenness, were proved in 1889. "If a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand." When Kalakaua and Liliuokalani plotted and

*Kalakaua Knew
and Approved
Wilcox's Plot*

counterplotted, and Wilcox connived with both, each against the other, the extinction of the Kalakaua *regime* was made certain.

On pages 193 and 198 of *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, Liliuokalani details the conditions under which she permitted Wilcox to occupy her Palama residence. On the latter page, she describes him as "much excited," and "with haggard, anxious countenance," informing her he intended that very night to attack the Palace, in a movement against the cabinet and for the King. Afterward she describes his action, which she does not admit was in her favor. Her disclaimer that Wilcox was acting in her interest can scarcely be accepted, in view of the statement of J. K. Kaunamano, made on the evening of June 29, 1889, just before the Wilcox advance, that Kaunamano was present at the meeting of the insurrectionists at Liliuokalani's Palama house, and that the movement was in behalf of Liliuokalani against Kalakaua. Moreover, about the same time, the action of C. B. Wilson, Sam Nowlein, and Wilcox, by which they avowedly sought to force Kalakaua to abdicate in favor of Liliuokalani, is diametrically opposed to her statements.

*Statement of
Kaunamano Is
Good Evidence*

A further light on Liliuokalani's assertions is a passage on page 166 of Lieutenant Lucien Young's book, *The Boston at Hawaii*. Lieutenant Young, in describing conditions at and about the Palace when Liliuokalani attempted to promulgate a new constitution on January 14, 1893, says:

“... a half-white by the name of Wilcox, an ex-member of the legislature and generally mixed up in every revolution that takes place, in a burst of confidence, said to me that he would have nothing to do with it; that the Queen, in anticipation of resistance on the part of the whites, had sent for him the night before” [January 13] “to take command of four small pieces of cannon which she had caused to be placed in the upper halls of the palace, enfilading the approaches to that building from all sides, and that he had declined.”

*Wilcox Refused
to Take Charge
of Four Cannon*

Wilcox was spectacular, a soldier of fortune, ready to take part in any head-breaking, but representing no principles. He was primarily remarkable for his uncanny influence over the Hawaiian voter and juryman, which was based on his electric rhetoric and his appeal to Hawaiians against the *haoles*, or white men. That same call was sounded tellingly by Moreno, Gibson, and Kalakaua. It has been a catch phrase, employed for several purposes, and has been very effective, but always temporarily, ending in the undoing of the users. Its echoes still may be caught, from time to time, in political campaigns, but its vitality is gone; and the present generation finds difficulty in conceiving its effectiveness during the years of Kalakaua and Liliuokalani.

[On August 14, 1880, an hour after the Legislative Assembly had been prorogued, Kalakaua dismissed his ministers, “to their utmost astonishment and to the unspeakable dismay of the public.” (All quotations in this note are from a letter of General James M. Comly, United States minister, to Secretary of State William M. Evarts, published in *Hawaiian Diplomatic Correspondence*,

*Ministers Go;
Public Dismay
Is the Result*

etc., by the historical commission of Hawaii, 1926.) A new cabinet, "for the most part grotesque in unfitness and unique in capacity," was announced on the next day. It was headed by Celso Caesar Moreno, an Italian by birth, a naturalized American, who had arrived in Hawaii from Hongkong on November 14, 1879. He was "a subtle, crafty and extremely clever Italian, of imposing and insinuating manners—a big, burly man, six feet high, with an air of some distinction;" and he had impressed Kalakaua, who said that "Mr. Moreno had shown himself to be a very entertaining companion, a man of large and novel views in political and state affairs;" and the King "had been frequently surprised to find how exactly Mr. Moreno's views coincided with his own." General Comly describes Moreno as "the promoter of the Chinese Opium and Subsidy schemes, the father of the Moreno Cable job, a suspected agent and spy of the Chinese Companies, living upon false pretenses, whom I myself had exposed to the King on General Garfield's letter and other evidences." So great was the public resentment at Moreno's appointment that "the abdication of the King, the crowning of Queen Emma, annexation to the United States, the lynching of Moreno" were "openly discussed on the streets." Yielding to public and diplomatic pressure, Kalakaua announced Moreno's resignation on August 19. Moreno quit Hawaii for Europe, but took an extraordinary commission from Kalakaua as minister to the Powers, and also took Robert W. Wilcox, Robert N. Boyd, and James K. Booth for education in

*Moreno Subtle
and Imposing;
Impresses King*

*Lynching Talk
Uttered Openly
in the Streets*

Italy—a fact that had consequences. Mr. Thurston was on Maui, in the employ of Wailuku Plantation, during the Moreno episode.—*Editor.*]

In 1892 Wilcox was arrested and tried for treason; again he was acquitted by a Hawaiian jury. V. V. Ashford conspired with Wilcox at that time. When Wilcox was acquitted, the charge against Ashford was nol-prossed; and he left Hawaii for California, where he died. Pending trial, Wilcox ran for the legislature of 1892 as a representative from Honolulu, and was elected at the head of the ticket. In the legislature of 1892-1893, he was one of a small group, constituting a balance of power. It alternately voted with and against the Queen's party, which made and unmade four cabinets during the session.

*Wilcox Enters
in Conspiracy
With Ashford*

When the Monarchy had been overthrown and annexation appeared imminent under the treaty negotiated with President Harrison, Wilcox joined the Annexation Club in Honolulu, becoming a vice president. President Cleveland withdrew the Harrison treaty from the Senate, and tried to restore Liliuokalani; once more Wilcox changed to a royalist, and staged an insurrection against the Republic of Hawaii in 1895, for the ostensible purpose of reestablishing the Monarchy. The insurrection failed. With others, Wilcox was convicted of treason and sentenced to death by a military commission. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by President Dole; and Wilcox, after annexation, received a full pardon. Congress passed an organic act, providing for a delegate to

*First Delegate
From Islands;
Death in 1903*

Congress from Hawaii; Wilcox ran as the candidate of the Home Rule Party, and was elected against Samuel Parker, Republican, and David Kawananakoa, Democrat. He served as the first delegate; his death occurred on October 23, 1903, when he was a candidate for reelection.

Principles did not burden him. He was usually a harbinger of trouble, a stormy petrel. Which side he took seemed to make little difference; his principal concern appeared to be that he should participate in whatever military movement was in progress; if none happened to be under way, he was ready to begin one on his own account. From the foregoing recital, a reader may see that Wilcox was both for and against Kalakaua, at one time or another; that he conducted military operations both for and against Liliuokalani; that he twice supported annexation against the Monarchy; that he headed the 1895 insurrection against popular government and for the restoration of the Queen.

While Kalakaua and Liliuokalani were active in Hawaiian politics, as related, she was so prejudiced and so full of intrigue against her brother that her unsupported recollections of their relations are not reliable; her statements, as evidence, are valueless. Of all that, I submit, the foregoing pages are sufficient proof. But statements in *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* throw a strong light on the ideas of both Kalakaua and Liliuokalani as to their rights and the rights of the people; those statements show that Liliuokalani had not a glimmering of the fact that the day of absolutism

in a monarchy had passed, and that the people had the right of self-government. She clung to the theory that the sovereign should rule and that the people should submit; that theory dominated her during the last years of her brother's reign and during her own. She lacked her brother's keen intuition; she did have the courage of her convictions and the determination to carry out her arbitrary designs to the bitter end. Those traits took her to extremes. Failing to interpret the community spirit that she was combating, she was forced to the wall; and the Monarchy went down to irretrievable ruin. If she had possessed the characteristic of Kalakaua and had yielded, as he did many times, the Monarchy well might have survived to this day.

*People Should
Submit to Her,
Queen's Theory*

Yet I desire to record the fact, after she had abandoned her plan of holding the United States responsible for the overthrow and of securing indemnity from the United States, that she apparently accepted the American position in Hawaii in good faith and all sincerity. If she had shown a like kindly spirit in her earlier career, and had been content as a constitutional sovereign, not a hand would have been lifted against her. An incident is illuminating. Liliuokalani and I did not meet, after the opening of the legislature of 1892, until annexation had long been accomplished. When her nephew, the late Prince Kalaniana'ole, was delegate to Congress, a Congressional delegation visited Honolulu. I attended a reception for the visitors, given at Kalaniana'ole's Waikiki home.

*Later Accepts
United States
in Good Faith*

*Queen Says She
Is Glad to See
Thurston There*

Heading the receiving line, sat Liliuokalani. She extended her hand to me, and said: "I am very glad to see you here this evening, Mr. Thurston." [The reception was held on May 18, 1915.—*Editor.*] Those were the first words she had spoken to me since her deposition, they were the last words she ever spoke to me. The incident pleased me, for it indicated that she finally had accepted annexation and no longer harbored resentment against me personally. As for myself, I hold no animosity toward her.

CHAPTER XI

FRICITION BETWEEN CABINET AND KING

Kalakaua had pledged himself to rule through the cabinet; he broke his pledge. Bad faith occurred at the appointment of Henry W. Severance as United States consul general to Hawaii in 1889; the King refused to accept him. Thereupon the cabinet met the King, and asked his reasons for such an extraordinary course. When he was in San Francisco, Kalakaua replied, Mr. Severance, Hawaiian consul in that city at the time, had insulted him. Asked the nature of the insult, the King explained that Mr. Severance had tendered him a dinner; afterward Kalakaua learned that some San Francisco merchants had subscribed to pay the cost. The cabinet suggested that there was no reason to construe that action as an insult, since Mr. Severance was not a man of means, probably was unable to pay for the entertainment, and availed himself of the source provided, deeming it unnecessary to reveal the facts.

*Merchants Pay
Banquet Cost;
King Isirate*

Moreover, the United States consul in Honolulu did not hold a diplomatic position; diplomacy was under a United States minister; a consul was merely an agent to handle business relating to trade between Hawaii and the United States. Owing to the status of the reciprocity treaty, the commercial relations between the two countries were critical: Hawaii should be careful not to affront America.

Kalakaua was obdurate, however, and refused to recognize Mr. Severance. But the King, after sleeping on the question, sent word to the cabinet that he had reconsidered, and he accepted Mr. Severance's credentials. Notwithstanding the retraction, Kalakaua's relations with the cabinet continued most unsatisfactory.

Under the law, the officers of the Honolulu Rifles had the right to elect their colonel. They chose V. V. Ashford, subject to the approval of the cabinet; but the King declined to sign the commission. On August 3, 1889, the cabinet held a meeting with the King; I acted on behalf of the cabinet, and advised him to sign, on the ground that his signature was purely clerical, entailing no responsibility. Kalakaua slumped into sullen silence; he refused further to discuss the question with the ministers, who then withdrew. Such incidents typify the many difficulties that arose during the reign of the Merry Monarch. The following is quoted from the minutes of the cabinet council meeting of August 3, 1889 (Archives of Hawaii):

*Sullen Silence
Is Royal Reply
to the Cabinet*

“The Minister of Finance read the following statement of principles upon which the Cabinet insist in the future conduct of the Government.

“‘Before going further the Cabinet desire a thorough understanding with Your Majesty upon the following point viz:—

“‘The Government in all its Departments must be conducted by the Cabinet, who will be solely and absolutely responsible for such conduct.

“‘Your Majesty shall in future sign all documents and do all acts which under the laws or the Constitution require the signature or act of the Sovereign, when advised so to do by the Cabinet, the Cabinet being solely

and absolutely responsible for any signature of any document or act so done or performed by their advice.'

"His Majesty expressed the opinion that he should be at liberty, for reasons seeming sufficient to himself, to withhold his consent or signature to any act or document, and thought this statement uncalled for. Minister of the Interior being invited to name instances of refusals of the King to accede to the advice of the Cabinet, the Minister proceeded to do so. Much discussion then ensued upon the rights of the King to decline to sign or assent to any document or act, upon his personal responsibility.

"The matter of the Military Law and the Commission of Col. Ashford still unsigned by His Majesty were brought into the discussion, and His Majesty again expressed the opinion that the Law is unconstitutional and His Majesty definitely declined to sign the Commission of Col. Ashford, until a decision or opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Court shall be had declaring it constitutional.

"His Majesty also definitely declined to assent to the declaration of principles copied above."

Immediately after the King's defiance of the cabinet, the ministers submitted the question to the judges of the supreme court, who rendered a unanimous decision on August 3, supporting the position of the ministers. Another meeting of the King and the cabinet was held on August 5, at which the decision of the supreme court was taken up. Kalakaua "expressed his regret for the rather high words that he used at the last meeting, and stated that in view of such opinion of the Supreme Court Judges 'I now assent to those principles, and will abide by the decision of the Supreme Court and ask that my assent be entered upon the minutes of the Council.'" (Minutes of cabinet council meeting, August 5, 1889, Archives of Hawaii.) He then signed Colonel Ashford's commission.

*King Will Not
Accept Advice,
Is the Charge*

*Court Decision
to Be Binding
in the Future*

About that time, an issue arose between the attorney-general, Clarence W. Ashford, and the supreme court, which threatened serious consequences. Mr. Ashford's father-in-law, James R. Robertson, had a small ranch at Wahiawa, on the Island of Oahu. One day his assistant got drunk and quarreled with the old gentleman at the Robertson residence. Going to his own cottage, the man got a knife and again went to the Robertson home, threatening to kill his employer. Mr. Robertson took a loaded shotgun from a wall, and warned the employee not to advance farther; if he did, he would be shot. But the man disregarded the warning, continued his threatening language, and brandished his knife as he approached. Again Mr. Robertson warned him, then fired, and practically amputated the man's hand with the shot. Mr. Robertson was arrested and charged with assault with a deadly weapon.

*Man Has Knife;
Hand Blown Off
With a Shotgun*

A judge of the supreme court sat as a circuit judge at jury trials. Without the permission of the presiding judge, Lawrence McCully, Mr. Ashford entered a *nolle prosequi*; Judge McCully maintained that a *nolle prosequi* could not be entered without his permission, refused to accept the action of the attorney-general, and ordered him to show cause why he should not be cited for contempt. Afterward Judge McCully found Mr. Ashford guilty of contempt of court, and sentenced him to twenty-four hours' imprisonment. Mr. Ashford was disposed to dispute the judge's right to commit him for contempt; he consulted with me,

besides other members of the bar. I doubted Mr. Ashford's right to file a *nolle prosequi* without the approval of the judge; in order to avoid a conflict with the supreme court, I advised that Mr. Ashford submit to the sentence.

Marshal John H. Soper, head of the police and a subordinate of Mr. Ashford's, was friendly; he said that he would execute the sentence by confining Mr. Ashford at the Soper residence. Judge McCully summoned the marshal on the next day; learning how the imprisonment had been served, the judge said to Marshal Soper, in substance: "When I sentence a man to be imprisoned, Mr. Marshal, I do not mean that you shall take him to your house as a private guest, but that he shall be imprisoned in Oahu Jail. You have not carried out the sentence of the court, and I hereby order you to take the person of the attorney-general and imprison him for twenty-four hours in Oahu Jail, and then report your proceedings to me."

*"Take Ashford
to Oahu Jail,"
Judge Directs*

Again Mr. Ashford called me and other members of the bar into conference. There was no doubt that the judge was wrong: by confining the attorney-general for twenty-four hours anywhere, the marshal had executed the sentence. But more was involved than the mere question of the place of imprisonment: the court had attempted to paralyze the executive branch of the government by imprisoning a department head. Whether the sentence was for twenty-four hours, or for a longer time, was immaterial. If the attorney-general could be imprisoned for a day, he could be im-

*Illegal Order
to Be Fought,
Attorneys Hold*

prisoned for a month, while the executive activities would be seriously curtailed. My conclusion, concurred in by all the other members of the bar consulted, held that the judge was wrong, that the marshal had executed the sentence properly, and that the attorney-general should resist the further illegal order.

*Ministers Will
Use Necessary
Military Force*

With the sanction of the other members of the bar, Mr. Ashford deputed me to convey their opinion to Chief Justice Albert F. Judd. I called at his residence on Nuuanu Street, near the present residence of the Japanese consul general, about six o'clock in the morning. When I informed Mrs. Judd that I wished to consult her husband on an important public matter, she ushered me into his bedroom, where he was shaving. I told him of the consensus concerning the attorney-general, and that I had come to inform him, as chief justice, if Judge McCully attempted to carry out his threat of again imprisoning the attorney-general, that Mr. Ashford would resist with the entire power of the government, even military force, if necessary. Judge Judd was much agitated; and asked, before I made the decision of the cabinet public, that I await his interview with Judge McCully and their decision as to what course should be taken. I assented. At ten o'clock that morning, Judge McCully appeared on the bench, and ordered the marshal to come before him to report his action concerning the attorney-general. Marshal Soper appeared; Judge McCully said, in substance: "Mr. Marshal, I yesterday ordered you to imprison the attorney-general in Oahu Jail. I now withdraw

that order, and you are directed to take no further action in the premises." I do not know what Judge Judd said to Judge McCully, but I can well imagine. Thus the controversy ended.

On September 24, 1889, the cabinet and the King agreed that H. A. P. Carter, minister to Washington, be instructed to open negotiations for an extension of the treaties with the United States, to embody substantially the following provisions:

*Cabinet, King
Agree to Open
Treaty Parley*

"1st That all existing Treaties & Conventions between the two countries be extended subject to termination or modification by Mutual Consent.

"2nd That the products of either country be embraced within the bounty system—if any—by which the other seeks to stimulate the growth or manufacture of such products.

"3d That complete reciprocal free trade, excepting opium, spirits & prohibited articles be put into effect between the two countries.

"4th That as an equivalent for the foregoing, the U.S. shall positively and efficaciously guarantee Hawaiian Independence, authority and sovereignty.

"5th The Treaty to remain in force until abrogated or modified by mutual consent."—Cabinet council minutes, September 24, 1889, Archives of Hawaii.

On December 20, 1889, the treaty extension again arose for discussion, and the King was strongly advised to sign an authorization to Mr. Carter to negotiate, conclude, and execute a convention. Kalakaua called attention to the fact that Mr. Ashford was absent on the mainland, which left the cabinet incomplete; and he refused to sign the authorization. When reminded that instructions to Mr. Carter were approved on September 24, with a draft of the project, and that he had given

*Kalaka'ua Calls
Treaty Making
a Royal Right*

his full assent, he denied the fact. Reminded that the supreme court had upheld the cabinet in its position, that the majority of the cabinet should rule, the King replied that the decision related only to "executive matters which meant the internal affairs of the Kingdom." His constitutional prerogative was to make treaties; "it was not his duty to sign a document presented by the Ministry in relation to a treaty if he had reasons satisfactory to himself for declining to do so." (Minutes of cabinet council meeting, December 20, 1889, Archives of Hawaii.)

I remarked to the King that this was not the first time he had refused to accept the advice of his

The Minister of the Interior said that this was not the first instance of His Majesty's refusal to comply with the advice of his Ministers, that the experience of the Cabinet had been one continued struggle to get him to do his duty, and that the

history of such action on the part of Sovereigns in the past had had the uniform result of bringing disaster upon the Sovereign and the country. His Majesty said I am willing; Let it come

*Jon Austin
Min For Affairs.*

—Cabinet council minutes, December 20, 1889, Archives of Hawaii.



Clarence W. Ashford is pictured here as an officer of the Honolulu Rifles; he became attorney-general in 1887

C. W. Ashford

ministers; on their behalf, I urged him to abide by the decision of the supreme court and by the wishes of the ministerial majority. He replied: "That will do from you, Mr. Thurston. I do not propose to accept any more bulldozing from you!" My answer: "I am not attempting to bulldoze you, Your Majesty, but to give you honest advice, which will be to your benefit, if you accept it. If you do not, and persist in your present course, you may eventually lose your throne." "I am willing," said he. "Let it come." Again he was requested to sign the document; he persisted in his refusal.

*Monarch States
He Is Willing
to Lose Throne*

A break occurred between Clarence W. Ashford and the other members of the cabinet, who then were Jonathan Austin, Samuel M. Damon, and I. Mr. Ashford had loyally supported us, in all political issues with the King, until the fall of 1889, when he made a brief visit to the United States and Canada. After his return to Honolulu, before he took any public attitude, he told me a story, as an intimate friend. On his arrival in the East, he had received a telegraphic invitation from Sir John Alexander Macdonald, the well-known Conservative premier of Canada, to visit him at Ottawa. Mr. Ashford accepted. He told me that Sir John received him cordially, and expressed great interest in Hawaii and its relations with Canada; he did not reveal to me the character of Macdonald's interview, but said that Sir John tendered him a railroad pass to Vancouver, which he accepted and used. From the date of his return, following the interview between him and the premier, Mr.

*John Macdonald
Seems to Alter
Ashford's View*

Ashford completely changed his attitude toward the other ministers, and antagonized them on every issue between them and Kalakaua, who was only ready to seize any pretext to resist the advice of the cabinet majority, regardless of the subject.

*Other Ashford
Grows Hostile
to the Cabinet*

Colonel V. V. Ashford became so actively hostile to the majority that we entirely distrusted him; when the officers of the Rifles nominated him as colonel, the majority of the ministers, at a meeting on April 10, 1890, in pursuance of the power granted by the statute of 1888, disapproved the nomination and recommended to the King that Henry F. Hebbard be appointed colonel. Advised by C. W. Ashford, Kalakaua refused to approve the appointment of Mr. Hebbard—and that despite the decision of the supreme court sustaining the cabinet in its contention that the majority should rule. (*Hawaiian Reports*, Volume 8, pages 566-571, supreme court.)

At the same meeting, on April 10, a subject of discussion with the King was the advantageous development of commercial relations of Hawaii with the United States. The cabinet majority had approved the principles of the proposed treaty, as embodied in the authorization to Mr. Carter; to meet certain objections, however, the government submitted to the United States State Department a proposal to accept the treaty, with an accompanying note setting forth an interpretation as understood by Hawaii, that the treaty did not convey to the United States jurisdiction, sovereignty, or title to any land at Pearl Harbor. The United States

Edited by H. A. Kinney and L. A. Thurston

THE HONOLULU DAILY TIMES.

Vol. I. HONOLULU, H. I. SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1890. (NUMBER 1.)

THE TIMES.
SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1890.
REFORM PARTY.
General Election of 1890.
PLATFORM.
1. We pledge ourselves to maintain, inviolate, the nationality and independence of this Kingdom, while asserting, at the same time, the simplest commercial relations in our treaty relations with the United States.
2. To secure adequate legislation, by constitutional amendment or otherwise, whereby Asiatic immigration shall be restricted to the agricultural necessities of the country, and Chinese not now engaged in trade or the mechanical occupations, shall be prohibited from hereafter engaging therein.
3. To favor wise and liberal appropriations for internal improvements, and to sustain a progressive policy in the development of our national resources.
4. To secure such an extension of the present Homestead Act as will facilitate the settlement of small land holders throughout the Kingdom.
5. To provide for the people an honest, economic, and efficient administration in all departments of the Government.
CANDIDATES.
For Oahu—Island of Oahu.
Hon. W. F. WILCOX, 4 years.
Hon. S. O. SMITH, 4 years.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Sr., 4 years.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Jr., 2 years.
For Honolulu—District of Honolulu.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Sr., 4 years.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Jr., 2 years.
For Hawaii—Island of Hawaii.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Sr., 4 years.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Jr., 2 years.

For Representatives—Island of Hawaii.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Sr., 4 years.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Jr., 2 years.
For Oahu—Island of Oahu.
Hon. W. F. WILCOX, 4 years.
Hon. S. O. SMITH, 4 years.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Sr., 4 years.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Jr., 2 years.
For Honolulu—District of Honolulu.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Sr., 4 years.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Jr., 2 years.
For Hawaii—Island of Hawaii.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Sr., 4 years.
Hon. J. J. POWRETT, Jr., 2 years.

Uncle Sam's Guarantee of Independence vs. a Joint Guarantee by the Powers.
The Reform Party advocates a sole guarantee of our independence by the United States. The opposition advocates a joint guarantee by the Powers. The two platforms raise this issue clean cut and every elector by his vote will have to choose between these two propositions.
The mechanic in his shop, the sugar factor in his office, the hackman on his stand, the laborer upon the wharf, the mixer of fancy drinks behind the bar, the legal fraternity before both bars, the clergyman in his pulpit, one and all, the rich and poor, saints and sinners, must, by voting, give their opinion on this issue.

Some say this is a question for a statesman or politician to settle. There is where you are wrong my friend, each one of us must pass on that and kindred issues just as much as if we were ministers of State and we will pass on it when we vote whether we realize it or not. That is what the revolution of 1867 meant, a rule by the people with no safeguards in reality but the common sense and patriotism of the average voter.
Now which do you really want, which do you think is best for us to have; the sole guarantee of our independence by "Uncle Sam," or a joint guarantee by several foreign governments?
At first glance a joint guarantee seems better than an individual guarantee—two or three promises better than one; but when you consider that "Uncle Sam" sends over five (\$5,000,000) millions of dollars of duties yearly on our products for the express purpose of retaining exclusive political supremacy here as far as outside nations are concerned, then if you reject his sole guarantee and ask for a joint guarantee it would seem that the purpose for which he has been giving us these five millions yearly has failed! In other words, you notify him that he is to be so more to us politically than any other nation.
If voters think we can afford to take that position and to face any consequences that may follow, well and good; but our conviction is that the vast majority of the voters, particularly natives, who will vote against the sole guarantee of the United States, will be the last men to know what to do or how to face the music if Uncle Sam shall take us at our own word and not accordingly.

Where were John E. Bush and William M. Cummings on the 30th of July last?
For fear that the natural modesty of these gentle creatures may prevent their making an answer publicly to this question, we will reply for them.
On the night of the 29th of July, between 9 and 10 o'clock, these two gentlemen went from Mr. Bush's house to the residence of Mr. Cummings on the plains, and from there they both went to the residence of a seventh day adventist friend near Makiki, where they remained concealed until the following Wednesday.
When they went into concealment the insurrectionists had not yet started from Palamau. They were only just gathering.
Query. Why did they hide away?
Answer. It is a clear case of bad conscience.
The evidence produced at recent trials showed that Cummings attended the meetings of the insurrectionists, but did not take the oath. He knew the outbreak was coming that night, but instead of coming forward like a man and doing what he could to prevent it, he dived out and hid himself for two days and three nights, but he is right to the front now.
As for Mr. Bush, he was as responsible for the affair as Wilcox, for he had been working it up in his paper 5 months. The only difference between them was that Wilcox had physical courage enough to go to the Palace yard, while Bush was too much of a coward to stand by his co-conspirator, and ran away at the last minute.
And these are the only men of all in this city whom the "National Reformers" could get to represent them!

A campaign newspaper of 1890. Ten numbers were published, from January 25 to February 5, inclusive. Numbers 5 and 7 are missing from Mr. Thurston's personal file. The handwriting at the top of the engraving is his

State Department accorded cordial approval; and the majority of the cabinet advised the King to negotiate the treaty. Kalakaua deferred to C. W. Ashford, who advised him to refuse his signature.

*Supreme Court
Opinion Lacks
Any Authority*

When attention was called to the decision of the supreme court, that the majority of the cabinet were competent to advise and that their advice should be followed, Mr. Ashford told the King that the opinion of the supreme court was not in the slightest degree binding, and that it was of no more effect than the opinion of any other three men of equal ability. (Minutes of cabinet council meeting, April 10, 1890, Archives of Hawaii.) He reiterated his advice to the King to refuse to sign, and the King did not sign the authorization. On April 17, 1890, the King applied personally to the supreme court for a decision on the responsibility of the cabinet; the court confirmed the opinion it had rendered on August 3, 1889, and April 10, 1890, that the majority of the ministers should rule. (*Hawaiian Reports*, Volume 8, pages 572-574, supreme court.)

*Soper Refuses
to Take Orders
From Superior*

Such was the state of affairs when the Legislature met in 1890. In conjunction with C. W. Ashford, Kalakaua continued to maneuver against the majority of the ministers. Many rumors were heard, of hostilities to be undertaken against the cabinet, of intended attacks upon the police station. Marshal John H. Soper, head of the police force, was in accord with the cabinet majority, against his superior, Mr. Ashford, the attorney-general; and refused to take further orders from him. As

the legislative session advanced, the fact became evident that the King again was in control. The ministerial majority sought legislative condemnation of the attitude of C. W. Ashford, and had a resolution introduced, giving assurance to the leaders of the majority of the Legislature that, if the resolution were adopted, the majority ministers would resign. In the discussion of the resolution, I said, if any member wished to know what hell was without waiting for eternity, that all he need do was to become a member of a cabinet in which the attorney-general, the superior officer of the police department, was acting with the commanding officer of the military forces and with the King, when every night brought report and fear of an attack upon the government or the police station. The resolution failed; the majority of the Legislature voted the entire cabinet out, and it resigned on June 16, 1890. It was succeeded by one of the King's own choosing.

*Thurston Says
Hell on Earth
Realized Here*

As a minister, I frequently had to interview Kalakaua in the Palace or the bungalow, at the corner of the Palace yard, where the King spent much time. On one occasion, when he and I were in the bungalow library, the King sat facing me and a door that opened on a hallway, which ran down the center of the building. I sat with my back to the door. I distinctly heard, in a room off the entrance from the hall, a shuffling of feet and a whispering. Any persons there easily could have opened the door and attacked me from behind. A historic fact, known to me and all Honolulu of those days, told how Kamehameha

*Kamehameha IV,
Madly Jealous,
Kills Secretary*

IV, when king, became insanely jealous of Queen Emma and his private secretary, a white man. Concealing a revolver in his pocket, Kamehameha faced a mirror on the wall of the sitting room; he sighted the weapon over his shoulder at the secretary, who was on the other side of the apartment, fired, and killed him. No legal action was taken against the King; according to the constitution, he was above the law, not subject to indictment.

In the light of Kalakaua's very obvious dislike of me, I did not propose to subject myself to any such treatment by him, directly or indirectly, without means of defense. Therefore, and thenceforth, during the entire three years of my cabinet incumbency, I carried a loaded six-shooter in my coat pocket whenever I had to go to the Palace alone. If the King made any attempt to take advantage of his official immunity for assault on me, I should be in a position to counter, without waiting for an official indictment. No occasion for use of the revolver ever arose.

CHAPTER XII

LILIUOKALANI SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE

After the resignation of the Green cabinet on June 16, 1890, political tension relaxed. Kalakaua, being in poor health, decided to take a trip to California. When an intimation was made to the American government of his desire, he was tendered the cruiser *Charleston*. The voyage lacked any political object, notwithstanding a statement in Liliuokalani's book, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*. So far as the King was concerned, the sole aim was personal. He was well received in California. His health rapidly declined; he died at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco on January 20, 1891; and the body was returned to Honolulu by the same vessel that had taken him to California. There was no cable to Honolulu then; the appearance of the *Charleston* off Honolulu, with flags at half-mast and yards aslant, was the first intimation the islands had of the King's death. I well remember the landing of the body at the foot of Fort Street and the procession to the Palace, just before sunset. As the *cortège* reached the Palace grounds, a brilliant rainbow spanned the sky, extending to the ground on both sides of the building.

Liliuokalani, who had been appointed his successor, took the oath of allegiance to the constitution of 1887, and became queen on January 29,

*Kalakaua Goes
to California,
Where He Dies*

*Oath of Office
Taken by Queen
on January 29*

I solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God, to maintain the Constitution of the Kingdom whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity therewith.

So help me God.

Subscribed and sworn *Liliuokalani*

Oath of Liliuokalani to maintain the constitution of 1887, taken before A. F. Judd, chief justice of the supreme court and chancellor of the Kingdom, on January 29, 1891—Archives of Hawaii

1891, the day that Kalakaua's body reached Honolulu. She did not delay in her program of arrogating personal powers as ruler. Immediately after she succeeded to the throne, she demanded the resignation of the hold-over cabinet; it maintained that the Legislature alone could remove a ministry. The question was submitted to the supreme court, which upheld Liliuokalani; and she appointed a cabinet of her own choosing. An interval of quiet in government followed.

Elections to the Legislature took place in February, 1892. Liliuokalani had not been in power long

Supreme Court Upholds Demand Cabinet Resign

enough to form a dominant organization; and the Reform Party elected a few less than a majority of the legislators. Those favorable to the Queen also were less than a majority, so that the balance of power was held by a small number of representatives. By vibrating back and forth, they succeeded in making and unmaking four cabinets during the seven-month session of the Legislature, the most turbulent and belligerent-minded that had ever sat in Hawaii.

One ministry, composed of Joseph Nawahi, Charles T. Gulick, W. H. Cornwell, and Charles Creighton, became known as the "Nancy Hanks cabinet." When the previous cabinet had been voted out of office, the fact became known that the Queen again had flouted the Legislature and had appointed the four persons named, who were of her own choice. A meeting of the members of the Reform Party and the "floating" members was called immediately; and an agreement was made to vote the new cabinet out on sight. I was deputed to draft a resolution of want of confidence, which would be presented by a member of the house of nobles from the Island of Hawaii at the appearance of the ministers. The resolution follows: "Be it resolved that the Legislature hereby expresses its Want of Confidence in the present Cabinet." (*Journal of the Legislature of 1892*, November 1, page 326, Archives of Hawaii.)

*Trotting Mare
Gives a Name
to a Ministry*

The new cabinet appeared at the opening of the session; the noble named to present the resolution sat next to me, tipped back in his chair against a

*Noble Replies:
Cannot Decide
on Resolution*

wall, and seemed to take no interest in the proceedings. I said to him: "Aren't you going to present the resolution?" He looked somewhat dazed by my question, and replied: "*Aole maopopo.*" ("I am uncertain.") "Then give it to me," I directed; and I presented it to the Legislature. It was debated for two and one-half hours, and was adopted by vote of twenty-six to thirteen. William H. Cornwell, one of the new ministers, was a sporting man, interested in race horses. Nancy Hanks recently had broken the trotting record; after the resolution was adopted, Cornwell exclaimed: "Well, this cabinet has been voted out in the shortest time on record. It's a regular Nancy Hanks cabinet!" In spite of the seriousness of the situation, the remark caused much amusement, and the nickname stuck.

I was elected a member of the house of nobles from Maui, without going to the island for the campaign. The leaders of the Reform Party in the Legislature were determined to maintain legislative control of the government, as distinguished from control by Liliuokalani, while she, from the beginning, was determined to arrogate control to herself, and to dominate the Legislature in an effort to accomplish her purpose. Toward the end of the session, the Queen, exhausted by her strenuous efforts, acceded in a measure to the determined attitude of the Reform Party, and appointed a cabinet satisfactory to it and to the community. It was composed of George N. Wilcox of Kauai, P. C. Jones, Mark Robinson, a part-Hawaiian, and Cecil Brown, the last three of Honolulu.

*George Wilcox
at the Head of
Reform Cabinet*

After an interval, however, Liliuokalani again took up the cudgels, and formed an alliance with a band of men from the Pacific Coast, who were seeking a franchise to operate a lottery in Honolulu. They were said to represent a group that recently had been evicted from the State of Louisiana, where it had dominated the government. In the fall of 1892, a combination was formed of the following men: D. H. Cross, Chicago, Illinois; W. B. Davenport, St. Louis, Missouri; John Phillips, J. J. Williams, Samuel Nowlein, and William C. Achi, all of Honolulu. A prospectus was published, setting forth the objects of a lottery company, under the title *The Golden Era*. It may appear unduly long to publish in its entirety, but I think that its importance, as showing the specious and powerful arguments brought to bear in the case, warrants its use in full. [Typographical errors in the original have been reproduced intentionally.—*Editor*.]

*Lottery Comes
to the Islands
From Louisiana*

“THE GOLDEN ERA.

“Vol. 1 Honolulu, H.I. Sept. 1, 1892. No. 1
“THAT \$500,000 OFFER.

“In another publication can be found the full text of the bill now before the Legislature granting a franchise to establish and maintain a lottery.

“The *Advertiser* says the bill is ‘scandalous.’ Let the reader judge. The measure is the only thing in sight that will prevent the grass from growing in the streets of Honolulu. If it is ‘scandalous’ to put a half million of dollars into circulation, the people will agree to the term. Some one told President Lincoln that General

Grant, when at the front, was a toper, and drank fearful quantities of whisky.

"The President calmly answered, 'What brand of whisky does he use? I would like to furnish each of the generals with a barrel.'

"Such was the answer of a great Statesman in a dark and trying hour. Similar will be the answer of the people of Hawaii in this, their darkest hour.

" 'If the bill is scandalous, we are willing to let it be so; save our business, our homes, our country.

"But there is nothing scandalous in the whole matter except in the minds of certain good people who have a sentiment against operations of chance. In other times and under other circumstances, this sentiment might be respected.

"But this is no time for sentiment. We can license this lottery just as we license liquor selling and permit horse-racing, and just as it is proposed to license opium. These are measures of expediency; measures of necessity.

"The acceptance of the offer of the lottery organizers is a measure demanded by the gravity of the situation; it is a political and commercial necessity. To refuse is to invite ruin, disaster, bankruptcy; aye, even distress and starvation.

"The people of Honolulu have endorsed the plan; it but remains for the Legislature to carry out their wishes. The country at large will ratify the matter by an overwhelming vote.

" 'SCANDALOUS!'

"The full text of the bill authorizing a regular monthly drawing for a term of twenty-five years has been published and distributed for the perusal of the citizens of this country.

"The bill published is the one introduced into the Legislature, word for word.

"The bill itself is the best argument that could be advanced in its favor.

*Opium, Liquor,
Racing Placed
in Same Class*

"It is a plain, straight-forward document. It is perfectly fair. The first installment of \$125,000 must be paid *before* the initial drawing. Many objections will disappear when the bill is understood.

"A certain class object to the bill because it will destroy their prestige. This class has been instrumental in shaping the policy of this Government for years.

"Now the Government is bankrupt. Is it not about time that their influence should cease?

"Some people have a sentiment against lotteries. Horse-racing, card playing, wild-cat speculations are all right, but a lottery! A lottery is a terrible thing!

"The poor old *Advertiser* lifts up its hands and utters the word 'scandalous! *scandalous!*'

"But calling a thing 'scandalous' is no argument; the country is on the verge of bankruptcy; is there anything in sight that will extricate the Government from the muddle? The lottery people have the means, and within 90 days the guarantee bonds will be filed.

"Part of the subsidy money cannot be applied to the purposes named for some time to come; this money is at the disposal of the Legislature. Salaries can be paid with it. The Postal Savings Bank depositors can be paid.

"How are the depositors in the Postal Bank to be paid? One hundred thousand dollars will be due depositors in a short time; they have given notice that they want their money. Where is it?

*Argument Found
in Bankruptcy
of Government*

"SAVE THE GOVERNMENT CREDIT.

"They make this demand because they have no faith in the credit of the Government; let the Government be assured of this subsidy from the lottery company and there will be no more trouble about the Postal Bank.

"In the face of this state of affairs, people say the scheme should be condemned.

"Kill this measure and you kill all hope of material prosperity for years to come. The moneyed class do not

*Lottery Might
Pay Depositors
in Postal Bank*

care for they have wealth enough invested in other lands to keep them in ease and luxury.

“But how about the poor mechanic? How about the small property holder? How about the retail dealers? What are they to do when the crash comes?”

“THE LOUISIANA LOTTERY.

*People Voted
For Louisiana
State Lottery*

“The Louisiana State Lottery has its foundation in the Constitution of that State; the charter was put in the Constitution by a popular vote. The opposition to a renewal of this charter comes from political parties for political purposes, and the people at large worry about the lottery about as much as they worry about warts on the moon.

“The *Advertiser* calls a lottery a ‘fleecing’ game, and then in another column presents the exact odds against winning certain prizes. How can anything be a ‘fleecing’ game when the *exact* chances are known? In all other forms of speculation, such as gambling in sugar, horse-racing, che fa, stocks, etc., the chances are uncertain. No one knows what they are. Anybody of any sense knows just what are the chances of winning in a lottery; the *Advertiser* published them. Will the *Advertiser* publish the exact chances of winning a sugar gambling? What are the chances of winning at horse-racing? The *Advertiser* always gives a good account of the races, and horse-racing is the quintessence of gambling. But a lottery, open, fair, with the exact chances for or against; a lottery that proposes to pay \$12,500,000 to this Government is a bad thing.

*Newspaper Has
Good Accounts
of Horse Races*

“If a secret vote was taken on this matter tomorrow, it would take a microscope to find any votes marked ‘No.’”

“A GUARANTEE.

“SECTION 3 of the Bill reads as follows:

“The said grantees and their successors and assigns shall pay for said franchise, to the Hawaiian Govern-

ment, the sum of \$500,000 each year as quarterly installments, etc.

“This sum shall be applied as follows:—

“1st.—Cable, \$100,000.

“2nd.—Railroads on Oahu, \$50,000.

“3rd.—Railroads on Hawaii, \$50,000.

“4th.—Honolulu Harbor, \$50,000.

“5th.—For Roads, Bridges, Wharves, etc., \$175,000.

“6th.—For Encouragement of Industries, \$50,000.

“7th.—For the Encouragement of Tourist Travel and Immigration, \$25,000.

“*All of the above Subsidies are to be paid Annually for Twenty-five Years.*”

“It is provided that if for any reason any of the above subsidies cannot be applied to the purposes set forth, then the sums so set apart shall be used as the Legislature may direct.

“Another Section provides that bonds shall be furnished to the Minister of Finance in the sum of \$125,000 as surety for the payment of subsidies to the different interests mentioned.

“No plan has ever been proposed for the improvement of a country that has not been bitterly opposed. In this case the bill is opposed by those who have ample means, but who do not want to see any other influence in this country that will interfere with their control and direction of men and affairs.

“It is this class who have brought the country to the present chaotic state. It has been said on the floor of the House that the nation will be bankrupt within thirty days if material assistance is not at hand.

“This same class is responsible for this state of affairs and yet they oppose the only means of rescue.

“It is said that certain parties are forcing bankruptcy on the country so that they can bring forward schemes for annexation. They would ruin the country and then give away the wreck.

*Subsidies May
Be Diverted
by Legislature*

“HOW THE LABORING CLASSES
VIEW THE BILL.

*“To the Honorable Members of the Legislative
Assembly:*

“GENTLEMEN:—

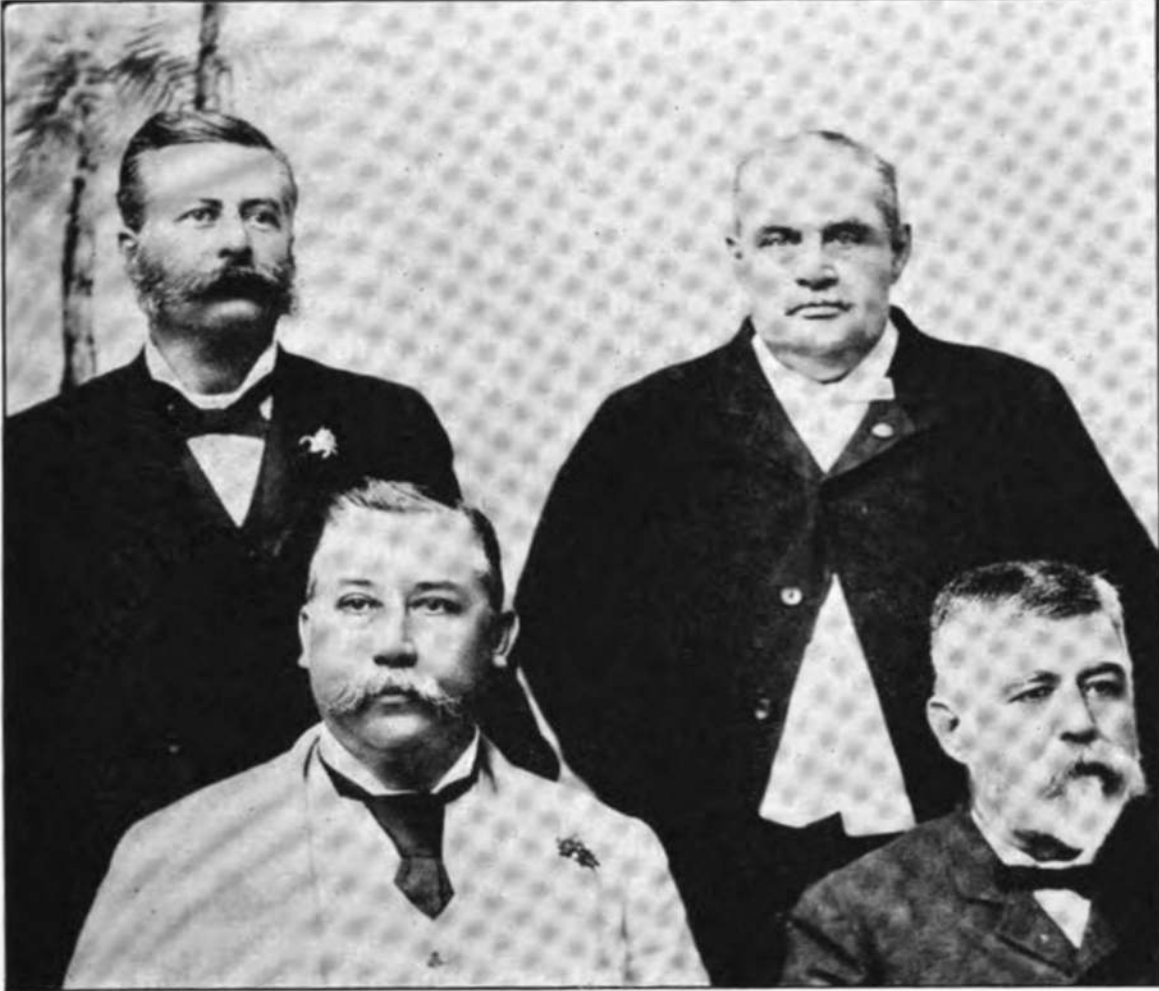
“Your petitioners, representing a number of the mechanics and workmen of Honolulu, would most respectfully call your attention to the following facts and invite your most careful attention thereto:—

“There is at present a great financial depression in this Kingdom, involving the leading industries and producing a state of affairs which threaten disaster to the individual, the business world and the national existence. Unless measures are taken to avert the coming storm, we believe that business will be prostrated and vast commercial interests rendered almost valueless. We appeal to you in behalf of our homes, our firesides and our little ones. Should a panic be precipitated, hundreds would be thrown on the verge of starvation. The future is black and appalling. We cannot close our eyes to the alarming state of both national and commercial credit; the truth is, hundreds of our leading citizens are now on the verge of bankruptcy. If such is the condition of the business community, what must be the feeling of the laborer and mechanic, with helpless ones dependent upon him, and only his weekly wages standing between them and beggary?

*Future Black;
Many on Verge
of Bankruptcy*

“We are assured that a measure is to be brought before the Legislature which promises to restore the national credit; to inaugurate great and extensive improvements; to restore confidence in commercial circles; to start the wheels of progress and improvement in a hundred ways. In fact, the proposed measure will at once remove the horrible incubus of disaster and ruin that now hangs like a pall over Hawaii, and flood the land with the sunlight of substantial prosperity.

“It will depend upon your voice whether we shall accept the relief offered. If you unite in securing the golden fruits for us and our little ones, we shall hold



Next to last monarchic cabinet. Standing: Cecil Brown, attorney-general; Peter C. Jones, minister of finance. Seated: Mark P. Robinson, minister of foreign affairs; George N. Wilcox, minister of the interior

your names in grateful remembrance. Should you refuse, and the time ever come when the wolf is at our door, what will be *your* feelings? What can you say to the children begging in the streets for bread, and what argument can comfort the hungry and homeless?

"We ask you to favor the relief offered, and we believe that that the best interests of the country demand the passage of the bill.

"MANY WORKINGMEN.

"MILLIONS IN IT.

"Someone said: 'Why, the Lottery will have to pay no taxes!'

"The Lottery must pay half a million a year; is not that a pretty high tax?

"In addition the officials, employees, etc., will spend at least \$100,000 per year in Honolulu for household, office and personal expenses. Isn't that as good as a tax?

"Under the proposed arrangement there will be \$20 in circulation where there is \$1 now; the country will look like a park. With railroads, drives, avenues, parks, palatial hotels and thousands of tourists, the country would put on a different appearance.

"Property now worth little or nothing would suddenly reach fancy figures. Talk about the Southern California boom! Why this country has a future such as boomers never dreamed of.

"Put a few millions of dollars into improvements and Hawaii would be the garden spot of the world!

"Shall we put this prospect aside for a sentiment? Shall we continue to invite ruin and bankruptcy?

"Let the people answer.

"THE REASON WHY.

"Why doesn't the *Advertiser* give the real reason of all this fuss and feathers about the Lottery business? Why does it not print the objection that is at the bottom of the matter?

*When Children
Beg For Bread
in the Streets*

*Islands Might
Surpass Boom
of California*

“But the people of Honolulu are not deceived. They understand the matter perfectly. They are in favor of the Lottery proposition. It is bread and butter; it is dollars and cents. It is prosperity. It is the end of dull times. It is the dawn of a new order of things. Let it come.

“LOTTERIES IN THE CHURCH.

“Lotteries are devilish, are they? How about the grab-bag affairs at Church socials?

“Oh, yes! but that is a different matter, you know. That is raising money for the Lord, and is sanctioned by long usage and high precedent, you know!”

“Oh, the times! Oh the morals! Consistency, *where* is thy blush?”—From the library of James Tice Phillips, Honolulu, to whom Mr. Thurston gave the original.

Such arguments, however specious, won the support of some members of the Legislature, while the Queen secured the cooperation of the lottery promoters and the legislators whom they controlled, in her plans against the Wilcox-Jones cabinet, and in support of a cabinet that she would appoint. She also was assisted by a combination formed to promote the granting of opium licenses. As against the Reform Party, then, there were pooled the Queen's group, looking to the restoration of royal prerogatives, and opium and lottery promoters. Those three interests, with the Queen's personal influence over certain members of the Legislature, would be strong enough to overturn the Wilcox-Jones administration; thus the Queen again would have an opportunity to appoint a cabinet of her own choice and to prevent the formation of an adverse legislative majority.

*Promoters and
Party of Queen
Form Alliance*

Bills enacting both the lottery and opium schemes were rushed through the Legislature and signed by Liliuokalani; a vote of want of confidence in the Wilcox-Jones ministers was passed, resulting in their resignations, and leaving the way open to the Queen to work her will, to abrogate the constitution of 1887, and to promulgate one of her own. No positive knowledge of such an intention had leaked out, however, and the subject generally was not given much thought. The outcome of the legislative contest, the Queen's success, was disappointing to me; but I felt that progress had been made in educating the public to the value of a government under control of the people and independent of the arbitrary will of the sovereign. Nothing was further from my thoughts, at that time, than an overturn of the Monarchy or any forceful move against the Queen.

*Wilcox-Jones
Cabinet Voted
Out of Office*

CHAPTER XIII

FORMATION OF THE ANNEXATION CLUB

This chapter deals with the Annexation Club—not the one organized in Honolulu after the overthrow and pending the consideration of the Harrison annexation treaty in Washington, but a smaller body, formed in Honolulu early in 1892. After I retired from the cabinet in 1890, I resumed the practice of law. One day, while passing in front of my office on Merchant Street, where the Stangenwald Building is now situated, I met Henry E. Cooper, an attorney, who formerly practiced in California, and had recently begun practice in Honolulu. Kalakaua had died; Liliuokalani, his successor, had had trouble with her cabinet. Rumors were rife of her dissatisfaction with the constitution of 1887, and of her intention ultimately to take some action.

*Constitution
Dissatisfies
Liliuokalani*

Mr. Cooper said to me, in substance: "Thurston, if Liliuokalani attempts to subvert the constitution of 1887, what do you intend to do about it?" I replied that I would oppose her. "Who else in the community thinks as you do?" he asked. The leaders generally, I thought. "But," he went on, "do you know exactly the men who think with you, upon whom you could put your hand at a moment's notice, if action was called for?" I admitted that I did not, but that information could be obtained quickly. "Well," Mr. Cooper suggested, "I think

that you should know in advance who can be depended on, and what you propose, should action become necessary." I thought his idea good. Conditions had gone so far, he continued, that the only effective remedy, in his opinion, was annexation to the United States. I said that I had long been an ardent supporter of independence for Hawaii, but had been forced reluctantly to the same conclusion.

*Annexation to
United States
Is Only Cure*

Our conversation resulted in about a dozen persons gathering at my office; the meeting revealed that the opinion expressed by Mr. Cooper was unanimous; and we agreed to form the Annexation Club. Our object was not to promote annexation, but to be ready to act quickly and intelligently, should Liliuokalani precipitate the necessity by some move against the constitution, tending to revert to absolutism or anything of the nature. The organization should be small, but it should be thorough; we further felt that we should know beforehand the probable attitude of the United States government toward annexing Hawaii. Arrangements were made for me to go to Washington, get into contact with the authorities, and ascertain their disposition, the club paying my expenses; and I went early in 1892.

*Thurston Sent
to Ask Policy
of Washington*

I discussed the Hawaiian situation rather thoroughly with W. H. Dimond, a member of the firm of Williams, Dimond & Co., San Francisco sugar agents; Claus Spreckels, of San Francisco, whom I knew well, having acted as his attorney in Honolulu; William N. Armstrong, of New York City, and Elisha H. Allen, Hawaiian consul there; and

*Dr. Mott-Smith
Introduces Him
to Authorities*

Dr. J. Mott-Smith, Hawaiian minister to Washington. Dr. Mott-Smith volunteered to introduce me to the principal authorities, and was present when I met Senator Cushman K. Davis, Republican member of the foreign relations committee of the Republican Senate, and Representative James H. Blount, Democratic chairman of the like committee of the Democratic House of Representatives. My interview with Mr. Blount took place in his committee room at the Capitol, and lasted about a half-hour.

*Not Partisan,
Blount Stand
on Annexation*

When I had finished my statement, he said: "I suppose that you have come to me because you want to know, in case action becomes necessary in Honolulu, what the attitude of the Democratic House of Representatives may be, if the matter comes up in Washington." I replied that he had stated the case exactly. He went on: "I do not know very much about this subject, but I can tell you this: if the question does come up, it will be treated here as a national one, and not as a Democratic. I advise you to see Mr. Blaine, secretary of state, and see what he thinks." I explained that I intended to see Mr. Blaine, but that he was ill, and I had not seen him, although I hoped to meet him soon. "All right," said Mr. Blount. "You do so, and let me know what he says." I agreed.

A few days afterward, I called at the State Department and presented James G. Blaine a letter of introduction from John L. Stevens, United States minister to Hawaii. I made a full explanation to Mr. Blaine: we had no intention of pre-

cipitating action in Honolulu, but conditions had gone so far that we felt the maintenance of peace to be impossible; we believed that Liliuokalani was likely at any time to attempt the promulgation of a new constitution. If she tended toward absolutism, we proposed to seek annexation to the United States, provided it would entertain the proposal. A nucleus had been formed in Honolulu to bring the plan to a focus, should occasion arise; that nucleus had sent me to Washington to ascertain the attitude of the authorities there. Mr. Blaine asked: "Have you talked to anyone else in Washington on this subject?" I answered that I had, mentioning Senator Davis and Mr. Blount.

Mr. Blaine said that he considered the subject of the utmost importance, and continued: "I am somewhat unwell, but I wish you would call on B. F. Tracy, secretary of the navy, and tell him what you have told me, and say to him that I think you should see the President. Do not see Mr. Blount again. I will attend to him. Come to me after you have seen President Harrison." In accordance with the request, I immediately met Secretary Tracy and reported my conversation with Mr. Blaine. Said Mr. Tracy: "I do not know whether you had better see the President or not. But come with me, and we will learn what he thinks." We went to the White House. Mr. Tracy had me wait in an outer room while he spoke with the President. After about a half-hour, the secretary reappeared and beckoned me to accompany him outdoors. Then he spoke: "I have ex-

*Navy Secretary
Takes Thurston
to White House*

*President Says
Administration
Is Sympathetic*

plained fully to the President what you have said to me, and have this to say to you: the President does not think he should see you, but he authorizes me to say to you that, if conditions in Hawaii compel you people to act as you have indicated, and you come to Washington with an annexation proposition, you will find an exceedingly sympathetic administration here." That was all I wanted to know. I called at the State Department again, but Mr. Blaine was still ill and absent from the office, and I never saw him thereafter. Nor did I ever again see Mr. Blount, since Secretary Blaine had requested that I leave Mr. Blount to him.

[Mr. Thurston sailed from Honolulu for San Francisco on the steamship *Australia* on March 29, 1892; he returned to Honolulu on the steamship *Mariposa* on June 4. Significantly, it seems, *The Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of June 6, in correspondence from San Francisco, published two paragraphs on the "annexation question." They follow.

"A dispatch from Washington dated the 26th, says: "The talk about Hawaiian annexation still continues and is receiving a renewed impetus from the report from San Francisco that the subject is to be considered by the Hawaiian Legislature. "The idea would not excite so much attention," said one of the most prominent members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to a correspondent to-day, "but for the fact that the Hawaiians are believed to be ripe for a change of some kind, and that if they do not come to us they may fall to England or Germany. That of course would be a very serious matter. There is a reluctance on the part of many Democrats to accept the scheme, by reason of a belief that indiscriminate annexations are contrary to Democratic principles. But, on the

other hand, it is an historical fact that every accession of territory we have ever received, with the single exception of Alaska, came to us through a Democratic administration, and even Alaska was obtained by the administration of Andrew Johnson, who might have been called a Democrat at the time. Nothing will probably be done here until discussions in Honolulu afford an idea of the kind of a proposition we may expect.”

*History Shows
Democrats Are
Annexationists*

“The members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs have been devoting more attention this week to the question of Hawaiian annexation than to any other subject. The extension of American sovereignty over the island kingdom really seems to be within the range of practical politics. No definite proposition has been made as yet, but numerous informal discussions have been held among the members of the committee. The Hawaiian Minister does not discourage the idea of annexation, but the reverse. Nevertheless it is the opinion of the best informed members of the Foreign Affairs Committee that the advances will have to come from the United States.”

One may deduce that Mr. Thurston's visit to Washington had something to do with the discussion of annexation thus publicly; one may speculate whether the prominent member of the House committee on foreign affairs was James H. Blount.—*Editor.*]

When I was in Washington, Mr. William N. Armstrong, then a practicing attorney in New York City, went to Washington to discuss the situation with me; and I acquainted him with what I had heard from Secretary Blaine and Secretary Tracy. Mr. Armstrong said that we should keep in contact with the Washington officials, and recommended that I do so through Archibald Hopkins, a friend of his and clerk of the court of claims. Accordingly I arranged with Mr. Hop-

*Representative
in Washington
Needed by Club*

kins to represent the Annexation Club. He sent me several letters after my return to Honolulu; they gave me no special information, as I now recall, until I received a letter dated November 15, 1892, which said, in effect: "I am authorized to inform you that the United States Government will pay to Queen Liliuokalani, and those connected with her, the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, for the assignment to the United States of the Sovereignty of Hawaii."

*United States
Willing to Pay
Queen \$250,000*

I do not now recollect any further statement from Mr. Hopkins as to the source of the offer, but I do remember that we supposed it to have the same general basis as a provision in the proposed annexation of Hawaii by the United States in the 1850's, that the United States pay a certain sum to Kamehameha III and several leading chiefs and officials of the Hawaiian government. I submitted the letter to a meeting of the club. We unanimously agreed that an offer of \$250,000 to Liliuokalani would be preposterous, for she was already receiving more than \$100,000 a year from the Hawaiian government in salary, perquisites, and incidental revenues. No further action was taken in connection with the offer. Shortly after the letter was received, while I was making a brief business trip to San Francisco, I wrote a reply to Mr. Hopkins. A copy is on file in the Archives of Hawaii; I do not know how it got there, nor did I know that it was there until I stumbled upon it while writing these memoirs. The letter is lengthy; as it details the situation at that time, however, I reproduce it here in full.

*Throne Already
Worth \$100,000
a Year to Her*

"On Board S.S. Australia.
"December 14, 1892.

"Mr. Archibald Hopkins,
"Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir:—

"I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your telegram and letter of the 15 Novr. Your communication is of the most important character, and in the limited time since receiving it those more particularly favorable to the proposition therein contained have held a number of consultations upon the subject, and we are unanimously of the opinion that there is no probability of success in attempting to secure annexation within the time that you mention upon the lines suggested.

"The American Minister, with the fullest knowledge of the facts, and himself an enthusiastic advocate of annexation, concurs in this opinion.

"It is difficult, impossible in fact, to state within the limits of a letter, the reasons and difficulties which present themselves at this time.

"In the first place, the diverse nationality and numerous conflicting interests of the population render Hawaiian politics kaleidoscopic to the last degree, resulting in the most unexpected changes and combinations.

"When I was East last May, the radical native party, which in times past has been the strongest supporter of royalty, was actively opposing the Government, openly advocating a republic and annexation and preparing for revolutionary measures.

"They overreached themselves by talking too much before they were ready to act, resulting in the arrests and trials for treason of last summer. Although those implicated were all either acquitted or not pressed to prevent the moral effect of a probable acquittal, the evidence produced at the trials produced a reaction among the wavering, and the flight from the country of the most active fomenter of the trouble, V. V. Ashford, disconcerted and disheartened the others who had worked with him. The result of the whole was a swinging of the pendulum against annexation and in favor of the Queen. The regard for the Queen, personally, among the na-

*Radical Native
Party Opposing
the Government*

*Sentiment and
Race Prejudice
Rule Hawaiians*

tives, is, however, practically nil. The opposition to annexation by the natives is not based so much upon personal support of royalty as it is on a strong sentimental feeling in favor of independence intertwined with a strong race prejudice against foreigners, and the fear that with the loss of independence the control of the Government would be more likely to pass out of their hands, and that less offices would be filled by Hawaiians. The demagogues and anti-annexationists have improved their opportunities in this direction by ringing the changes upon the proposition that annexation would lead to the appointment to the Hawaiian offices of a horde of carpet baggers and political dead beats from Washington.

"Second. You propose to pay the Queen \$250,000. This is a large sum, and, if times were troublous and she felt insecure, might be sufficient. Her present income is about \$80,000. a year, so that as long as she is reasonably sure that governmental affairs will continue on their present basis it would be a poor financial transaction for her to accept a sum the interest upon which would be only \$15,000. per annum. With the feeling now existing among the natives indicated in the foregoing pages, she is in a more independent frame of mind than she was six months ago, and unless forced to take that or nothing, there is no probability that, under existing circumstances, she would take so small a sum. In addition to the objections which would be raised on her part from a financial point of view, she is of a stubborn headstrong disposition, jealous of royal prerogatives and desirous of extending rather than giving up any of the powers and privileges which she now possesses. This is illustrated by her recent conflict with the Legislature upon the question of whether the majority of the Legislature or the individual preference of the Queen should rule in the selection of the Cabinet.

"Although in the long run no characteristic will be so likely to alienate the natives and forfeit the throne, as this disposition to resist to the last ditch the demands for popular control of the government, it is a trait which stands in the way, and will continue to stand in the way, of negotiations for purchasing her rights as long as she feels no fear of losing the position by force, except for a much larger sum than the one named.

“Third. If it is going to be a requirement at the Washington end of the line, that the treaty be approved by the Legislature, two difficulties appear, viz:—The opposition of native members. The opposition of certain planters. The opposition of the natives is based on the reasons given above. Some few of them could, in the short time proposed, be convinced by argument. The remainder would have to be subsidized to the amount of \$500. to \$5000. each, as would also some twelve to twenty of the native leaders outside of the house. There is scarce one of them who cannot be influenced in this manner, and for the immediate present they can be influenced in the proposed direction in no other manner.

*Some Planters
Would Oppose
in Legislature*

“The number of natives and half castes now in the Legislature is 25, out of a total of 48. Of these, on a vote now taken, the result would probably be, if subsidizing was not resorted to, in favor of it six, opposed, nineteen; of whom probably 15 could be controlled by subsidizing them on the scale above stated.

“Of the 23 foreigners, the vote would probably stand, in favor of it, thirteen; opposed irreconcilably four; doubtful by reason of uncertainty concerning the labor question 3; doubtful for other reasons 3. The doubt raised by the labor question is this: By Hawaiian law contracts for personal labor, can, when executed in accordance with the law relating thereto, be penally enforced. If Hawaii became a part of the Union the U. S. Constitution, it is argued, would prohibit this. The planters dislike the system and would gladly do without it if they saw any substitute therefor. So far as laborers resident at the Islands are concerned, it is almost a dead letter. The drain on the supply of plantation laborers is however so great, through departures from the country and leaving to engage in more profitable work, that it is necessary to introduce annually from abroad, from 3000 to 5000 men to keep up the supply. The laborers introduced are too poor to pay their own expenses. The planter has therefore to advance such expenses. They amount to \$75. per man for the Japanese, of whom some 20,000. have been introduced, and somewhat less for Chinamen. So long as the person making the advance can compel the laborer to work for a given period, he is

*United States
Might Forbid
Labor System*

*Labor Question
Sticking Point
to Mr. Baldwin*

sure of getting his advance back. If there is no method of enforcing repayment of the advance except by civil suit for damage, there is no security for the advance. If any method can be devised by which this difficulty can be overcome, it will remove the obstacle which is now the sticking point in the minds of some of our strongest men—notably Hon. H. P. Baldwin. Another point connected with the labor question is the fear on the part of the same class of planters above mentioned, that the U. S. prohibition of Chinese immigration will be extended to the Islands and perhaps ultimately made to include Japanese, in which case our sole source of labor supply, at living rates to the sugar planter, would be cut off, while the effect of annexation on other industries would be such as to raise the wages of labor in the country to a point which the sugar and rice business cannot pay.

“The reply which has been made to these two labor objections, and also to the fear concerning carpet baggers, is, that the two countries are independent contracting powers, who can agree to unite upon any terms they may agree upon, and that all these points can be satisfactorily covered in the Treaty. The reply made in turn, is, that there is no evidence that the U. S. would consent to any such conditions. Among other things which it will be necessary to know with approximate definiteness before action is undertaken here, is,

“1. Will the U. S. consider it sufficient if the signature of the Queen alone is obtained to the Treaty?

“2. Or; will the U. S. consider it sufficient if the signature of the Queen and Cabinet is obtained;

“3. Or; will it be sufficient if the signature of the Queen and Cabinet and approval of the majority of the Legislature is obtained;

“4. Or; will it be required that in addition to the last above enumerated requirements, the approval of a majority of the voters be obtained.

“5. Or will it be deemed sufficient if the approval of the Cabinet and Legislature is obtained?

“6. Will the U. S. agree to allow the agricultural industries to introduce laborers necessary and hold them

*Must Majority
of the Voters
Approve Plan?*

under contracts similar to the shipping articles signed by U. S. merchant sailors, until the advances are worked out or paid back?

"7. Will the U. S. agree to allow Asiatics to be brought to the Islands to work in the agricultural industries there, not thereby giving them the right to enter the other portions of the Union if the laws of the U. S. prohibit it.

"8. Will the U. S. agree that the appointments to Hawaiian offices shall be made from among those who have resided a certain number of years, say 5, at the Islands?

*Carpetbagging
Another Issue
in the Islands*

"Answers to these questions, or a statement of the views of those who would be influential in formulating the Treaty from the Washington standpoint will be of great value at this end of the line; for these are points which are constantly coming up, and concerning which we are now able to give only conjectural answers.

"There are several other reasons why immediate action is difficult, owing to the feeling which has been aroused between the factions in the Legislature arising out of the long and heated session, during which three Cabinets have been voted out and half a dozen bye-elections held, stirring up a good deal of personal as well as political feeling. A delay will, to a great extent, remove these personal feelings, while precipitate action may stir up opposition from purely factious reasons.

"It is the feeling of many at the Islands that Dr. Smith is not the man at Washington who should be there to properly forward our interests, more particularly in the line of annexation. Will you be so kind as to let me know the feeling of those at Washington with whom he has to deal. He is supported here by the conservative older mercantile men, but does not possess the confidence of those interested in this movement. What would the Washington people think of Charles L. Carter, son of the late H. A. P. Carter; or Frank Hastings, formerly the U. S. Vice Consul at Honolulu, and now first assistant of the Hawaiian Foreign Office.

"The U. S. Minister at Honolulu, Mr. Stevens, has written and forwarded by this mail, an exhaustive despatch to the State Department, concerning the Hawaiian

situation. He allowed me to read it, and I heartily endorse every statement in it. He stated that he was going to ask the Secy. to show it to those whom it was desired to acquaint with the situation. It would be well if you could see it, without mentioning having heard of it through me.

"I am in San Francisco on business, returning on the 21st. I shall go to Chicago in Feby. or March and probably be there all through the fair, during which time I could come to Washington at almost any time if deemed advisable.

"Regretting exceedingly that we are not in condition to act immediately upon your suggestions, and hoping for an early reply to the questions herein, together with whatever suggestions you may have to make,

"I remain,

"Yours very truly,

"L. A. THURSTON."

—Foreign Office and Executive, Miscellaneous Local, 1892, Archives of Hawaii.

*Club Becomes
Committee of
Public Safety*

Before I could get a reply from Mr. Hopkins, the events of January 14 to 17, 1893, had occurred, so that further consideration of his offer was unnecessary. The next activity of the Annexation Club was its appearance in the guise of the committee of safety at the deposition of the Queen. The foregoing on the Annexation Club is preliminary; it leads directly to the action of Liliuokalani in attempting to abrogate the constitution of 1887 and promulgate one of her own, which resulted in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy.

[A reply to Mr. Thurston's letter of December 14, 1892, was written and mailed. It was dated at Washington on December 29, 1892—the stamps



*Named heir to the throne by Liliuokalani, Princess Kaiulani
lost the succession when the Monarchy was abrogated*

Kaiulani

were canceled at Washington at 4 P.M., December 28; the envelope bears a San Francisco postmark of January 3, 1893, and seemingly a Honolulu one of January 11, though the imprint is very dim. The British steamship *Oceanic*, however, arrived at Honolulu from San Francisco on that day with mail. Perhaps Mr. Thurston did not receive the letter promptly in those engrossing times; he might have forgotten it, because I found it tucked in a dusty scrapbook, where it well may have lain for forty-three years. It is of some interest. A verbatim copy follows.—*Editor.*]

“Washington D.C.
“Dec. 29. 1892

“Dear Sir

“Yours of the 14th inst arrived on the 25th and I at once made the contents known to the Secretary.” [Doubtless Secretary of State John W. Foster.—*Editor.*] “He is of the opinion that the situation in Hawaii being as you represent it, it will be useless to attempt to bring matters to a head during the short time which remains to this administration. Such being the case he did not consider it worthwhile to take up in detail the questions you propound as his views might materially differ from those of his successor. He said however that in his judgment were negotiations to continue, a treaty to be recognized here, as binding must have the assent of the Executive and of the Legislature, and he thought you could protect yourselves as to contract labor and importation of Chinese, by a provision that all laws in force in Hawaii at the time of the adoption of the treaty *not in conflict with the Constitution of the United States*, should remain in force until repealed by the Hawaiian legislature. The five years suggested as necessary for appointment to office he did not think would be an obstacle. The Secretary declined to express himself in regard to the gentlemen

*Administration
of Harrison Is
Too Near Close*

Washington D. C.
Dec. 29. 1892

Dear Sir

Yours of the 14th inst arrived on the 25th and I at once made its contents known to the Secretary. He is of the opinion that the situation in Hawaii being as you represent it, it will be wiser to attempt to bring matters to a head during the short time which remains to this administration

Yours very truly
Frederick B. Hopkins

To
Hon. L. L. Thurston
Hon. _____

Part of Mr. Hopkins' letter of December 29, 1892, from Mr. Thurston's personal file

*Dr. Mott-Smith
Lacks the Tact
of Predecessor*

you speak of—further than to say that he did not regard the present minister as a man of as much influence and tact as the late Mr Carter, and that he thought it important for you to have some one here to communicate with & keep you informed. He is disposed to think that the foreign policy of the next administration" [that is, the second administration of President Cleveland.—*Editor.*] "will tend to be, if not aggressive at least posi-

tive and active, and that in case as seems likely Mr E. J. Phelps should be called to the State Department, he would be likely to be favorable to the acquisition of Hawaii & to do all he could to push it. Referring to your public debt, can you give me details of it, amount how long to run, rate of interest how held &c as it may be of importance in any future negotiation. Should unexpected changes make it seem best for you to act immediately, everything possible to second your plans will be done at this end of the line in the short time that remains. In Mr. Armstrongs letter to me of May 12th he informs me that the arrangement with you under which I have been acting was that I should be paid \$75.00 per month with an expectation of further compensation proportionate to results if any were reached. If consistent I shall be glad to receive amount up to February

“Yours very truly

“ARCHIBALD HOPKINS.”

“To

“Hon. L. A. Thurston

“Honolulu”

[Mr. Thurston engaged in considerable extra-professional activity: as a member of the Legislature in 1886, an organizer of the Hawaiian League, a cabinet minister for three years, a member of the Legislature in the long session of 1892-1893; and he went to Washington for the first Annexation Club in 1892. His personal reminiscences tell of his interest in the Kilauea Volcano House and in the Kilauea cyclorama at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1892 and 1893; and one of his minute books records that he was secretary of the Hawaiian Bureau of Information, predecessor of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau, when the organization meeting was held on August 17, 1892. Such facts explain the opening of the next chap-

*Thinks Phelps
Would Incline
to Annexation*

*Much Activity
Distracts Him
From Practice*

*Thurston Gets
Colburn Appeal
For Assistance*

ter: he went to his "almost abandoned law office" on January 14, 1893, only to be called immediately from law practice by the appeal of John F. Colburn for support against the Queen.—*Editor.*]

The call issued by L. A. Thurston, E. C. Macfarlane, W. C. Wilder and John Ens, for a meeting of the business men of the town to meet at the Chamber of Commerce yesterday afternoon at 3 o'clock, to consider the formation of an advertising bureau, was largely responded to, the following persons, among others, being present: Hon. John Ens, J. T. Waterhouse, H. F. Glade, J. F. Hackfeld, C. M. Cooke, E. R. Neumann, T. Krouse, S. F. Graham, Jno. H. Soper, Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, Jno. Richardson, J. U. Kawainui, J. O. Carter, J. Emmeluth, L. J. Levey, E. B. Thomas, J. J. Williams, E. Ellsworth Carey, F. S. Dodge, Hamilton Johnson, W. R. Castle, W. W. Hall, F. M. Swanzy, C. A. Brown, Mr. Tenney, Walter Weedon, J. Steiner, J. F. Reynolds and C. J. Meyers.

Mr. J. O. Carter was elected

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—*Advertiser*, Honolulu, August 9, 1892.

CHAPTER XIV

OVERTHROW OF HAWAIIAN MONARCHY

On the morning of Saturday, January 14, 1893, I went to my almost abandoned law office and began sorting papers preparatory to resuming law work. I had only begun when John F. Colburn, an old-time schoolmate and a close personal friend of mine for many years, entered the office, looking much excited. Liliuokalani had appointed him minister of the interior on the day before, as a member of the Parker-Cornwell cabinet, in antagonism to the Legislature; consequently I was surprised to see him. He immediately burst out: "Lorrin, we've been having a hell of a time up at the Palace, and I have come to tell you about it." In substance, he stated that the Queen had called all members of the cabinet into the blue room, then the parlor of the Palace, at the left of the King Street entrance, and informed them that she had a new constitution which she proposed to promulgate, and she wanted them to countersign her signature.

*Colburn Comes
With Story of
Hell at Palace*

Colburn said that the demand was a surprise to the ministers, and they argued with the Queen as to its propriety. Attorney-General Peterson told the Queen, before he approved of any new constitution, he first wanted an opportunity to read it, and the Queen replied angrily that the objection did not come well from him, because she had given

*Peterson Given
Copy of Paper
Over Month Ago*

him a copy more than a month before. The longer they argued with her, Colburn continued, the more insistent she became on immediate promulgation and the more peremptory in her demand that they acquiesce. None of the ministers was willing to comply, but she insisted so much that he and Peterson asked leave to withdraw temporarily for consultation. They left the Palace by the rear way; Peterson went to the attorney-general's office, while Colburn had come to seek my advice. I asked him whether he had talked to anyone else about the matter; he replied: "No, I have come directly to your office from the Palace."

I suggested that we should see Judge A. S. Hartwell. He agreed, and we went to Hartwell's office, upstairs, in a wooden two-story building at the south corner of Fort and Merchant Streets. There Colburn and I met the judge, and I outlined Colburn's statement to me. Judge Hartwell suggested that we should consult William O. Smith; we went to Mr. Smith's law office, downstairs, just around the corner on Fort Street, below Merchant, where we met Mr. Smith, and I rehearsed the situation to him. Our united advice to Colburn was to stand pat in his refusal to approve the Queen's action, and we agreed to undertake to raise support for him among the men down town. Judge Hartwell promised to get into immediate touch with some of the business men, while Colburn returned to the Palace.

*Three Lawyers
Agree to Raise
Aid Down Town*

After luncheon, Mr. Smith and I went to the office of Attorney-General Peterson, in Aliioli

Hale; there we met Colburn, Peterson, and Cornwell, several other men also being present. Messrs. Peterson and Cornwell corroborated the statement made to us by Mr. Colburn. They all agreed that Liliuokalani was furiously insistent on their joining her in promulgating the new constitution, while they had only the vaguest idea of what it contained. They did not believe there was any use in trying to argue her out of her position, and denied that they had known of the contents of the constitution or of her intent to promulgate it, until the demand made on them that morning. Mr. Smith and I, as well as the other men present, advised the cabinet to counter upon the Queen, declare her in revolution against the government and the constitution, declare the throne vacant by reason of her treasonable attitude, and call upon the people to sustain them.

*Ministers Deny
Knowing Royal
Intent Earlier*

During the conversation, Samuel Parker, minister of foreign affairs and head of the cabinet, entered the room. He did not have much to say, but he was practically of the same mind as the other ministers. They were in a blue funk as to their course. I offered to draft for the cabinet a declaration along the lines that we had advised. They did not agree to make the declaration, but assented to my suggestion of drafting it; and I drafted it then and there. At that stage, a messenger came from the Queen, demanding the immediate return of the cabinet. Colburn said: "I am not going. I do not consider my life safe at the Palace. I was at a meeting last night, at which

something of the character of this proposed new constitution was discussed, and I heard Kaluna" [a member of the Legislature from Maui] "say that he would die happy if he could secure the adoption of the new constitution, and had the blood of a few white men on his hands. I am not going back!" Peterson and Cornwell, both without explanation, stated they did not intend to go. Mr. Parker said: "I'm not afraid. I'll go to the Palace and see what the Queen wants us to do."

*Samuel Parker
Is Not Afraid
to Face Queen*

I then suggested that the cabinet officially request John L. Stevens, United States minister, to land forces from the U. S. S. *Boston* in order to prevent violence on the part of Liliuokalani, which Peterson and Colburn both said they feared. Three members of the cabinet having agreed to my doing so, I drafted, and Peterson had typewritten, a request to Mr. Stevens, that he cause men to be landed from the *Boston* to preserve the peace; and the request was signed by the three ministers. I believe that Samuel Parker had already departed for the Palace and that he did not sign. Taking the paper, I started down town with William O. Smith. As we reached the door of the office, however, Peterson called me back and said: "I think you had better give me that request; I'll deliver it to Minister Stevens myself." Though I urged him to let me deliver it, he insisted that I surrender it to him, and I reluctantly complied. I have never seen it since, and Peterson did not deliver it to Minister Stevens.

*Peterson Asks
For Document;
Not Delivered*

Mr. Smith and I returned to his office, where

several dozen men were excitedly discussing the situation. We informed them of what was occurring at the Government Building. A declaration was immediately drafted to this effect: since Liliuokalani had announced her intention of subverting the constitution and arbitrarily promulgating a new one, the undersigned declared her to be in attempted revolution against the constitution and government, and pledged their support to the cabinet in resisting her. Signatures were affixed, and messengers were sent out to bring in other men to sign. Under the direct supervision of Paul Neumann, among others, the paper lay on the desk in Mr. Smith's office for several hours, and was signed by nearly a hundred leading business men. It disappeared on that same day; so far as I know, it has not been seen since. The general belief among those present was that Paul Neumann had sequestered it, for he later appeared as the Queen's attorney.

*Signers Pledge
Aid to Cabinet
in Declaration*

Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, when the office was crowded to the limit, Messrs. Colburn and Peterson arrived and corroborated the account of the happenings at the Palace and the Government Building, in substantially the words I have used. One of those present was Henry E. Cooper. I remarked to him that I thought the time had come for the Annexation Club to act. He agreed; and I stated to the gathering that a committee of safety should be appointed to devise ways and means to deal with the situation, and I moved that Mr. Cooper be made chairman of a meeting

*Time to Act:
Thurston Says
to Mr. Cooper*

*13 Is Unlucky:
Yes, This Time
For the Queen*

to be held forthwith for the purpose of selecting such a committee. The motion carried; Mr. Cooper took the chair. Then I moved that the chairman be authorized to appoint a committee of safety, consisting of thirteen members, himself included. That motion carried unanimously; thereupon Mr. Cooper named the committeemen, all of whom were Annexation Club members, as follows: Henry E. Cooper, F. W. McChesney, W. C. Wilder, C. Bolte, A. Brown, W. O. Smith, Henry Waterhouse, Theo. F. Lansing, Lorrin A. Thurston, John Emmeluth, W. R. Castle, J. A. McCandless, and H. F. Glade. To them he added Albert S. Wilcox, of Kauai. Immediately the room was cleared, and the committee conferred.

I spoke substantially as follows: "I move that it is the sense of this meeting that the solution of the present situation is annexation to the United States." Mr. Cooper called for an expression of sentiment; all favored the motion, except Mr. Wilcox, who stated that he was not opposed, but that he had not considered the subject, and wished to consider it before voting. On the next morning, he said that it was more important for him to be at home on Kauai, to meet any emergency there, than to continue in Honolulu. Therefore he resigned from the committee, and returned to his home that day. H. F. Glade, also a member, told Mr. Cooper and me on Monday morning that he did not think he should appear in the organization, since he was German consul, but he suggested the appointment of Mr. Ed. Suhr, a clerk in the em-

*German Consul
Out; Suggests
His Successor*

ploy of H. Hackfeld & Co., of Honolulu, a firm of which Mr. Glade was senior member; and Mr. Cooper substituted Mr. Suhr.

No records were ever kept by the Annexation Club, and I do not recall the names of the other members. I do remember, however, that there were never more than seventeen, of whom thirteen were appointed to the committee of safety on January 14, 1893. After the adoption of the measure in favor of annexation, the committee conferred briefly; it adjourned shortly before dark, to meet on the next day, Sunday, January 15, at the residence of W. R. Castle, Kinau and Victoria Streets.

When the committee adjourned on Saturday, I invited some men to meet at my home that evening for further discussion. Those invited, and who came, as I recall, were W. R. Castle, A. S. Hartwell, Sanford B. Dole, F. W. Wundenberg, C. L. Carter, and W. O. Smith. I explained the tentative action of the committee of safety, and that I had called this sub-meeting to consider means of bringing about the contemplated action, and particularly to ascertain the military force at our disposal. My recollection is that Judge Hartwell and one or two others doubted whether we had sufficient strength to justify immediate measures. Fred Wundenberg was appointed to ascertain the number of rifles and the amount of ammunition available.

*Doubt Is Held
as to Strength
of the Military*

On the next morning, Sunday, January 15, I went on horseback at six o'clock to the residence of John F. Colburn, Kinau and Pensacola Streets,

*Ministers and
Thurston Talk
of a Revolution*

and awakened him. After we had discussed the relations of the cabinet and the Queen, he suggested that we go to the home of Attorney-General Peterson, Pensacola and Hassinger Streets. There I informed Messrs. Colburn and Peterson that the citizens were prepared to support the cabinet against Liliuokalani, declaring her in revolution against the government, the throne vacant, the Monarchy abrogated, and favoring annexation to the United States. If the ministers would lead, the committee would back them; otherwise the committee would act alone. Both Colburn and Peterson said that they were not ready to answer then, but would consider. At ten o'clock, the committee of safety met at the residence of W. R. Castle. I informed the members of the conference at my residence on Saturday evening and of the conversation with Messrs. Colburn and Peterson that morning. In both instances, the committee approved my action. The committee decided to call a mass meeting at the Rifles' Armory, Punchbowl and Beretania Streets, on the next day, Monday, to report the state of affairs, and to ask for instructions. I was deputed to draft the report, which I did in the afternoon.

*Stevens Reply:
New Rule Must
Establish Self*

After the discussion at the home of Mr. Castle, William O. Smith and I called on the American minister, Mr. Stevens, and informed him of the facts. He assured us that he would protect American lives and property, but emphasized that he could not recognize any revolutionary government until it was actually established, and repeated that

the United States forces, if landed, would not take sides with either party, but would protect Americans.

A meeting of the committee of safety was held on Monday morning, January 16, in my law office, upstairs over the old Bishop Bank, Kaahumanu and Merchant Streets, at nine o'clock. My office was only a half-block from the police station, on Merchant Street, at the foot of Bethel. While the committee was in session, a knock sounded at the door. Charles B. Wilson, marshal of the kingdom and chief of police, was found there; he poked his head into the room and noted the persons present. Withdrawing, he said to me: "Thurston, I would like to speak with you a minute." I accompanied him into the hall; he resumed: "I know what you fellows are up to, and I want you to quit and go home." "We are not going home, Charlie," I replied. "Things have advanced too far, and we do not intend to have a repetition of the events of Saturday." He answered: "The Queen will not make any further attempt to do away with the present constitution, or promulgate another one, so there is no danger of repetition."

*Marshal Wilson
Comes; Desires
a Word or Two*

"What assurance have we?" asked I. "I give you my personal assurance," he said. "And of what value is that?" I inquired. "Suppose that the Queen goes ahead and attempts to do it anyway? What can you do?" "If it is necessary," Mr. Wilson replied, "I will undertake personally to lock up the Queen to prevent her doing anything further along those lines." "It's no use, Charlie," I

*Lock Queen Up,
Should She Try
Further Action*

told him. "We will not take any further chances, but are going to wind affairs up now." Mr. Wilson hesitated, then said: "Well, I think you are wrong. But remember—I warned you and told you to quit!" He departed.

After annexation, I talked with Mr. Wilson about the interview. He said to me: "When I came to your office that Monday morning, the cabinet were all over at the police station. I told them that the entire committee of safety were in your office, and I asked their permission to swear out a warrant and arrest the whole lot of you, but the damned cowards would not give me permission. They said, if we attempted any such action, it might precipitate trouble, which they wished to avoid. They said that, if an attempt were made to arrest the committee of safety, Mr. Stevens would take action with the American troops. I did not believe that Mr. Stevens or the American troops would do anything of the kind, and told the cabinet so, but they would not listen to me. I insisted, however, that we should try to head off the committee of safety from doing what they might be intending to do. The cabinet told me that, if I wanted, I could go over personally and try to persuade the committee to quit, which I did—as you know. If the cabinet had permitted me to arrest the committee, it would have totally changed the condition of affairs; in my opinion, it would have completely knocked the committee out, with its proposal to overturn the Monarchy. But the cabinet had its way, and you know what happened."

*Damned Cowards
of the Cabinet
Frustrated Him*

Shortly after Mr. Wilson's departure, another knock came at the door; opening it, I found Mr. Archibald Cleghorn. He was the brother-in-law of Queen Liliuokalani, the husband of the Queen's sister, Likelike, and father of Princess Kaiulani. The old gentleman said: "I would like to speak to you a few minutes, Mr. Thurston;" and drew me into the hall. There he went on: "I do not blame you for what you are proposing to do to Liliuokalani, Mr. Thurston, but I wish to submit, for the consideration of the committee of safety, whether it is necessary to overturn the Monarchy entirely, and to have you take into consideration the claim of Princess Kaiulani. If you remove Liliuokalani from the throne, why not appoint Kaiulani, who is now the heir apparent, to be queen? You can appoint a board of regents to act during her minority, and I assure you that the community will have a very different state of affairs to deal with from that which Kalakaua and Liliuokalani have presented." "You know my regard for Kaiulani, Mr. Cleghorn," I replied. "I think very highly of her. If conditions were different, I should be very glad to help promote your suggestion; but matters have proceeded too far for your plan to be an adequate answer to this situation. We are going to abrogate the Monarchy entirely, and nothing can be done to stop us, so far as I can see!" Mr. Cleghorn looked as though he were about to weep. He bowed his head in silence, and retreated down the stairway. I returned to the office and informed the committee of my inter-

*Kaiulani: What
of Her Claim?
Cleghorn Asks*

views with Messrs. Wilson and Cleghorn; and the committee approved both of my replies.

A royal proclamation was issued on Monday, January 16, signed by Queen Liliuokalani and members of her cabinet, in the following words:

“[BY AUTHORITY]

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

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

“Her Majesty’s Ministers request all citizens to accept the assurance of Her Majesty in the same spirit in which it is given.

“(Signed), LILIUOKALANI.

“SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

“W. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.

“JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.

“A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.”

IOLANI PALACE, January 16th, 1893.

—Alexander’s *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, pp. 41-42.

Monday also witnessed a mass meeting of citizens, called by the Queen and her cabinet, at Palace Square at 2 P. M. It is described in Alexander’s *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, page 50.

*Changes in Law
Will Be Sought
by Legal Means*



Marshal Wilson was ready to fight against the deposition of Queen Liliuokalani, but the cabinet tied his hands

Charles B. Wilson

"The so-called 'law and order meeting' of natives at Palace Square, which had been called by the Ministry for 2 P.M., has been variously estimated all the way from 500 to 3000. The writer estimated it at the time to be about half as large as the meeting at the Armory. It was a tame and dispirited meeting, the speakers being under strict orders to express themselves with great caution and moderation. Addresses were made by Messrs. A. Rosa, J. E. Bush, J. Nawahi, W. White and R. W. Wilcox, who cautioned the natives against any violence or disorder, and supported the following resolutions which were adopted:

*Royalists Now
Are Dispirited;
Talks Cautious*

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

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

"Thus a meeting chiefly composed of the advocates of a new constitution, the leaders of which had conspired with the Queen to secure such constitution, voted an expression of thanks to her for renouncing her attempt to establish it.

"The tone of this meeting was constrained and unnatural, the only genuine enthusiasm being called out by expressions of sympathy with the attempted *Coup d'etat* of Saturday, the 14th."

In accordance with the agreement reached on Sunday, notice was posted and given in the press of Monday morning, that a meeting would be held at two o'clock in the afternoon at the Rifles' Armory. Anticipating that the cabinet would not lead the citizens in opposing the Queen, the committee of safety decided to prepare for the overthrow of the throne; and W. R. Castle and I were

*Overthrow Is
the Resolution
of Committee*

*Two Are Named
to Draft Paper
Deposing Queen*

appointed to draft a proclamation deposing Queen Liliuokalani, abrogating the Monarchy, establishing a provisional government, and applying to the United States for annexation. Mr. Castle gave me several pencil memoranda of suggestions for the proclamation. Following is a copy of the poster:

"A mass meeting of citizens will be held at the Beretania street armory, on Monday, January 16, at 2 P.M. to consider the present critical situation. Let all business places be closed.

"PER ORDER OF COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

"Honolulu, January 15, 1893."

—Alexander's *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, p. 40.

*Largest Meet
Held in City;
Hall Jammed*

At the stated time, a mass meeting of citizens was held in the Rifles' Armory at Punchbowl and Beretania Streets. It was the largest meeting assembled in Honolulu; the hall was crowded to its limits. A report was submitted by the committee of safety, and resolutions were offered and considered. They were adopted unanimously, after speeches had been made by several citizens. I presented the committee report, as follows:

"REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY:

"TO THE CITIZENS OF HONOLULU:

"On the morning of last Saturday, the 14th instant, the city was startled by the information that Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani had announced her intention to arbitrarily promulgate a new constitution, and that three of the newly appointed Cabinet Ministers had, or were about to, resign in consequence thereof.

"Immediately after the prorogation of the Legislature,

at noon, the Queen accompanied, by her orders, by the Cabinet, retired to the Palace; the entire military force of the Government was drawn up in line in front of the building, and remained there until dark, and a crowd of several hundred native sympathizers with the new Constitution project gathered in the throne room and about the Palace. The Queen then retired with the Cabinet; informed them that she intended to promulgate it and proposed to do so then and there, and demanded that they countersign her signature.

"She turned a deaf ear to their statements and protests that the proposed action would inevitably cause the streets of Honolulu to run red with blood, and threatened that unless they complied with her demand she would herself immediately go out upon the steps of the Palace and announce to the assembled crowd that the reason she did not give them the new Constitution, was because the Ministers would not let her. Three of the Ministers fearing mob violence immediately withdrew and returned to the Government building. They were immediately summoned back to the Palace but refused to go, on the ground that there was no guarantee of their personal safety.

"The only forces under the control of the Government are the Household Guards and the Police. The former are nominally under the control of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and actually under the control of their immediate commander, Major Nowlein, a personal adherent of the Queen.

"The Police are under the control of Marshal Wilson, the open and avowed royal favorite. Although the Marshal is nominally under the control of the Attorney-General, Her Majesty recently announced in a public speech that she would not allow him to be removed. Although the Marshal now states that he is opposed to the Queen's proposition, he also states that if the final issue arises between the Queen and the Cabinet and people he will support the Queen.

"The Cabinet was absolutely powerless and appealed to citizens for support.

"Later they reluctantly returned to the Palace, by request of the Queen, and for nearly two hours she again

*Ministers Are
Helpless; Ask
Citizens' Aid*

*Honolulu Fears
Bloodshed and
Riot Imminent*

endeavored to force them to acquiesce in her desire, and upon their final refusal announced in a public speech in the throne room and again from the upper gallery of the Palace that she desired to issue the Constitution but was prevented from doing so by her Ministers, and would issue it in a few days.

"The citizens responded to the appeal of the Cabinet to resist the revolutionary attempt of the Queen, by gathering at the office of William O. Smith.

"Later in the afternoon it was felt that bloodshed and riot were imminent; that the community could expect no protection from the legal authorities; that on the contrary they would undoubtedly be made the instruments of royal aggression. An impromptu meeting of citizens was held, which was attended by the Attorney-General and which was addressed, among others, by the Minister of the Interior, J. F. Colburn, who stated to the meeting substantially the foregoing facts.

"The meeting unanimously passed a resolution that the public welfare required the appointment of a Committee of Public Safety, of thirteen, to consider the situation and devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and the protection of life and property.

"Such committee was forthwith appointed, and has followed its instructions.

"The first step which the committee consider necessary is to secure openly, publicly, and peaceably, through the medium of a mass meeting of citizens, a condemnation of the proceedings of the party of revolution and disorder, and a confirmation from such larger meeting of the authority now vested in the committee.

"For such purpose the committee hereby recommends the adoption of the following RESOLUTION:

"1. Whereas Her Majesty Liliuokalani, acting in conjunction with certain other persons, has illegally and unconstitutionally and against the advice and consent of the lawful executive officers of the Government attempted to abrogate the existing Constitution and proclaim a new one in subversion of the rights of the people;

"2. And Whereas such attempt has been accompanied

by threats of violence and bloodshed and a display of armed force; and such attempt and acts and threats are revolutionary and treasonable in character;

"3. And Whereas Her Majesty's Cabinet have informed her that such contemplated action was unlawful and would lead to bloodshed and riot and have implored and demanded of her to desist from and renounce such proposed action;

"4. And Whereas such advice has been in vain and Her Majesty has in a public speech announced that she was desirous and ready to promulgate such Constitution, the same being now ready for such purpose, and that the only reason why it was not now promulgated was because she had met with unexpected obstacles and that a fitting opportunity in the future must be awaited for the consummation of such object, which would be within a few days;

"5. And Whereas at a public meeting of citizens held in Honolulu on the 14th day of January instant a committee of Thirteen to be known as the

'COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY'

was appointed to consider the situation and to devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and safety and the preservation of life and property;

"6. And Whereas such Committee has recommended the calling of this mass meeting of citizens to protest against and condemn such action and has this day presented a report to such meeting denouncing the action of the Queen and her supporters as being unlawful, unwarranted; in derogation of the rights of the people; endangering the peace of the community, and tending to excite riot, and cause the loss of life and destruction of property;

"Now Therefore, We, the Citizens of Honolulu of all nationalities and regardless of political party affiliations, do hereby condemn and denounce the action of the Queen and her supporters;

"And we do hereby ratify the appointment and endorse the action taken and report made by the said Committee of Safety; and we do hereby further empower

*Cabinet Gives
Advice in Vain
to Liliuokalani*

*People Approve
the Committee,
Denounce Queen*

such committee to further consider the situation and further devise such ways and means as may be necessary to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order and the protection of life, liberty and property in Hawaii."

The report and the following addresses are quoted from *Two Weeks of Hawaiian History*, first edition, pages 17 to 26.

*But She Says
She Will Not
Offend Again*

"MR. THURSTON said: Mr. Chairman: Hawaii is a wonderful country. We are divided into parties and nationalities and factions, but there are moments when we are united and move shoulder to shoulder, moved by one common desire for the public good. Three times during the past twelve years this had happened—in 1880, 1887 and today. They say it is ended, it is done, there is nothing to consider. Is it so? [Calls of No! No!] I say, gentlemen, that now and here is the time to act. [Loud cheers.] The Queen says she won't do it again. [Cries of humbug!]

*Ruler Wants
Men to Sleep
on a Volcano*

"Fellow citizens, have you any memories? Hasn't she once before promised—sworn solemnly before Almighty God to maintain this Constitution? What is her word worth? [Calls of Nothing! Nothing!] It is an old saying that a royal promise is made to be broken. Fellow citizens, remember it. We have not sought this situation. Last Saturday the sun rose on a peaceful and smiling city; to-day it is otherwise. Whose fault is it—Queen Liliuokalani's. It is not her fault that the streets have not run red with blood. She has printed a proclamation expressing her repentance for what she has done—and at the same time,—perhaps sent out by the same carriers,—her organ prints an extra with her speech with bitterer language than that quoted in the *Advertiser*. She wants us to sleep on a slumbering volcano, which will some morning spew out blood and destroy us all. The Constitution gives us the right to assemble peacefully and express our grievances. We are here doing that to-day without arms. The man who has not the spirit to rise after the menace to our liberties has no right to keep them. Has the tropic sun cooled and thinned our blood, or have we flowing in our veins the

warm, rich blood which makes men love liberty and die for it? I move the adoption of the resolution. [Tumultuous applause.]

“MR. H. F. GLADE: The Queen has done an unlawful thing in ignoring the constitution which she had sworn to uphold. We most decidedly protest against such revolutionary proceedings, and we should do all we possibly can to prevent her from repeating actions which result in disorder and riot. We now have a promise from the Queen that proceedings as we experienced on Saturday shall not occur again. But we should have such assurances and guarantees for this promise that will really satisfy us and convince us of the faith and earnestness of the promise given, of which we now have no assurance. What such guarantees and assurances ought to be I cannot at the moment say or recommend. This should be referred to the Committee of Safety for their careful consideration. I second the motion.

“MR. A. YOUNG, in addressing the meeting, spoke as follows: Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens—In June, 1887, I stood on this same platform and addressed an audience almost as large as the one now before me. At that time we had met to consider a resolution that looked toward a new constitution, which proposed constitution was considered the most effectual method of removing some flagrant abuses in governmental affairs practiced by the King and his Cabinets prior to the time that the constitution was promulgated. To-day we have met to consider the action of Her Majesty in attempting to set aside the constitution we all worked so hard to have promulgated, in the best interests of the sovereign and the people at large, as well as for the redemption of the credit of the kingdom abroad. It has long been reported that at some favorable opportunity the Queen would spring a new constitution upon the people and place matters even more in the hands of the sovereign than they were before the revolution of 1887. Some did not believe the rumors, but the actions of the Queen in the last few days have convinced the most skeptical that the rumors were well founded, and that she had been pregnant with this unborn constitution for a long time, but it could not be born till under the propitious star. The Queen’s

*Queen’s Plans
For a Change
Long Rumored*

*Wilcox-Jones
Ministry Was
Praiseworthy*

Kahunas, together with Her would-be advisers had no doubt told Her that the auspicious time for the advent had arrived. In trying to promulgate this long-promised constitution, the Queen has therefore premeditatedly committed a breach of faith with one portion of her subjects, in order to satisfy the clamors of a faction of natives urged by the influence of a mischievous element of foreigners who mean no good to the Queen or the people, but simply for the purpose of providing avenues for carrying out more perfectly the smuggling of opium and diverting the contents of the treasury into their own pockets. A 'By Authority' circular has now been handed around setting forth that the Queen and her Cabinet had decided not to press the promulgation of a new Constitution, but can we depend on this promise of Her Majesty? Is this promise any more binding upon her than the oath she took before the Almighty God to support and maintain the present Constitution? Has not the Queen resorted to very questionable methods in an underhanded way to remove what, to the people, was one of the most acceptable Cabinets ever commissioned by any sovereign in this Kingdom, in order that four other Ministers might be appointed that would carry out her behest, treasonable, or otherwise, as might be most conveniently within their scope? I say, have we any reasonable assurance that the Queen and her Ministers have abandoned the new Constitution promulgation scheme? [Roars of No! from the audience.] My fellow citizens, while the Queen and her Cabinet continue to trifle with and play fast and loose with the affairs of State, there can be no feeling of security for foreign families residing within these domains. There can be no business prosperity here at home, and our credit abroad must be of the flimsiest and most uncertain nature. And you business men who are toiling honestly for your bread and butter will have to put up with thin bread and much thinner butter if this farcical work is continued. In order that matters may be set to rights again and that honest, stable and honorable government may be maintained in Hawaii, I support the resolution and trust that it will be passed unanimously by this meeting.

"MR. C. BOLTE: Since the resolution which was read

here has been written things have changed. On Saturday the Queen promised the native people that she would give them a new constitution under all circumstances, she did not say exactly when, but as soon as possible. This morning a proclamation was issued, in which she says that her attempt to promulgate a new constitution last Saturday was made under stress of her native subjects, but that she will not do it again. An attempt to change the fundamental law of the land is a very serious matter, a matter that requires a good deal of consideration, and I am well convinced that this matter has been weighed and considered for more than a day by the Queen, and that there was no acting on the spur of the moment under the stress of her native subjects about it. It was her well premeditated conclusion that she would change the Constitution, so as to suit herself, on the day of prorogation of the Legislature. Many people knew this several days ago, but there have been so many rumors about all sorts of things, that not very much attention was paid to it; it was expected that she might change her mind before that day would come. But she did not change her mind as soon as that; she told the native people that she was ready to give them a new constitution right then and there, but that she could not do it because her Ministers would not let her. Now she has changed her mind; she makes a sort of excuse for what she did, and says she will never do it again. It seems to me that the question that your committee has to ask now, and which is for you gentlemen here in the meeting to decide is this: Are you satisfied with the assurance given in today's proclamation signed by the Queen and the four Ministers, and will you consider this matter ended, or do you desire greater and stronger guarantees for the safety and preservation of your life and liberty and property? I am one of the Citizens' Committee of Public Safety; my views on the situation are expressed in the resolutions which have just been read, and I trust that you will show that you are of the same mind as the committee by adopting these resolutions.

"HON. H. P. BALDWIN: I feel with the rest of you, that the actions of the Queen have put the country in a very critical situation. Before this revolutionary act of

*Scheme Plotted
More Than Day
by Liliuokalani*

*Henry Baldwin:
Country Put in
Critical State*

Her Majesty, we were getting along. A Ministry had been appointed which would probably have been able to pull us through. The McKinley bill had put the whole country into a critical situation. We were working up new industries. Mr. Dillingham is trying to build a railroad around this island. The Queen seems to have blinded herself to all these things. She has followed a whim of her own—a whim of an irresponsible body of Hawaiians—and tried to establish a new Constitution. We must stop this; but we must not go beyond Constitutional means. I favor the resolution, but think the committee should act within the Constitution. There is no question that the Queen has done a revolutionary act—there is no doubt about that. The Queen's proclamation has not inspired confidence; but shall we not teach her to act within the Constitution? [Loud calls of 'No!'] Well, gentlemen, I see that you do not agree with me, I am ready to act when the time comes.

*Her Majesty's
Face Fiendish,
Says Emmeluth*

"J. EMMELUTH wished to say a few words on the situation. He had heard the Queen's speech at the palace, and noted the expression of her face. It was fiendish. When the petitioners filed out he reflected on the fact that thirty men could paralyze the business of the community for twenty-four hours. It was not they that did it, but the schemers behind them, and perhaps a woman too. It was not the Hawaiians that wanted the new Constitution; not those who worked. This was the third time that he had shut his doors, let his men go, and came up to this building. It would be the last time. If we let this time go by we would deserve all we would get. An opportunity came once in every lifetime. It had come to us, and if we finished as we should, a repetition of last Saturday would never occur in this country again. [Applause.] We must stand shoulder to shoulder. There was but one course to pursue, and we would all see it. The manifesto of this morning was bosh. 'I won't do it any more; but give me a chance and I'll do it again.' That is the real meaning of it. If the Queen had succeeded last Saturday, myself and you would have been robbed of the privileges without which no white man can live in this community. 'Fear not, be not afraid,' was written in my Bible by my mother twenty-

five years ago. Gentlemen, I have done. As far as the Hawaiians are concerned, I have an aloha for them, and we wish to have laws enabling us to live peaceably together.

“R. J. GREENE: Fellow Citizens—Among the many things I never could do was to make an impromptu speech. I have tried it over and over again and never succeeded but once, and that was after five weeks preparation. Our patience has been exhausted. We all agree about the case. The question is the remedy. John Greene of Rhode Island entered the war of the Revolution and served throughout. His son, my father, served through the war of 1812, until that little matter was settled. In 1862 John Greene, my father, stood before a meeting like this, and said he had four sons in the war, of whom I was the youngest, and would serve himself if he was not too old. This experience has biased my judgment as to some matters of civil government. It is too late to throw obstacles across the path of its progress here. I have adopted this flag and am loyal to it, but I am not willing to go one step back in the matter of civil liberty, and I will give the last drop of Rhode Island blood in my veins to go forward and not back. [Cheers.]”

Following the addresses, the resolutions were adopted without a dissenting vote. The phrases “dethronement of Liliuokalani” and “abrogation of the Monarchy” were not publicly used at the meeting, but there was a unanimous understanding that dethronement and abrogation were intended.

*Understanding
of Deposition
Is Unanimous*

After the meeting adjourned, the committee of safety assembled at the office of W. O. Smith. The meeting had supported the committee with such unanimity, the determination of the citizens had been manifested with such vigor, the feeling was so intense, that the committee instinctively felt the necessity for early action. But the emergency had come upon us unexpectedly; the thing to be done

*Plan Inchoate;
Time Essential
to Plot Course*

was vital; the details of our course were varied and unknown. Our plans were inchoate—we had no plan of action to meet the Queen's government, should it move first; we lacked particulars of the military at our command; at the moment, we lacked organized troops. We did not know just what the government intended, or what Minister Stevens had in mind, whether he purposed to land armed forces from the *Boston*, or what the government would do if men were brought ashore, though we feared that the government might resist. Time for thought and planning was overwhelmingly essential.

Therefore, the committee decided, the first thing to do, before being compelled to act, was to gain time. The critical state of affairs might induce Mr. Stevens to land forces to protect American lives and property; a landing might precipitate action by the Queen's government, before the committee had evolved a plan. W. O. Smith and I were appointed to wait upon Minister Stevens immediately and urge him to delay the landing of American troops, if he had it in view. We went to the residence of the minister, near the corner of School and Nuuanu Streets, and were informed by his daughter that he had left a short time before to go aboard the *Boston*, which was lying in the harbor. He returned within a few minutes, and we told him of our mission.

*Delay Landing:
United States
Minister Urged*

Mr. Stevens' reply was: "I do not know what your plans are, gentlemen, and I cannot afford to take chances to find out what the plans of the gov-

ernment may be. The conditions are so serious, and the possibilities of trouble so great, that it is my duty to protect the lives and property of American citizens with every available means within my power; and I am going to land American troops immediately for that purpose. I have already given orders to that effect, and it will not be long before the troops are ashore. That's all I have to say." Such was the first information given to the committee, or to Mr. Smith or me individually, that troops were to be landed. There was no suggestion by Mr. Stevens as to what he intended to do with the troops, or what the committee should do. The members of the Queen's cabinet stated afterward that they called on Mr. Stevens that evening to ask his support for the Queen's government against the revolutionists, and that his reply was evasive and ambiguous. His reply to them was no more evasive and ambiguous than his reply to Mr. Smith and me a few hours earlier. The committee of safety had exactly the same information from Mr. Stevens that the cabinet had—no more and no less.

Receiving Mr. Stevens' reply, Mr. Smith and I immediately returned to his office, to inform the committee. We found that the members had all departed, and could not be assembled again that night. I went to the landing at the foot of Nuuanu Street, where boats from the warships docked, about five o'clock in the afternoon, arriving just as the *Boston* troops came ashore. They carried rifles, wore ammunition belts filled with cartridges

*His Refusal:
Must Protect
American Life*

*Here They Are:
Troops Landed
From "Boston"*

about their waists, and had several Gatling guns, or small fieldpieces. The men marched from the wharf along Queen Street to Fort, up Fort to King, and out King, toward Waikiki, to the residence of Mr. J. B. Atherton, a leading American citizen. We learned afterward that Mr. Stevens was seeking a place for them to camp overnight, and that he rented Arion Hall,—a public building in the rear of the Opera House, on the Ewa side of the Government Building, Aliiolani Hale. I followed the troops up Fort Street, but left them at King, and went up Fort.

*Rickard Fist
Is Shaken in
Thurston Face*

At the corner of Fort and Hotel Streets, I met Mr. W. H. Rickard, then the manager of Honokaa Plantation, who had been a member of the Legislature, and was a supporter of the Queen. He shook his fist in my face and exclaimed: "Damn you, Thurston, you did this!" "Did what?" I wished to know. "Had these troops landed," replied he. "You credit me with considerable influence, to be able to direct the United States troops," I answered. "I had no more to do with their coming ashore than you did, and I have no more idea of what they are going to do than you have." I mention the incident simply to indicate the exaggerated idea of the royalists as to our control over the American forces. That misapprehension undoubtedly had much to do with their subsequent supine submission to the committee of safety.

After that, there seemed nothing further to be done down town, and I got a hack and drove to my home on Judd Street, arriving just before dusk.

I had had a rather severe attack of grippe during December, and had been living strenuously since Saturday morning, having been under pressure almost continuously, night and day. When I got home, I collapsed; a doctor, being called, ordered me to go to bed and stay there, which I did. Owing to my physical condition, I did not attend the meeting at the home of H. Waterhouse that evening; and I knew nothing, until later, of what occurred there, or that leadership had been tendered Sanford B. Dole.

About eight-thirty o'clock next morning, my law clerk, Charles F. (Fred) Peterson, appeared and informed me that he had been directed to get from me a copy of the proclamation to be used in deposing the Queen and abrogating the Monarchy, as the committee expected to need it that afternoon. I had been deputed by the committee, at the meeting on Sunday at W. R. Castle's house, to draft the proclamation, but had been so busy that I had not done a stroke of work on it, and I did not know what had become of the notes on the subject, previously given me by Mr. Castle, my fellow committeeman. I told Peterson to go down town and get his typewriter; he did so immediately, returning to my home just after nine o'clock. Although I was still exhausted, the exigencies were such that I had to supply the proclamation; I dictated from my bed to Peterson, who took it directly on the machine. We finished about eleven o'clock; without giving me an opportunity to revise or copy the document, Peterson delivered it to W. O. Smith at

*Proclamation
of Deposition
Now Necessary*

his office. [The proclamation deposing the Queen is published on pages 83 to 87, Dole memoirs.—*Editor.*]

*Document Read
by Cooper at
Aliiolani Hale*

At two o'clock that afternoon, the committee went to the Government Building, and Henry E. Cooper read the proclamation deposing the Queen, abrogating the Hawaiian Monarchy, and establishing the Provisional Government to exist until terms of annexation had been arranged with the United States. I have never seen the document

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 exceptions 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,
JOHN EMMELUTH
ED. SUHR,
W. C. WILDER,
WM. O. SMITH,
WM. R. CASTLE.

THEODORE F. LANSING,
C. BOLTE,
HENRY WATERHOUSE,
F. W. McCHESNEY,
LORRIN A. THURSTON,
J. A. McCANDLESS,

Committee of Safety.

Printed copies of the deposition proclamation were posted about Honolulu soon after the overthrow of the Monarchy. Although a member of the committee of safety, William O. Smith had not seen the proclamation in type when he went down town in the morning of January 18, 1893; glimpsing a poster on a building on Nuuanu Street, he removed it as a souvenir. The engraving is made from that copy, which Mr. Smith gave to James Tice Phillips, of Honolulu

since it left my house in the morning of January 17, 1893, but I have been told that the committee adopted it as it came from the typewriter, changing only one word in the typewritten copy. I have

Photo Missing

been unable to find the typewritten copy in the Archives of Hawaii.

That is the correct story of the landing of the American troops from the cruiser *Boston*, the deposing of Liliuokalani, the overturning of the Monarchy, and the establishing of the Provisional Government. Nothing else was ever done; there was no other understanding or agreement between the committee of safety, or any member, and United States Minister Stevens, or with the officers of the *Boston*. Liliuokalani's consciousness of guilt, the weakness of her supporters, because of her indefensible position, and the irresistible indignation of the community at what the Queen had attempted, and the realization by the Queen's party of the character of the men who headed the opposition, all of which was known to Paul Neumann, her attorney, and the members of her cabinet—everything simply swept the Queen and the Monarchy away on a wave of determination, which is rarely experienced and cannot be analyzed by ordinary reasoning. Knowing every detail of what happened, I still do not comprehend exactly how it all came about, yet happen it did. I cannot but believe that it was the result of fate, foreordained from the beginning of things.

*Thurston Feels
Overthrow Was
Result of Fate*

The whole situation would be ridiculous were it not so tragical—or near tragical. Liliuokalani's move to abrogate the constitution and promulgate a new one was wholly revolutionary. It was unquestionably based on the old adage that "a successful revolutionist is a patriot—an unsuccessful one,

*Queen Assumes
That Cabinet
Must Approve*

a traitor." The Queen assumed that she must have the approval of her cabinet to make her proposed action effective, whereas the only necessity for the approval of her cabinet was the provision, in the very constitution which she was proposing to abrogate, that she should have such approval. If she had the power to abrogate any provision of the constitution, she had the power to abrogate every provision; if she had the force behind her to abrogate the constitution in part, she had the force to abrogate it as a whole. Her assumption that any provision of the constitution was binding upon her, and necessitated cabinet approval of a change, was purely assumption. Fortunately for the community, her views prevented her from taking the bull by the horns, abrogating the constitution, promulgating a new one, and putting her terms into effect by force.

*Conflict Sure,
If Liliuokalani
Had Used Force*

Had she done that, availing herself of the troops at her command, and ordering Marshal Wilson to support the troops with the entire police force and auxiliaries at his disposal, it is idle to speculate as to what might have been the outcome. One thing is certain: a desperate conflict would have been precipitated, in which much loss of life and destruction of property would have occurred. What Minister Stevens would have done under the circumstances, I have no idea. He never intimated to our party, any more than he did to the Queen's, what action he probably would have taken.

I consider that the interviews above reported, with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cleghorn on Monday

morning, as well as those with Messrs. Colburn and Peterson on Sunday, as important, in that they substantiate the fact that the royalist supporters had the fullest and plainest information of what the community proposed to do through its committee of safety, entirely independently of Minister Stevens and the American troops, and before the landing of the American forces, which did not occur until Monday afternoon. Apparently Liliuokalani failed to realize the strength and determination of the leaders of the opposition when she undertook to overturn the constitution. As hereinbefore stated, that opposition had organized and carried into effect the Hawaiian League in 1887, had forced the constitution of 1887 from Kalakaua, had defeated the Wilcox insurrection of 1889, and had checkmated the embryo insurrection of Wilcox and V. V. Ashford of 1891-1892. The cabinet and Paul Neumann, however, being fully aware of the type and strength of the men they had to deal with, lacked stomach for a fight.

*Ministers and
Neumann Lack
Heart to Fight*

Here I wish to record my appreciation of the courage of Charles B. Wilson. If his advice had been adopted, if he had been permitted to arrest the committee of safety when he wished to do so, in the morning of January 16, I do not know what the outcome might have been. Such action probably would have caused violence, and the abrogation of the Monarchy would not have been bloodless; but I cannot believe that Liliuokalani could have been successful ultimately. Her plans were too narrowly personal and selfish to carry the com-

munity with her; the community resistance was too broad and well-founded to be abandoned.

It has been argued, on behalf of the royalists and of the Gresham-Cleveland administration, that the revolutionists depended on the American troops, and not on their own strength, to carry the revolution into effect; the royalists cite the request of the committee of safety to the American minister to lend assistance. The reply is that Minister Stevens informed the committee, although he was sympathetic with their cause, that he would not assist them against the Monarchy, and he gave specific assurance that troops would be landed for the exclusive purpose of protecting American lives and property. The revolutionists undoubtedly knew that the royalists thought that American troops would be used to support the revolution, but it was not the duty of the revolutionists to inform the royalists that their impression was erroneous. Seemingly the royalists held the theory that it was the duty of the revolutionists to begin a bloody fight; if they did not do so, they were not entitled to take advantage of the situation and the misconceptions of the royalists.

*Revolutionists
Have to Depend
on Own Power*

In fact, the revolutionists had to depend entirely on their own strength for the success of the movement, and they knew it. With such knowledge, and the consciousness that they were acting in the general public interest, they had the courage of their convictions, and adopted a bold course—a course that had been successful on several previous occasions. The royalists, on the other hand, had

the disintegrating consciousness that the Queen was wrong, that the course she was seeking to pursue had been defeated several times; and they were predisposed to quail before the determined, progressive attitude of the revolutionists. The natural consequence of the meeting of the two forces was success for the revolutionists and submission by the royalists. Under the leadership on both sides, the conditions could have had only one outcome.

Statements have been made that the "mission boys," the sons and grandsons of American missionaries to Hawaii, were ultra-active in the overthrow of the Monarchy. That is true. I come within the classification. My father, Asa G. Thurston, was the son of Asa Thurston, of Massachusetts, who came to Hawaii in 1820 as a missionary under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the "A. B. C. F. M.;" and my mother, Sarah Andrews Thurston, was the daughter of Lorrin Andrews, of Connecticut and Ohio, who came to Hawaii in 1828 as a missionary under the same board. My grandparents remained in Hawaii; my parents were born and lived and died in the islands; and I was born in Hawaii and have lived here always, except that I have spent intervals in the continental United States and Europe. I have had a lifelong acquaintance with the "mission boys," and a splendid body of men they were.

All were Hawaiian-born; they knew the history and conditions of the country, the people, the traditions, and the language. Without qualification, I say that they were among the most loyal of Ha-

*"Mission Boys"
Take the Lead
in Overthrow*

*Every One Was
Born in Hawaii
and Most Loyal*

*They Withstand
Royal Reaction
and Debauchery*

waiian citizens, intensely proud of Hawaiian independence, and unfaltering in its support. For years they withstood royal reaction and debauchery; not until submission ceased to be a virtue, did they change. Instead of using their vantage ground for their personal aggrandizement, they devoted their efforts and influence to winning for Hawaii the fullest possible participation in control of its own affairs as an integral part of the United States, with all the freedom of that status. Having practically complete control of the terms of annexation, they secured American citizenship for citizens of Hawaii, thereby relinquishing power, and handing over to the native sons of Hawaii the proud position of American citizenship—a status not accorded the people of Porto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, or Samoa, all of which came under the American flag about the same time as Hawaii did.

I make special reference to the "mission boys" here because of the prominence given them by the royalists, and particularly by Liliuokalani in her book *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, published in 1898. For example, on page 183, Liliuokalani says:

*Outcry Arises
to Hang Both,
Queen Asserts*

"So these two citizens" [Walter Murray Gibson, and his son-in-law, Fred Hayselden] "were forced along into a small structure on the wharf, where hung two ropes with nooses already prepared, and a man of widely known missionary ancestry, led the outcry, vociferating loudly and lustily, 'Hang them! Hang them!' Could it be possible, I thought, that a son of one of my early instructors, the child of such a lovely and amiable Christian mother, could so far forget the spirit of that religion his parents taught, and be so carried away with political passion, as to be guilty of murder?"

I do not know who was the "unregenerate son of a missionary" to whom Liliuokalani refers, but I was present when Mr. Gibson and Mr. Hayselden were being held in a building on the wharf—not a "small structure," but a large stone warehouse; and I know, of my own knowledge, that no "man of widely known missionary ancestry" vociferated to have them hanged. Neither was any noose suspended in the building, nor was there any discussion of hanging. Moreover, I know that several "mission boys" and their intimates, at a meeting of the executive committee of the Hawaiian League, used every effort to prevent the hanging of Mr. Gibson—a measure advocated by one who was not a "missionary," but was in every way the antithesis of the "mission boys" and that for which they stood: Volney V. Ashford, one of the effective members of the Hawaiian League, one of its knottiest problems, and one of the greatest obstacles it had to overcome.

*Gibson Rescued
From the Noose
by the League*

Another statement, on page 183 of *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*,* I deny most emphatically—that simultaneously with the confinement of Mr. Gibson:

" . . . another missionary boy rode out to the country residence of Mr. Gibson, at Kapiolani Park, and entering abruptly into the presence of his daughter, Mrs. Hayselden, threw a lasso over her head, as though the gentle woman had been a wild animal, and avowed his intention of dragging her into town. While he held her, those with him searched the house, hoping that they might

* Excerpts from *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, published by Lee and Shepard, are used by permission of Thomas Nelson & Sons.

discover arms or some other evidence by which Mr. Gibson and the members of his family could be convicted and hung, but they were disappointed. After subjecting her to this brutality, which she bore most bravely, the ruffians left her to await the return from Honolulu of her natural protectors."

That statement is made wantonly of whole cloth. No such incident occurred, or anything approaching it. In justice to Liliuokalani, I must say that both incidents were related to her as having occurred when she was in England. Manifestly, both statements were put into her mouth—by whom, I do not know; I have stated elsewhere that the book, although sponsored by the Queen, was not written by her, but by a lick-spittle from the United States, Julius A. Palmer, junior, who adopted the cause of royalty against his own people and country, and did not hesitate to make capital for his adopted cause, regardless of the truth.

*Overseas Then;
Statements Put
Into Her Mouth*

So varied were the events of January 14 to 17, 1893, and so rapidly did they occur, that it is difficult to coordinate them unless one knows the connection of one with another. Here follows an enumeration of the events and their relations:

1. The determination of the Queen to abrogate the constitution of 1887 and to promulgate one of her own construction.

2. To put the plan into effect, she determined to secure from the Legislature a vote of want of confidence in the Wilcox-Jones-Robinson-Brown cabinet, and to appoint a cabinet of her own choosing, with a view to securing that cabinet's approval of her demand for the abrogation of the 1887 constitution.

3. For that purpose, an agreement was made with the supporters of the lottery scheme and the opium license to gain their cooperation by passing a lottery franchise for twenty-five years, including the right to use the Hawaiian mails, and to issue opium licenses. Lottery and opium bills were passed and signed by the Queen.

*Lottery, Opium
Bills Enacted;
Queen Approves*

4. The Wilcox-Jones cabinet was voted out of office on January 13, 1893, and the Parker-Cornwell cabinet was appointed by Liliuokalani.

5. On January 14, the Queen prorogued the legislative session and demanded of the new ministers that they approve the abrogation of the constitution of 1887 and the proclamation of a new one. Up to that time, the program was carried through without a slip, but a check was encountered in the refusal of the new cabinet to accede to the Queen's demand.

6. Then Colburn and Peterson, members of the new cabinet, informed the public of the Queen's plan and appealed to the citizens for support in their refusal.

7. Next was the reply of the citizens, supporting the cabinet and countering on the Queen by declaring her in revolution, the throne vacant, and the Monarchy abrogated.

8. There followed the formation of a committee of safety by the citizens on January 14, 1893. The committee called a mass meeting, on January 16, which authorized the committee to act.

9. The committee of safety, on January 17, took possession of the government buildings, removed

*Climax Comes:
Citizens Take
the Government*

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

Liliuokalani from the throne, abrogated the Monarchy, and put into power the Provisional Government, pledged to seek annexation of Hawaii to the United States.

*Throne Submits
to Revolution;
Monarchy Dead*

10. On the same day, Queen Liliuokalani submitted to the action of the committee of safety, and gave the Provisional Government a written release of the possession and control of government property and jurisdiction. Thus, within five days, the extinction of the Hawaiian monarchy occurred.

ered last evening before the National Geographic Society on the subject "The Hawaiian Islands." It was delivered at the First Congregational Church, and the big auditorium with its capacious galleries was gone too large to accommodate the im-



Mr. John W. Foster.

mense crowd which gathered to hear him. In the audience were a number of the members of the diplomatic corps, who were naturally much interested in the speaker's expression of opinion on such a subject as the acquisition of new territory by the United States. They, of course, gave no hint of what they thought on the sub-

tion of 100,000,000, another important and commercial view of these even may well admire the ard, who, a half ce prophetic words: shores, its islands a yond, will become events in the wor the prophecy of th be fully realized, th hearing who will l predominating into seaboard sink into l great and far-reac Pacific coast.

The Ha

The Hawaiian I evening's lecture the northern trop minutes and 22 c latitude), and 2,000 Francisco (between and 160 degrees from Greenwich, the same distance island group in occupy an isolate that broad ocean. that they were out commerce of the s centuries, is the i late in being brou the rest of the v covered by that da lish navigator, Cr his third and lasi and ... from

—*Star*, Washington, March 27, 1897.

CHAPTER XV

ANNEXATION COMMISSION TO AMERICA

A commission was appointed by the Provisional Government to go to Washington and negotiate an annexation treaty. The members were Lorrin A. Thurston, William R. Castle, William C. Wilder, Charles L. Carter, and Joseph Marsden. Leaving Honolulu on January 19, aboard the chartered steamer *Claudine*, the commissioners arrived at San Francisco on January 27. Claus Spreckels called on the commission to express his hearty support of its errand and to tender his private car for the overland trip. Needless to say, the offer was not accepted. I telegraphed William A. Kinney, then a resident of Salt Lake City, inviting him to accompany us to Washington. He replied: "I am unreservedly and unconditionally at your disposal;" he accompanied us, and was of material assistance. We arrived at Washington on February 3, 1893, and on February 4 interviewed John W. Foster, secretary of state under President Benjamin Harrison.

In a preliminary discussion with Secretary Foster, the commission expressed a desire to have Hawaii annexed as a state. Mr. Foster replied that he had no personal objection, but he added that our main problem was to secure annexation, and that whether Hawaii should be annexed as a state or a territory was secondary. Undoubtedly,

*Commissioners
Ask Statehood
at Annexation*

*Foster Wishes
Status Be Left
For the Future*

he continued, there would be opposition to annexation in any form, and the opposition would find additional material in every detail of the treaty upon which objection could be based. Therefore he suggested that the status of Hawaii after annexation be eliminated from the treaty, and that it cover annexation alone, leaving the status for future consideration. The commission accepted the suggestion. On February 4, 1893, we submitted a written proposal for a treaty to secure:

"1. . . . full complete and perpetual political union between the United States of America and the Hawaiian Islands.

"2. That the form of local government to be established in the Hawaiian Islands shall be substantially the form now existing in territories of the United States, with such modifications, restrictions and changes therein as the exigencies of existing circumstances may require and as may be hereafter agreed upon.

"3. That all appointments to office in the Hawaiian Islands shall be made from among persons who have lived in said Islands for a term of not less than five years.

"4. That the payment of the Hawaiian National Debt, including the amounts due by the Government to depositors in the Hawaiian Postal Savings Bank shall be assumed by the Government of the United States of America.

"5. That the lands located at the said Hawaiian Islands heretofore known as Government Lands and Crown Lands and all other Government property, and all the proceeds thereof, and receipts therefrom, shall continue to be the property of the local government of the said Islands, under whatever form it may be established, and all the proceeds thereof devoted to the purposes and uses of such local Government.

"6. That within a given period, say one year, or such other period as may be mutually agreed upon, the Gov-

ernment of the United States of America shall lay and thereafter maintain a telegraphic cable between the Pacific Coast of the said United States of America and the Hawaiian Islands.

*Provision For
Coast Cable,
Naval Station*

"7. That the United States Government shall, so soon as is reasonably practicable, open the entrance to Pearl Harbor and establish a coaling and naval station adjacent thereto.

"8. That articles, the produce or manufacture of the Hawaiian Islands, shall in all respects be treated and considered as products of the United States.

"9. That the United States laws now or hereafter to be enforced in the United States of America shall not be taken to prohibit at any time the introduction into the Hawaiian Islands of laborers who may be introduced exclusively for the purpose of agricultural laborers and domestic service, and who by appropriate legislation shall be confined to such employment and to the Hawaiian Islands.

"10. That contracts for labor under the Hawaiian labor contract laws now existing or which shall be entered into prior to the promulgation of notice of the final ratification of such treaty, shall not be abrogated, but shall continue in force to the end of the several terms thereof. That with the exception of such labor contracts no labor contract shall hereafter be penally enforceable.

[The following section, numbered 11, is struck from the original, being marked "out."—*Editor*. "11. No law of the United States now existing or which shall be enacted by the Congress of the United States of America while the Hawaiian Islands shall remain a territory, shall be held to prohibit any contract being made between the Hawaiian Local Government, or by private persons or corporations, on the one hand, and the Government, or agents of the Government, of countries whence laborers are procured, by the terms of which work and wages shall be guaranteed to be furnished to such laborers during a specified term of residence in the Hawaiian Islands; nor shall such laws be held to prohibit the limitation of the occupation, or term of residence of such laborers in the Hawaiian Islands, or their deportation therefrom."]

*Another Labor
Section Struck
From Proposal*

"12. That all laws, and the system of criminal &

civil jurisprudence, in force at the Hawaiian Islands at the date of the ratification of such treaty, which are not specifically abrogated or modified by the terms of such treaty, or which are not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, shall remain in force until the same are regularly repealed by the appropriate authority.

"13. That appropriate financial provision be made for the support of the ex-Queen Liliuokalani and the ex-her presumptive Kaiulani so long as they shall in good faith submit to the authority and abide by the laws of the Government established by virtue of this treaty."—United States, Minister and Commissioners to Washington, January-February, 1893, document dated February 4, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

*Harrison Ready
For Negotiation
on These Terms*

Secretary Foster replied that President Harrison was ready to negotiate a treaty on the following terms:

"The Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands and the United States of America, in view of the natural dependence of those Islands upon the United States, of their geographical proximity thereto, of the intimate part taken by citizens of the United States in there implanting the seeds of Christian civilization, of the long continuance of their exclusive reciprocal commercial relations whereby their mutual interests have been developed, and of the preponderant and paramount share thus acquired by the United States and their citizens in the productions, industries and trade of the said Islands, and especially in view of the desire expressed by the said Government of the Hawaiian Islands that those Islands shall be incorporated into the United States as an integral part thereof and under their sovereignty, in order to provide for and assure the security and prosperity of the said Islands, the High Contracting Parties have determined to accomplish by Treaty an object so important to their mutual and permanent welfare.

"To this end, the High Contracting Parties have conferred full power and authority upon their respectively appointed Plenipotentiaries, to wit:

"The President of the Executive and Advisory Councils of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian

MEMOIRS OF LORRIN A. THURSTON

Islands, Lorrin A. Thurston, William R. Castle, William C. Wilder, Charles L. Carter and Joseph Marsden; and

“The President of the United States of America, John W. Foster, Secretary of State of the United States;

“And the said Plenipotentiaries, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

“ARTICLE I.

“The Government of the Hawaiian Islands hereby cedes, from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, absolutely and without reserve to the United States forever all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and over the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies, renouncing in favor of the United States every sovereign right of which as an independent nation it is now possessed; and henceforth said Hawaiian Islands and every island and key thereunto appertaining and each and every portion thereof shall become and be an integral part of the territory of the United States.

*Islands to Be
Integral Part
of the Nation*

“ARTICLE II.

“The Government of the Hawaiian Islands also cedes and transfers to the United States the absolute fee and ownership of all public, government or crown lands, public buildings or edifices, ports, harbors, fortifications, military or naval equipments and all other public property of every kind and description belonging to the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining. The existing laws of the United States relative to public lands shall not apply to such lands in the Hawaiian Islands, but the Congress of the United States shall enact special laws for their management and disposition: Provided, that all revenue from or proceeds of the same, except as regards such part thereof as may be used or occupied for the civil, military or naval purposes of the United States or may be assigned to the use of the local Government, shall be used solely for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands for educational and other public purposes.

*Government Is
Continued Till
Congress Acts*

“ARTICLE III.

“Until Congress shall otherwise provide, the existing Government and laws of the Hawaiian Islands are hereby continued, subject to the paramount authority of the United States. The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint a Commissioner to reside in said Islands who shall have the power to veto any act of said Government, and an act disapproved by him shall thereupon be void and of no effect unless approved by the President.

“Congress shall, within one year from the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, enact the necessary legislation to extend to the Hawaiian Islands the laws of the United States respecting duties upon imports, the internal revenue, commerce and navigation; but until Congress shall otherwise provide, the existing commercial relations of the Hawaiian Islands both with the United States and foreign countries shall continue as regards the commerce of said Islands with the rest of the United States and with foreign countries, but this shall not be construed as giving to said Islands the power to enter into any new stipulation or agreement whatsoever or to have diplomatic intercourse with any foreign Government. The Consular representatives of foreign powers now resident in the Hawaiian Islands shall be permitted to continue in the exercise of their consular functions until they can receive their exequaturs from the Government of the United States.

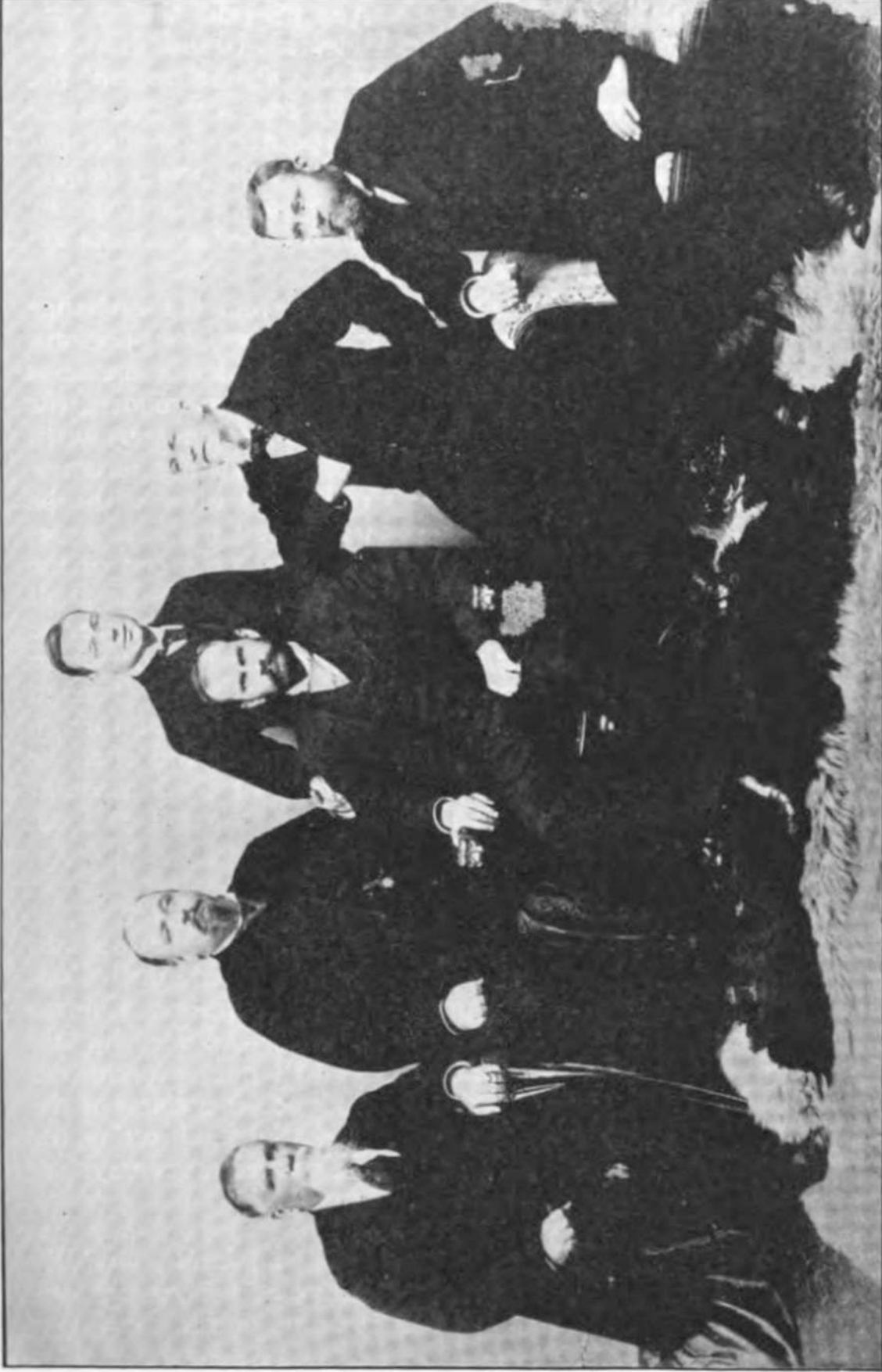
“ARTICLE IV.

*Would Put Stop
to Immigration
of the Chinese*

“The further immigration of Chinese laborers into the Hawaiian Islands is hereby prohibited until Congress shall otherwise provide. Furthermore, Chinese persons of the classes now or hereafter excluded by law from entering the United States will not be permitted to come from the Hawaiian Islands to other parts of the United States, and if so coming shall be subject to the same penalties as if entering from a foreign country.

“ARTICLE V.

“The public debt of the Hawaiian Islands, lawfully existing at the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, including the amounts due to depositors



Annexation commission of the Provisional Government, February, 1893. Left to right: William C. Wilder, Joseph Marsden, Lorrin A. Thurston, Charles L. Carter (standing), Minister J. Mott-Smith, William R. Castle

in the Hawaiian Postal Savings Banks, is hereby assumed by the Government of the United States; but the liability of the United States in this regard shall in no case exceed three and one quarter millions of dollars. So long, however, as the existing Government and the present commercial relations of the Hawaiian Islands are continued, as hereinbefore provided, said Government shall continue to pay the interest on said debt.

“ARTICLE VI.

“The Government of the United States agrees to pay to Liliuokalani, the late Queen, within one year from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty the sum of twenty thousand dollars, and annually thereafter a like sum of twenty thousand dollars during the term of her natural life, provided she in good faith submits to the authority of the Government of the United States and the local Government of the Islands.

*United States
Would Provide
For the Queen*

“And the Government of the United States further agrees to pay to the Princess Kaiulani within one year from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty the gross sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, provided she in good faith submits to the authority of the Government of the United States and the local Government of the Islands.

“ARTICLE VII.

“The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands on the one part, and by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the other, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Honolulu as soon as possible. Such exchange shall be made on the part of the United States by the Commissioner hereinbefore provided for, and it shall operate as a complete and final conveyance to the United States of all the rights of sovereignty and property herein ceded to them. Within one month after such exchange of ratifications the Provisional Government shall furnish said Commissioner with a full and complete schedule of all the public property herein ceded and transferred.

“In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the above articles and have hereunto affixed

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

their seals." [The quotation is from the original treaty, Hawaiian copy, Archives of Hawaii, which also contains the date and signatures. They follow.—*Editor.*]

*St. Valentine's
Day Is Chosen
For the Signing*

"Done in duplicate at the city of Washington this fourteenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three.

| | |
|---------------------|--------|
| "LORRIN A. THURSTON | [SEAL] |
| "WILLIAM R. CASTLE | [SEAL] |
| "WILLIAM C. WILDER | [SEAL] |
| "CHARLES L. CARTER | [SEAL] |
| "JOSEPH MARSDEN | [SEAL] |
| "JOHN W. FOSTER." | [SEAL] |


articles and have hereunto affixed their seals.

*Done in duplicate at the city of
Washington this fourteenth day of February,
one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three*


Lorin A Thurston 

William R Castle 

William C Wilder 

Charles L. Carter 

Joseph Marsden 

John W. Foster. 

*Signatures to the annexation treaty of 1893, Hawaiian copy,
which is in the Archives of Hawaii*

The draft submitted by Secretary Foster was considered by the annexation commissioners and by William A. Kinney, C. R. Bishop, W. N. Armstrong, Archibald Hopkins, and Dr. J. Mott-Smith, Hawaiian minister to Washington. All favored acceptance; hence a treaty was executed by Secretary Foster and the commission, and President Harrison sent it to the Senate for ratification on February 15, 1893. Due to the approaching end of the congressional session, the Senate took no action. President Grover Cleveland acceded to office on March 4, 1893; he withdrew the treaty from the consideration of the Senate on March 9, and on March 11 he appointed James H. Blount as paramount commissioner to Hawaii, to investigate the overthrow of the Monarchy. The annexation commission melted away, most of the members returning to Honolulu. Meanwhile, after the departure of the commission from Honolulu, United States Minister Stevens, for the purpose of maintaining the *status quo* in Honolulu, proclaimed a temporary protectorate by the United States, and hoisted the American flag over the Government Building on February 1. Here follows a letter that I wrote to Sanford B. Dole.

*Pact Withdrawn
by Cleveland;
Blount Is Sent*

"St. Joseph, Mich., April 7 1893

"*Personal*

"His Ex.

"S. B. Dole—

"Dear Sir:—

"I am at Chicago attending to my Worlds Fair business, as there is nothing to be done in Washington until

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

To His Excellency

John L. Stevens

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America
Oahu

Desiring that we are unable to satisfactorily protect life and property, and to prevent civil disorder in Honolulu the capital city of the Hawaiian Islands, we hereby pray that you will raise the flag of the United States of America, for the protection of the Hawaiian Islands for the present; and so that we may hereby confer upon the Government of the United States, through you, possession of occupation of the public buildings of this government, and of the soil of this country, so far as may be necessary for the exercise of such protection, but not interfering with the administration of public affairs by this government.

We have the honor to be

Respectfully

Samuel B. Dole

1898 President of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and Minister of Foreign Affairs

John King Minister of Interior

P. C. Jones Minister of Finance

William O. Smith Attorney General

Copy or draft of a letter requesting Minister Stevens to proclaim a quasi protectorate, Archives of Hawaii

Blount's report. Carter remains at Washington to do anything that is necessary. We are improving our opportunities in the way of educating the public in the direction of annexation. Since writing you I have addressed the Norwalk Club in Conn., the Cornell University students and am to speak to the Union League of Chicago and a Chicago Congregational Church next week. The League is said to be the strongest political organization in the West. I also have invitations to speak in New York and Montclair and Trenton upon my return East, which I shall try and accept. Castle and Carter have also covered a good deal of ground in this way. It is work which pays as it brings the question home to the intelligent portion of the community, who have an influence with Members of Congress. I have also made it a specialty to meet the editors of the leading papers, making a specialty of those who are opposed to us. Among those whom I have met are the editors of the New York Evening Post and Nation, N. Y. World, Chicago Herald and Post. All of them have made their strongest fight on the ground, as the 'Nation' put it, that the proposed treaty was 'a job, by, of and for sugar.' After giving them a full explanation of the Sugar situation each one of them has expressed himself as satisfied. The editor of the N. Y. Post & Nation said 'your explanation seems to be a sound one, and altho I dont believe in annexation, and shall continue to oppose it, we will hereafter eliminate the sugar job feature from our argument.' I consider that the elimination of this argument from our opponents stock of weapons as a most valuable thing, as, if it is accomplished, they have simply the stock argument that annexation is contrary to American policy, which is an argument that finds very slight response among the American people. The unanimity of feeling among all classes with whom I have been brought in contact is something remarkable. The almost stock expressions upon introduction are 'From Honolulu, eh! Well we want you'—'I hope annexation will take place soon'—'The politicians will take time but we must have Hawaii,' &c., &c. The Editor of the Chicago Herald, Horatio Seymour, who has been the bitterest opponent in the West, and practically the only one in Chicago, said

*Three Are Busy
at Propaganda
in the States*

*America Must
Have Hawaii,
People Insist*

*Success Sure,
If Dole Makes
No Compromise*

to me 'My personal opinion was and is that the best thing for us to do was to let England have the Islands if she wanted them, but I couldn't find anybody else who agreed with me, and when I suggested this policy to the owner of the paper he said he'd be d—d if he'd consent to anything of the kind.' He went on to say that the manifest trend of American sentiment was toward annexation, 'and no newspaper likes to be running contrary to the opinions of its readers nor to oppose a policy which is going to succeed, consequently we are keeping quiet until we hear what Blount has to say and what Cleveland proposes to do.' Meanwhile the Herald's news columns are extremely favorable to annexation. This is not a high ideal of the way to run a newspaper, but it is an excellent barometer of public sentiment, as the Herald is one of the bitterest of partizans, and after it has once taken sides seldom lets go. Every indication here is of ultimate success. I feel as certain of it as that daylight follows the night—everything depends upon how long you can stand the strain at that end of the line, *and your not making any compromise!* I don't believe that you will, but there is such a leavening of back numbers and shell backs in Honolulu who always come to the front after the burden and heat of a struggle with all kinds of damnable compromises and propositions to surrender a point for the sake of peace, that occasionally I have a kind of a nightmare fear come over me that the plea of expediency may loom up among the many perplexities surrounding you, and something less than complete exclusion of the Monarchy may possibly be accepted. It was with a tremendous feeling of satisfaction that I read of the forming of the 'Annexation Club'—the news has the right ring to it. We have got to wipe the Monarchy clear out of sight this time or it means that all our work has been in vain and that we must again resume the weary drag of fighting royal rottenness and cussedness with a rotten electorate and a worse legislature. Our only safety lies in adopting as our coat of arms a bull dog rampant with his jaws locked in the grip that never lets go. If this policy is pursued we will accomplish our object, although it may take a little tedious waiting and be temporarily injurious to business. The injury to business in the long run will be infinitely

greater however if we do not hold on and carry the move through. It is like a boat at sea with breakers between it and land. The boat can lie around outside without running the danger of breakers, but it will get no where and accomplish nothing, while by holding straight for land, altho. there will be a brief period of excitement and danger, there is a solid foundation, peace and safety on the other side of the breakers. All that it requires is courage and a steady hand to carry the boat through—and right here I want to extend my congratulations to you and the members of both councils for the good work already done, and assure you that it is appreciated over here both by those who know you & by strangers. It is a subject of almost universal comment here that the revolution is being conducted by level headed men who act with wisdom and discretion. It is hard to realize that people here take as much interest in the Island affairs as they do, but the newspapers are a good index, and the day after the arrival of the last Australia the Chicago Tribune published three columns of Hawaiian news telegraphed from San Francisco.

*Island Affairs
Are Engrossing
to the People*

“As to our accepting a Hawaiian protectorate by the U. S. I think that it can be headed off, as I have not yet found an advocate of the proposition who has not abandoned it as impracticable as soon as the details were studied, as being disadvantageous from an American standpoint. As a last resort I should accept it, if it was proposed to continue the Provisional Government in power, as such a step would convert all our political opponents into annexationists, rather than have us remain in power. I am well—with best regards to all members of both councils—me ke aloha nui

“L. A. THURSTON”

—United States, Minister and Commissioners to Washington, March-April, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

When the Cleveland administration withdrew the annexation treaty from the Senate, I left Washington, in the spring of 1893, and went to Chicago to manage my cyclorama concession at the Columbian Exposition. [Details of the cyclo-

*Dole Tenders
Ministership
to Thurston*

rama appear in the chapter on Hawaiian volcanoes, Mr. Thurston's personal reminiscences.—*Editor.*] On April 6, 1893, when I was in Chicago, President Dole tendered me the appointment of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the Hawaiian government to the United States; I accepted on April 23, provided that I be permitted to continue at Chicago until the fair ended, and further that I be permitted to conduct diplomatic correspondence in typewriting. In June, 1893, I visited Washington, presented my credentials to President Cleveland, and was duly received. Mr. Frank Hastings, of Honolulu, was sent to Washington to act as secretary of the legation and as *charge d'affaires* during my absence from the capital. Here follows a letter of mine to President Dole.

“(Confidential accompanying Dispatch No. 1.)
Washington, D. C., June 13, 1893.

“My dear Dole:

“I believe that it is according to Hoyle to write diplomatic dispatches by hand, but my idea of the matter is that life is too short to waste time in that way; moreover, this is a relic of the effete monarchical system which I think the age of progress should do away with. In the role of a reformer I have therefore initiated my correspondence with a type-written dispatch, and unless I receive positive orders to the contrary will continue to communicate in that civilized fashion. I am not sure that I will not continue to do so anyhow, unless there is a penalty attached to the order, and it would have to be a pretty severe one at that.

*Administration
Silent; Waits
Developments*

“The policy of the administration is evidently what it was when they first came into office, viz: absolute silence and waiting for developments. I believe that

Mr. Gresham told me the simple truth when he said that the President did not know what he is going to do himself. I think he wants to do something different from what Mr. Harrison proposed, but what to do or how to do it without committing himself to some course which will eventually rise up to trouble him, he does not know.

"The last through mail from the Islands brought from the Honolulu correspondents, more particularly the correspondent of the New York Sun, whom I am informed by the United Press agent in Washington is Harold Sewall, the positive statement that Mr. Blount had resigned, and that the Provisional Government were unofficially negotiating with some other power for annexation or a protectorate.

"The Sun editorially makes Hawaii one of its specialties and has had five or six editorials on the subject during the last week. It is an ardent advocate of annexation. It does not have the influence with the administration that it would have if Mr. Dana had not been so fond of characterizing Mr. Cleveland as 'the stuffed prophet' and giving the dimensions of his collar and hat, but at the same time it is a strong Democratic paper and is so clear and logical in its statements that it carries much weight.

"Mr. Nordhoff" [correspondent of the *New York Herald*, and advocate of Liliuokalani] "has gone so far in his exaggeration of statements that he has overshot the mark, and is made the constant subject of ridicule and criticism by papers all over the country. The Washington Post this morning says concerning him, 'Now that Mr. Blount has got his hand in in hauling things down, he had better try hauling down Charles Nordhoff.' Upon the usual effusion of bile in last week's Herald, the Post commented upon him in an editorial entitled 'More Wild Beasts,' in which it referred to him as being in the business of conjuring up nightmares, and wound up by characterizing him as a mischief maker.

"As you state in your last letter, the general trend of affairs gives me the impression that the administration in its present frame of mind prefers a protectorate

*New York
"Sun" Advocate
of Annexation*

*Protectorate
Appears Wish
of Washington*

to annexation, and I think you should begin to prepare your plans for such an outcome. I feel convinced that it will result in only harm to us, and dissatisfaction to the United States, and shall attempt to point this out to them with the details of how and why it will be unsatisfactory if the proposition is made.

"I have been somewhat in a quandary as to what course to pursue in approaching the administration. On the one hand, we must know as soon as possible whether or not the United States are going to do anything in order to know how to proceed at home. On the other hand, Mr. Gresham has manifested such a strong intention to say nothing that there is danger in continued pressure to gain information of making him angry, and thereby defeating our ultimate object. After talking over the matter very thoroughly with both Hopkins and Armstrong I have come to the conclusion to make to him a full and frank statement of our situation and what the consequences of failure to act on the part of the United States must be, and the reasons why we must act now.

"I feel that if we are to secure annexation to the United States, the lenient course shown toward the Queen and her supporters up to the present time is sound. If, however, we have got to hoe our own row, and conduct and maintain our government on our own resources, I think that it is a clear case of self-preservation to forthwith adopt a strong policy toward putting down the attempts to overthrow the Provisional Government, whether such attempts are made by the Queen, Neumann, T. H. Davies, the native newspapers or Charles Nordhoff. I heartily approve of an editorial published lately in the Star advocating the deportation of the Queen. I should likewise, if Nordhoff follows up his present course, order Nordhoff out of the country, and if Blount takes the matter up, immediately make formal complaint through me to the Government here, that an American citizen is actively stirring up revolution against the Government, and is being supported in so doing by the American Minister. If you have not got legislation enough pass it, or else suspend the Writ of H. C. and do it as a war measure,

*Strong Policy
Against Queen
Is Advisable*

precisely as the U. S. did during the war in the case of Vallandigham & others.

"I think that the strong course to be taken all along this line is the bold one. It commands respect abroad and shows that the government is in a condition not to be trifled with. It seems to me that the deportation of the Queen will go a long way toward decentralizing the opposition. As long as she remains there she forms a rallying center around which all malcontents will gather, and would be especially dangerous in the contingency of any outbreak occurring. It is certainly an unheard of thing to allow a deposed sovereign to remain in the country after deposition and there to make open and continuous claim to the throne and actively work therefor. Even poor old Dom Pedro of Brazil was forthwith sent away from the country, even though he was personally loved and respected by all the leaders of the revolution, and although he specifically stated that he would make no attempt to regain the throne or oppose the new government.

"I received a letter from C. B. Wilson by the last mail concerning a case wherein I had been acting as his attorney, in which he remarks incidentally that he proposes to stand by the Queen, and claims that he has made out a complete and satisfactory case before Mr. Blount, showing that the deposition of the Queen was the result of a conspiracy between Stevens, Wiltse and the revolutionists.

"Unless I can get some assurance from the administration in time to telegraph you by the steamer which takes this, I should most decidedly advise you to begin to act on this line. The only object in not taking this course is to prevent the further stirring up of hard feeling, and the advantage of saving such feeling is not enough to offset the dangers attendant upon further allowance of a dynamite mine in the country, which the continued presence and activity of the individuals named above certainly constitutes.

"I am not disposed to credit the report of your negotiation with any other foreign country.

*Reasons Given
For Deporting
Liliuokalani*

*Hard Feeling
Is Preferable
to Dynamite*

“I can see nothing in sight for us, in the direction of England, and other countries are out of the question.

“Suppose that England does accept our overtures and that we get everything that we ask for and become a crown colony, under the British system, which would be the form of government best suited to us, then where are we. We need expect no favors from the United States, for whether they have treated us rightfully or wrongfully, fairly or unfairly, there will be an undefined feeling against us, and it is not at all likely that we could count upon continued reciprocity relation. If anything were needed to kill the sugar industry, that would do it. The only possible sugar markets outside of the United States would be England, Canada and Australia. The distance of England puts her out of the question; Australia supplies all her own sugar, with the exception of a small margin which she gets from the Fiji and other adjacent Islands; and Canada’s total consumption is less than a hundred thousand tons, with a prohibitory railroad tariff between us and the bulk of their population. The simple fact is that we have got no market for anything except the United States. It seems to me it is the United States or nothing, and that if we cannot get annexation now, the best thing to do is to hang on at all hazards, making the best terms we can with the existing administration until the logic of events shows them the utter futility of attempting to run the anomalous combination which is proposed by the protectorate advocates, and until we secure what we want from them or the succeeding administration. This is not an entrancing prospect, and I have strong hopes that we will not be reduced to this necessity, but I think we should face the music and have our thoughts turned in that direction, and be materializing our views as to the form of government which shall be adopted to carry on affairs pending final solution.

“I have some very decided views upon this subject, but as I have already covered some considerable amount of paper, I will not inflict them upon you to-day. I will put them into shape, however, and forward them to you

*Sugar Industry
Could Not Live
Without States*

*Future System
of Government
Needs Thought*

at an early day, as whether you agree with them or not, they may be useful by way of suggestion.

"I remain yours, with aloha,

"L. A. THURSTON."

—United States, Minister and Commissioners to Washington, May-June, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

As Hawaiian minister to Washington, I wrote to Mr. Dole, on June 13, 1893, substantially as follows: in interviews with Secretary Gresham, I had been totally unable to elicit any information relative to the intention of the administration toward the Provisional Government; or any admissions or denials in regard to Mr. Blount's report—whether it had been received, and whether the administration intended to base action upon it; and this despite the fact that I advised Mr. Gresham that the Provisional Government was under a heavy strain because of its ignorance of the administration's intentions. Then I made an official request to Secretary Gresham that he acquaint the Provisional Government with the intentions of the United States concerning annexation. Secretary Gresham ignored the letter. [It is quoted in full in the *Reply of Lorrin A. Thurston to Charges of Undiplomatic Conduct Made by President Cleveland and Mr. Gresham*, Chapter XXIII, these memoirs. — *Editor.*]

*Thurston Asks
American Aim;
Gets No Reply*

CHAPTER XVI

BLOUNT AND GRESHAM TO THE PRESIDENT

President Cleveland, on March 11, 1893, appointed Mr. James H. Blount, a former Congressman from Georgia, as "paramount commissioner" to go to Hawaii and investigate the overthrow of the Monarchy. He arrived at Honolulu on March 29. No notice was given me, as Hawaiian commissioner, of the appointment and Mr. Blount's intention to investigate the overthrow, nor was any notice given President Dole and the Provisional Government. The State Department made no official announcement, but allowed the fact to leak out gradually. After Mr. Blount departed for Hawaii, statements appeared in the press that he had been named commissioner, but the object was not stated. I asked the State Department what the administration intended to do concerning annexation, whether Mr. Blount had been sent to Hawaii, and what were his aims. Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham was noncommittal, saying that he was not at liberty to answer my inquiries. His instructions to Mr. Blount were as follows:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
"Washington, March 11, 1893.

"HON. JAMES H. BLOUNT, *etc.*:"

"SIR: The situation created in the Hawaiian Islands by the recent deposition of Queen Liliuokalani and the erection of a Provisional Government demands the full-

*Again Thurston
Fails to Gain
True Statement*

est consideration of the President, and in order to obtain trustworthy information on the subject, as well as for the discharge of other duties herein specified, he has decided to dispatch you to the Hawaiian Islands as his special commissioner, in which capacity you will herewith receive a commission and also a letter, whereby the President accredits you to the president of the executive and advisory councils of the Hawaiian Islands.

"The comprehensive, delicate, and confidential character of your mission can now only be briefly outlined, the details of its execution being necessarily left, in a great measure, to your good judgment and wise discretion.

"You will investigate and fully report to the President all the facts you can learn respecting the condition of affairs in the Hawaiian Islands, the causes of the revolution by which the Queen's Government was overthrown, the sentiment of the people toward existing authority, and, in general, all that can fully enlighten the President touching the subjects of your mission.

"To enable you to fulfill this charge, your authority in all matters touching the relations of this Government to the existing or other government of the Islands, and the protection of our citizens therein, is paramount, and in you alone, acting in cooperation with the commander of the naval forces, is vested full discretion and power to determine when such forces should be landed or withdrawn.

*His Authority
Is Paramount
in Everything*

"You are, however, authorized to avail yourself of such aid and information as you may desire from the present minister of the United States at Honolulu, Mr. John L. Stevens, who will continue until further notice to perform the usual functions attaching to his office not inconsistent with the powers intrusted to you. An instruction will be sent to Mr. Stevens directing him to facilitate your presentation to the head of the Government upon your arrival, and to render you all needed assistance.

"The withdrawal from the Senate of the recently signed treaty of annexation, for reexamination by the President, leaves its subject-matter in abeyance, and you are not charged with any duty in respect thereto. It may

*Dispel Doubts
of Friendship,
Says Gresham*

be well, however, for you to dispel any possible misapprehensions which its withdrawal may have excited touching the entire friendliness of the President and the Government of the United States toward the people of the Hawaiian Islands or the earnest solicitude here felt for their welfare, tranquillity, and progress.

“Historical precedents and the general course of the United States authorize the employment of its armed force in foreign territory for the security of the lives and property of American citizens, and for the repression of lawless and tumultuous acts threatening them; and the powers conferred to that end upon the representatives of the United States are both necessary and proper, subject always to the exercise of a sound discretion in their application.

“In the judgment of the President your authority, as well as that of the commander of the naval forces in Hawaiian waters, should be, and is, limited in the use of the physical force to such measures as are necessary to protect the persons and property of our citizens; and while abstaining from any manner of interference with the domestic concerns of the Islands, you should indicate your willingness to intervene with your friendly offices in the interest of a peaceful settlement of troubles within the limits of sound discretion.

“Should it be necessary to land an armed force upon Hawaiian territory on occasions of popular disturbance, when the local authority may be unable to afford adequate protection to the life and property of citizens of the United States, the assent of such authority should first be obtained, if it can be done without prejudice to the interests involved. Your power in this regard should not, however, be claimed to the exclusion of similar measures by the representatives of other powers for the protection of the lives and property of their citizens or subjects residing in the Islands.

“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

*United States
Has No Right
to Interfere*

to them, and it will not acquiesce in domestic interference by other powers.

"The foregoing general exposition of the President's views will indicate the safe courses within which your action should be shaped and mark the limits of your discretion in calling upon the naval commander for co-operation.

"The United States revenue cutter *Rush* is under orders to await you at San Francisco and convey you to Honolulu.

"A stenographic clerk will be detailed to accompany you and remain subject to your orders.

"It is expected that you will use all convenient dispatch for the fulfillment of your mission, as it is the President's wish to have the results before him at the earliest possible day. Besides the connected report you are expected to furnish you will from time to time, as occasion may offer, correspond with the Secretary of State, communicating information or soliciting special instructions on such points as you may deem necessary. In case of urgency you may telegraph, either in plain text or in the cipher of the Navy Department, through the kind offices of the admiral commanding, which may be sent to Mr. W. A. Cooper, United States dispatch agent at San Francisco, to be transmitted.

"Reposing the amplest confidence in your ability and zeal for the realization of the trust thus confided to you,

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"W. Q. GRESHAM."

—*Morgan's Report*, pp. 1993-1995.

When Mr. Blount arrived at Honolulu, he presented to President Dole his credentials from President Cleveland. [They appear on pages 93 and 94 of the Dole memoirs.—*Editor*.] Mr. Blount immediately informed President Dole of his intention to withdraw the quasi protectorate proclaimed by Minister John L. Stevens; the American flag

*Other Powers
Likewise Will
Not Interpose*

*Flag Lowered;
"Boston" Force
Back to Ship*

was lowered from the Government Building on the morning of April 1, 1893, and the American forces were returned to the cruiser *Boston* in the harbor. Mr. Stevens retired from Hawaii in 1893, returning to his home in Maine, where he died within a year. After his death, I visited his family. His daughter told me that, while he was on his death-bed, semiconscious, his mind recurred to his later days in Honolulu, and virtually his last words were: "Tell them that I did not pull down the American flag."

Mr. Blount rebuffed the overtures of the Annexation Club, establishing himself on terms of intimacy with the supporters of the former Queen and the advocates of the restoration of the Monarchy; with the assistance of a stenographer, he began the preparation of an elaborate report, which he completed early in July, 1893. At no time did he announce to the Provisional Government his intention to investigate and report on the overthrow, nor did he ask the government to submit its views and to present facts for his consideration, but privately made such investigation as he thought best. The final report, which he forwarded to the State Department on July 17, 1893, was printed at Washington, as a volume of 684 pages of fine print. On May 9, 1893, Mr. Blount was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Hawaii, to succeed Mr. Stevens, and presented his credentials to President Dole on May 23. He filled the position only a short time, however, leaving Hawaii on August 8 for his home in Georgia.

In sixty-odd statements published by the commissioner, he did not include any by President Dole, the three other members of the cabinet, myself, or other members of the annexation commission to Washington; and he used a statement by only one of the fourteen members of the advisory council of the Provisional Government. But the report included statements by many persons who had no connection with the overthrow of the Queen; it likewise included a number of statements that may be called semi-defamatory, directed against the members of the Provisional Government and the supporters of the abrogation of the Monarchy. For example, twenty-five pages were devoted to the statement of one Charles T. Gulick, from which I make extracts, indicative of the character of the whole.

*Does Not Use
Statements by
Revolutionists*

“In the year 1820 a little band of Puritan missionaries, in number four, with their wives, landed on these shores, the ostensible object of their visit being to evangelize the heathen, or, in the words of a quotation frequently made by themselves from their principal text-book, to preach ‘glad tidings of good things.’

* * * *

“The wordly goods of the newcomers were few indeed, and their intellectual stock in trade was almost as beggarly, consisting for the most part in a number of trite quotations from the Puritan Bible, worn threadbare with constant and injudicious use. They were welcomed by a race of incomparable physique, open-hearted, generous, and hospitable to a fault, qualities which to the average New Englander (such, for instance, as were sent here with the Redeemer’s message seventy years ago), accustomed to the withering narrowness and penury of his native land, were as stange as a quadratic equation to a Hottentot. In fact, the newcomers were

*Puritan Bible
and Quadratic
Equations Here*

*Newcomers Can
Spare No Time
For Amenities*

so overshadowed by the importance of their 'message,' as well as themselves, that they had no time to throw away on the amenities of life which are so highly valued under conditions of our more advanced civilization, and not wholly despised by even barbarous people.

* * * *

"They found the door wide open. A pleasant expectant face and beckoning hand encouraged them to enter; they did not hesitate a moment, but dropping their manners outside with that exasperating brusqueness which they have taken fine care to hand down to their children's children even to the present day, they bounced right in. . . ."—*Blount's Report*, pp. 279-280.

* * * *

". . . The swaggering gait, tilted hat, humped shoulder, and leering stare of the ward bosses made the stranger from New York and San Francisco feel quite at home, and gave unmistakable assurances of our being fully abreast of the age. The missionary of the present generation became an apt pupil of the scoundrel, who was an adept in all the black arts by which the will of the people is defeated at the ballot box. In due course the election was held, and the results showed how perfectly the organization of the revolutionists had been carried out. Only two independent native Hawaiians out of forty eight elected members were returned to the assembly, and these two were practically under the control of the machine. The average standard of intelligence of the Legislature was much lower than that of any Hawaiian Legislature either before or since, and included such men as Notley, Wall, Makee, the two Dowsetts, father and son, the Wilcox brothers, George and Albert, Deacon, and the like; men who were selected because they could be depended upon to vote straight without any danger of their giving trouble by having views of their own.

*Deformities of
Body Indicate
the Mentality*

"The mental and moral obliquities of the lawgivers were plainly outlined in their physical deformities, as seven-eighths of the whole number were either pigeon-toed, knock-kneed, or bow-legged, and served as excellent illustrations of the well-known physiological principle or truth of the general harmony of mental and

physical attributes. The history of the session and the character of the work done did not in any way disappoint those at all acquainted with the personnel of the honorable body. . . ."—*Blount's Report*, p. 296.

* * * *

"The bald fact stands out in plain view to-day, exactly as it did in 1887, that the sole prompting motive of the missionary revolutionists was in both cases a lust of power coupled with a desire to possess themselves of the property of another without giving compensation therefor, sentiments which they enjoy in common with the vulgar highwayman and his more gentlemanly prototype, the filibuster. . . ."—*Blount's Report*, p. 301.

Practically the whole of Mr. Gulick's long statement is of the foregoing nature. The Blount report is chiefly composed of statements as irrelevant to the main issue as the statement of Mr. Gulick, or of half truths, which completely fail to set forth the condition of affairs that caused the overthrow. I do not propose to review the report at length, but desire absolutely to repudiate several statements that I, or others in company with me, consulted or agreed with Mr. Stevens, looking to the overthrow of Liliuokalani, the abrogation of the Monarchy, and annexation to the United States. One passage in particular says that I, with other persons, dined at the home of Minister Stevens and discussed the above subjects. As a matter of fact, I never dined at his home, or at any other place where he was present, or with the persons named; and I never discussed the subjects with him or any of those persons.

*No Discussion
of Overthrow
With Stevens*

My acquaintance with Mr. Stevens was slight and most formal; my only interviews with him

occurred on January 16, 1893, when I requested, on behalf of the committee of safety, that United States forces support us in maintaining law and order, and again on the same day, when William O. Smith and I, representing the committee, requested that the landing of forces be postponed, since the committee feared that a landing would precipitate hostilities with the Queen's government. Mr. Blount makes much of the committee's request for the support of United States forces, but he ignores the fact that the Queen's government made a similar request, although the committee knew nothing of that request and Mr. Stevens' reply until long after the overthrow.

On November 8, 1893, the *New York Herald* published an article, stating that it was a summary of the Blount report, and announcing President Cleveland's intention of withdrawing his support from the Provisional Government and of restoring Liliuokalani. It read as follows, under a Washington date line of November 7:

*"Herald" Gives
Cleveland Plan
of Restoration*

"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.

"The denouement will take place in Honolulu. In fact, there is every reason to believe that it may have taken place this very day.

"If Minister Willis and Rear Admiral Irwin arrived in Honolulu on schedule time there should be even livelier times in the capital city of the Hawaiian Islands to-day than there is in the metropolis of the United States.

"The present administration 'takes no stock' whatever in the attitude of the last administration toward Hawaii. Mr. Cleveland does not believe that politics should be mixed up in our dealings with foreign Powers.

"He has little use for buncombe.

"That is his opinion, put in a terse way, of the attitude of the Harrison administration on this very important diplomatic question.

"To Restore the Old.

"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, acting under directions from Washington, ordered the marines ashore from the Boston and brought about the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani.

*President Will
Undo the Fact
of Overthrow*

"This is another great HERALD victory.

"In fact, but for the very accurate and detailed evidence given to the American people by Mr. Nordhoff, who represented the HERALD in Honolulu, not half of the situation would ever have been known.

"This is what a prominent member of the Cabinet told me this afternoon.

"There has been nothing of prejudice in the consideration of this matter by Mr. Cleveland and Secretary Gresham. On the contrary, they took up the matter without any opinion, and the result is exclusively announced in these despatches, based solely upon the evidence submitted.

"This action on the part of the present administration is a direct slap in the face of its predecessor, but it is nevertheless fully justified by the facts in the case. Just how the old order of things is to be brought about I have been unable to learn, but that it is to be brought about there can be no question.

*But the Means:
Correspondent
Still Ignorant*

"To Take Its Prop Away.

"When Minister Stevens had the marines rowed ashore from the Boston and indirectly, if not directly, brought about the overthrow of the government Queen Liliuokalani was on the throne.

*American Force
Has Sustained
the New Order*

“The same force, that of the United States government, which made the provisional government of the islands possible, has sustained them in power to this day. They could not have made the revolution, of which they were the head centre, a success but for the support given them by the administration in Washington, and there is every reason to believe, as outlined in the despatches from Honolulu, that the provisional government would have gone down long ago but for this same support.

“In the opinion of President Cleveland the action taken by the late administration was not justified by existing conditions. Mr. Cleveland has given the subject the closest attention yet given by him to any matter except the unconditional repeal bill. The decision he has finally reached is one based solely upon the facts obtained by him after an exhaustive consideration of the subject.

“First Authentic Statement.”

“This is the first authentic statement regarding the position yet given to the public, and it is only natural that it should come through the HERALD. The fact that a new Minister has been sent to Honolulu to succeed Minister Stevens and that Rear Admiral Irwin has been sent to relieve Commander Skerrett has been accepted in many instances as an inkling of the administration’s policy toward Hawaii, but nothing definite has been known until to-day.

“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.

“It will not be necessary to resort to force to bring this about. If it were necessary it is very much to be doubted if the present administration would care to undertake it. The United States will simply withdraw its naval support, its diplomatic support, and, if you please, its moral support from the provisional government, and as a necessary sequel the provisional government must go.

“Anticipating the ultimatum of this government the representatives of the provisional government in this country, I understand, are already preparing to leave Washington.”

*End Predicted
of Provisional
Rule in Hawaii*

Although the dispatch is quoted from the *Herald* of November 8, it also appeared in *The Chicago Evening Post* of November 7. I was in Chicago at the time, closing the affairs of my cyclorama concession at the Columbian Exposition. On reading the *Post* article, I telegraphed Mr. Frank P. Hastings, secretary of the Hawaiian legation in Washington, to ask Secretary of State Gresham whether the dispatch was correct. Mr. Hastings interviewed Mr. Gresham, and tele-

The next day I telegraphed Frank Hastings to see Gresham and ask if statement true Hastings saw him and Secretary said statement was unauthorized and unfounded and Hastings by telegram so informed me. On Friday night the following letter was given to the press by Secretary Gresham, without notice to the Hawaiian Legation, altho he had told Mr Hastings that if any such radical action was to be taken it would be taken after first notifying the Hawaiian Legation -

"The next day" is November 8, 1893: from Mr. Thurston's journal and scrapbook, November and December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii

graphed me, on the next day, that the secretary said that the dispatch was unauthorized and unfounded, and that, before any such radical action were taken, the Hawaiian legation would be first notified. On November 10, however, Mr. Gresham gave the press a copy of an official letter to Presi-

*Gresham Tells
Frank Hastings
Tale Is False*

dent Cleveland, dated October 18, 1893, theretofore unpublished, which read as follows:

"Department of State,
"Washington, Oct. 18, 1893.

"To the President:

"The full and impartial reports submitted by the Hon. James H. Blount, your special commissioner to the Hawaiian Islands, establish the following facts:

"Queen Liliuokalani announced her intention on Saturday, January 14, 1893, to proclaim a new constitution, but the opposition of her ministers and others induced her to speedily change her purpose and make public announcement of the fact. At a meeting in Honolulu late in the afternoon of that day, a so-called committee of public safety, consisting of thirteen men, being all or nearly all present, and a majority of whom, including five Americans, were aliens, was appointed 'to consider the situation and devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and the protection of life and property.' This committee met on the 15th, or the afternoon of the 16th, and resolved among other things that a provisional government be created 'to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.' At a mass-meeting, composed largely of aliens, which assembled at 2 p. m. on the last named day, the Queen and her supporters were condemned and denounced, and the committee was continued and all its acts approved. Later the same afternoon the committee addressed a letter to John L. Stevens, the American minister at Honolulu, stating that the lives and property of the people were in peril and appealing to him and the United States forces at his command for assistance. This communication concluded, 'We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and, therefore, hope for the protection of the United States forces.' On receipt of this letter, Mr. Stevens requested Capt. Wiltse, commander of the U. S. S. Boston, to land a force 'for the protection of the United States legation, United States consulate, and to secure the safety of American life and property.' The well-armed troops were promptly landed and marched through the quiet

*Mass Meeting,
Largely Alien,
Denounces Her*

streets of Honolulu with two Gatling guns, to the public hall, previously secured by Mr. Stevens for their accommodation. This hall was just across the street from the government building, and in plain view of the Queen's palace. The reason for thus locating the military will presently appear.

*Troops Lodged
in Plain View
of the Palace*

"The governor of the island immediately addressed to Mr. Stevens a communication protesting against the act as an unwarranted invasion of Hawaiian soil, and reminding him that the proper authorities had never denied permission to the naval forces of the United States to land for drill or any other purposes. About the same time the Queen's minister of foreign affairs sent a note to Mr. Stevens asking why the troops had been landed, and informing him that the proper authorities were able and willing to afford full protection to the American legation and all American interests in Honolulu. Only evasive replies were sent to these communications.

"The Provisional Government's Origin.

"While there were no manifestations of excitement or alarm in the city, and the people were ignorant of the contemplated movement, the committee entered the government building, after first ascertaining that it was unguarded, and one of their number, a citizen of the United States, read a proclamation declaring that the existing government was overthrown and a provisional government established in its place, 'to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.' No audience was present when the proclamation was read, but, during the reading, forty or fifty men, some of them indifferently armed, entered the room. The executive and advisory councils, mentioned in the proclamation, at once addressed a communication to Mr. Stevens, informing him that the monarchy had been abrogated and a provisional government established. This communication concluded:

*No Excitement
or Alarm Seen
in the Capital*

"Such provisional government has been proclaimed, is now in possession of the governmental departmental buildings, the archives, and the treasury, and is in control of the city. We hereby request that you will, on behalf of the United States of America, recognize it as the

*United States
Asked to Help
Maintain Peace*

existing de facto government of the Hawaiian Islands, and afford to it the moral support of your government, and, if necessary, the support of American troops to assist in preserving the public peace.'

"On receipt of this letter, Mr. Stevens immediately recognized the new government, and, in a note addressed to Sanford B. Dole, its president, informed him that he had done so. Mr. Dole replied:

"Calling in the United States Troops.

"Government Building,
"Honolulu, January 17, 1893.

"His Excellency John L. Stevens,
"United States Minister Resident.

"Sir: I acknowledge receipt of your valuable communication of this day recognizing the Hawaiian provisional government, and express deep appreciation of the same.

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

"Respectfully, yours,

"SANFORD B. DOLE,
"Chairman Executive Committee.'

"The station house was occupied by a well-armed force under the command of a resolute, capable officer. The same afternoon the Queen, her ministers, representatives of the provisional government, and others held a conference at the palace. Refusing to recognize the new authority or surrender to it, she was informed that the provisional government had the support of the American minister and, if necessary, would be maintained by the military force of the United States then present; that

*Queen Is Told
That America
Backs Enemies*

any demonstration on her part would precipitate a conflict with that force; that she could not with hope of success engage in war with the United States, and that resistance would result in a useless sacrifice of life. Mr. Damon, one of the chief leaders of the movement and afterward vice president of the provisional government, informed the Queen that she could surrender under protest, and her case would be considered later at Washington. Believing that, under the circumstances, submission was a duty and that her case would be fairly considered by the President of the United States, the Queen finally yielded and sent to the provisional government the paper which reads:

"The Protest of Liliuokalani.

"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 yielded to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary his excellency John L. Stevens, has caused the United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the 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 authority, which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.'

*Power Yielded
Till America
Undoes Wrong*

"Silent Acquiescence in the Protest.

"When this paper was prepared at the conclusion of the conference and signed by the Queen and her ministers, a number of persons, including one or more representatives of the provisional government, who were still present and understood its contents, by their silence at least acquiesced in its statements, and when it was carried

to President Dole, he indorsed upon it 'received from the hands of the late cabinet this 17th day of January, 1893,' without challenging the truth of any of its assertions. Indeed it was not claimed on the 17th day of January, or for some time thereafter, by any of the designated officers of the provisional government or any annexationist that the Queen surrendered otherwise than as stated in her protest.

"In his dispatch to Mr. Foster of January 18, describing the so-called revolution, Mr. Stevens says:

" 'The committee of public safety forthwith took possession of the government building, archives, and treasury, and installed the provisional government at the head of the respective departments. This being an accomplished fact, I promptly recognized the provisional government as the de facto government of the Hawaiian Islands.'

"Questioning Secretary Foster's Statement.

"In Secretary Foster's communication of February 15, to the President, laying before him the treaty of annexation, with the view to obtaining the advice and consent of the Senate thereto, he says:

" 'At the time the provisional government took possession of the government building, no troops or officers of the United States were present or took part whatever in the proceedings. No public recognition was accorded to the provisional government by the United States minister until after the Queen's abdication, and when there were in effective possession of the provisional government, the archives, the treasury, the barracks, the police station, and all the potential machinery of the government.'

"Similar language is found in an official letter addressed to Secretary Foster, on February 3, by the special commissioners sent to Washington by the provisional government to negotiate a treaty of annexation.

"These statements are utterly at variance with the evidence, documentary and oral, contained in Mr. Blount's reports. They are contradicted by declarations and letters of President Dole and other annexationists, and by Mr. Stevens' own verbal admissions to Mr. Blount.

*Statements Are
Wholly Variant
From the Facts*

"Only a Paper Existence.

"The provisional government was recognized when it had little other than a paper existence, and when the legitimate government was in full possession and control of the palace, the barracks, and the police station. Mr. Stevens' well-known hostility, and the threatened presence of the force landed from the Boston, were all that could have then excited serious apprehension in the minds of the Queen, her officers, and loyal supporters.

*Changed Order
Had Existence
Only on Paper*

"It is fair to say that Secretary Foster's statements were based upon information which he had received from Mr. Stevens and the special commissioners, but I am unable to say that they were deceived. The troops were landed, not to protect American life and property, but to aid in overthrowing the existing government. Their very presence implied coercive measures against it.

"In a statement given to Mr. Blount by Admiral Skerrett, the ranking naval officer at Honolulu, he says:

"'If the troops were landed simply to protect American citizens and interests, they were badly stationed in Arion Hall, but if the intention was to aid the provisional government, they were wisely stationed.'

"Scores the American Minister.

"This hall was so situated that the troops in it easily commanded the government building, and the proclamation was read under the protection of American guns. At an early stage of the movement, if not at the beginning, Mr. Stevens promised the annexationists that as soon as they obtained possession of the government building, and there read a proclamation of the character above referred to, he would at once recognize them as a de facto government, and support them by landing a force from our war ship then in the harbor, and he kept that promise. This assurance was the inspiration of the movement, and, without it, the annexationists would not have exposed themselves to the consequences of failure. They relied upon 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 be-

*Promises Made
by Mr. Stevens
Held Decisive*

lief of the Hawaiians that if they made an effort to overthrow it they would encounter the armed forces of the United States.

"Absurd to Say a Popular Revolution.

"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 thus act.

*Courageous Men
Do Not Appeal
in This Manner*

"It is not now claimed that a majority of the people having the right to vote under the constitution of 1887 ever favored the existing authority, or annexation to this or any other country. They earnestly desire that the government of their choice shall be restored, and its independence respected.

"Mr. Blount states that while at Honolulu he did not meet a single annexationist who expressed willingness to submit the question to a vote of the people, nor did he talk with one on that subject who did not insist that if the islands were annexed suffrage should be so restricted as to give complete control to foreigners or whites, and representative annexationists have repeatedly made similar statements to the undersigned.

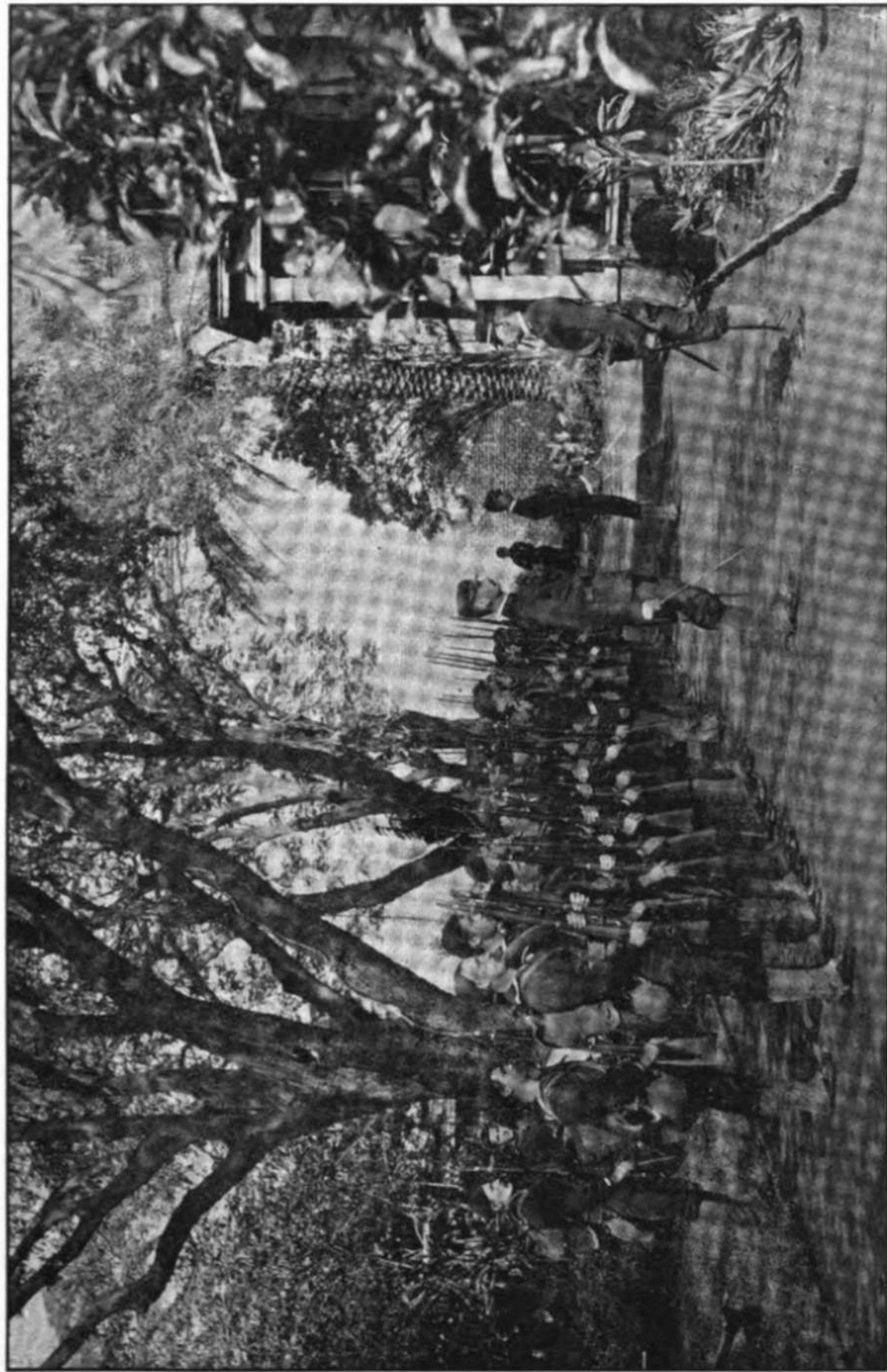
"Boldly Opposes the Treaty.

"The government of Hawaii surrendered its authority under a threat of war, until such time only as the government of the United States, upon the facts being presented to it, should reinstate the constitutional sovereign and the provisional government was created 'to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.'

*United States
Has the Right
of Reinstation*

"A careful consideration of the facts will, I think, convince you that the treaty which was withdrawn from the Senate for further consideration should not be resubmitted for its action thereon.

"Should not the great wrong done to a feeble, but in-



Forces from the United States Ship "Boston," under command of Lieutenant Lucien Young, in the grounds of the Arlington Hotel, Honolulu, on January 17, 1893, the day of the deposition of Queen Liliuokalani

dependent, 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.

"Can the United States consistently insist that other nations shall respect the independence of Hawaii while not respecting it themselves? 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.

"Respectfully submitted,

"W. Q. GRESHAM."

—*Post*, Washington, November 11, 1893, from Mr. Thurston's journal and scrapbook, November-December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

The statement in Mr. Gresham's letter, that the annexationists insisted, "if the islands were annexed suffrage should be so restricted as to give complete control to foreigners," has been cited as indicating that the Provisional Government favored disfranchising the native Hawaiians. It is one of many misstatements made and conclusions drawn by Mr. Blount that were not specifically denied in my reply to his report, published at the time. I did not deny it then because the gist of the Blount report was that the overthrow of the Monarchy had been accomplished by means of United States forces; and my reply was directed principally to refuting that charge. I remember that several refutations of misstatements were stricken from the draft of my reply, before it was given out for publication, in order to condense it.

I hereby state that the Provisional Government never proposed, nor would it have countenanced, a provision to restrict the franchise of the native

*Provisionals
Never Aimed
to Deny Vote*

*Morgan Offers
"Johnny Rebs"
to the Islands*

Hawaiians. My statement is substantiated by the fact that no such provision is contained in the original Harrison annexation treaty, when the Provisional Government had full opportunity to set forth all of the conditions of annexation that it desired to have enacted; substantiation likewise is found in the conversation between Senator Morgan and me, hereafter set forth, in which he advised that we accept a thousand Confederate soldiers whom he would select, provide each of them with a rifle—after which we could do as we pleased; and I replied that we did not do things that way in Hawaii, but allowed the voters themselves to say what they wanted.

CHAPTER XVII

GRESHAM AND THURSTON CONVERSATIONS

After publication of the article in *The Chicago Evening Post*, I left Chicago on November 12 and went to Washington. There I applied to Secretary Gresham for a definite statement of the attitude of the United States toward the Provisional Government. In order that no detail might escape my memory, I had early formed a habit of going immediately after an interview to a stenographer, who made a record of the facts, while they were still fresh in my mind. Thus I always had definite and accurate information on which to base dispatches to my home government. Here follows a dispatch to President Dole, dated November 14, 1893, covering my interview with Mr. Gresham on the Hawaiian situation generally.

*Thurston Has
Definite Facts
Fresh in Mind*

“Washington, D.C., Nov. 14, 1893.

“His Excellency Sanford B. Dole,
“Minister of Foreign Affairs, &c.

“Sir:

“This dispatch will be unable to reach you by outgoing mail, but I write it now while the facts are fresh in my mind.

“Last Tuesday evening the *Chicago Evening Post* contained a telegram from Washington to the effect that the instructions given to Mr. Willis were to restore the Queen. I telegraphed the next day to Mr. Hastings to call upon Secretary Gresham and ask him whether or not such report was correct. Mr. Hastings did so and Mr.

*Bland Gresham
Admits Purpose
Is to Restore*

Gresham assured him that the report was unauthorized and there was no foundation for it, and stated further that in the event of any such action being contemplated the Hawaiian Legation in Washington would certainly be first informed thereof. Mr. Hastings by telegram informed me of this reply. Within twenty-four hours thereafter, on Friday the 10th, Mr. Gresham's letter to the President dated Oct. 18th, recommending the restoration of the Queen, was given out to the public without notice to this Legation. Mr. Hastings called upon the Secretary on Saturday the 11th and was blandly informed by him that Mr. Willis' instructions were in conformity with the recommendations of such report.

"Owing to the unexpected early termination of the Fair the entire work of closing my business affairs in connection therewith rendered my presence there obligatory until certain main items could be settled. I completed such portions thereof as had to be attended to to prevent heavy loss on Sunday the 12th and arrived here yesterday the 13th.

"I called on Mr. Gresham this morning at 10 o'clock. He met me more pleasantly than usual. He said that he was very busy preparing his State Department report to submit to the President in connection with the latter's annual message to Congress, and said that he had an appointment for a Cabinet meeting, but that if I would call in the afternoon at 3 o'clock he would be glad to talk with me. I told him this would be agreeable to me. As I was leaving the room he called me back and said 'If you have anything to say to me which would require me to see the President, I would suggest that you indicate what it is now so that I may not be obliged to take a trip out to Woodley, the President's residence, this afternoon.'

"I replied, 'What I have to say is quite brief. I desire to obtain from you whatever information I can upon which to base a dispatch to my Government, by the steamer leaving Thursday.'

"He said, 'What is it you want to know?'

"I replied, 'A statement has been published purporting to be a letter from you to the President recommending the restoration of the Queen. Although I suppose the

publication is correct, I have received no official communication to that effect, and desire to ask you if it is a correct statement.'

"He replied, 'Yes, of course it is true.'

"I said, 'I wish then to ask further 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 United States Government to vacate in favor of the Queen, United States troops will be used to enforce the request.'

"He replied, 'I am not at liberty, at present and have not the time, to answer that question. It is a matter concerning which I will speak to the President and talk with you more fully this afternoon. I suppose that will be time enough for your purposes.'

"I said, 'It will. What I desire is to get such information that I can intelligently advise my government what course to pursue; and what my advice will be depends radically upon what action you propose to take concerning the point I have indicated. I am as yet in entire ignorance of what you propose to do, and dispatches received from Honolulu yesterday indicate that up to the time of the leaving of the steamer the Hawaiian Government was likewise in ignorance of the proposition to restore the Queen. This step has been an entire surprise to me, and will fall, if it has not already fallen, on the Hawaiian Government like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky.'

"He said, 'I don't believe it is as unexpected as all that.'

"I replied, 'It certainly is to me, and from the dispatches I received by last mail, I believe that there was no suspicion by the Hawaiian Government that such a course was contemplated by you. It is unnecessary for me to state to you the fact of not only the formal, but the actual personal friendliness of the Provisional Government and its supporters, and of myself individually, toward the United States Government and American interests; but, without now going into the subject fully, I wish to make formal protest against the action indicated in your letter.'

*What of Force?
Minister Asks
the Secretary*

*Step Is Like
a Thunderbolt
From the Blue*

*Motives Have
Small Weight;
Results Count*

“He said, ‘You may be sure, Mr. Thurston, that any action which may be taken by us will not be taken in any spirit of personal hostility to you or your friends.’

“I replied, ‘It will make very little difference to us what your motives are. It is the results which will affect us, and whether your motives are hostile or friendly will not change the consequences of your acts. I believe that if your actions are in accord with the policy indicated in your letter, you are turning the first leaves of a bloody chapter in Hawaiian history.’

“He said, ‘If there is any bloodshed in Hawaii it will be by reason of the action of your friends.’

“I replied, ‘If you attempt to restore the Queen by force, there will be no fighting with your troops. There will be no thought on the part of the Provisional Government of firing on the American flag or shooting at troops wearing your uniform; but the Queen will be restored in no other way, and unless you are prepared to maintain a force on shore and hold her in position, she will be overthrown as soon as your troops leave.’

“He said, ‘Ah, that’s a very different thing. Restoring her to position and maintaining her in position are two different things. It is not likely that your people would fire on American troops any more than the Queen would have when she was overthrown.’

*Any Bloodshed
by Provisionals
in Own Defense*

“I replied, ‘If blood is shed by our people it will be because it is forced upon them, and because they believe that in defense of their elementary liberties it would be intolerable to continue existence under the restored monarchy, and in the belief that the defence of their lives and property requires it.’

“He said, ‘You may be assured that any action taken by the United States will not be such as will endanger the lives or property of yourself or your friends. You can allay any apprehension which you may feel in that direction.’

“This closed the interview, and I am to meet him at 3 o’clock this afternoon.

“I drafted a formal letter to him on my way here yesterday, which I will present to him this afternoon after my interview with him. A copy of which letter I enclose herewith.

Nov. 14th, 4 P. M.

"I have just concluded an interview of three-quarters of an hour with Mr. Gresham. He opened the conversation by saying, 'I have already answered your first question, to the effect that the letter published was authentic and a correct statement of 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 to any one 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 apprehensions which may have been caused by what has been published.'

"I replied, '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.'

"He said, '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 any more fully than I have.'

"I replied, 'I assure you that I appreciate the courtesy with which I have heretofore been treated by you and it will be through no action of mine that our relations in the future shall be otherwise than pleasant. There is one point, however which I should like to inquire further concerning, and that is, by what theory the United States government claims to have acquired jurisdiction over Hawaii to the extent that it has the right to interfere in its internal affairs and say who shall and who shall not constitute the government there.'

"He said, 'Does not your proclamation say that the Provisional Government was constituted to exist *until* annexation with the United States should be secured?'

"I replied, 'It does, or words to that effect.'

*Thurston Wants
to Know Source
of Jurisdiction*

“He said, ‘Did not the Queen when she surrendered in her written statement say that she submitted her case to the United States Government, or words to that effect, and did not Mr. Damon who was then present promise her that if she would surrender her case would be submitted to the President of the United States; and was not that written statement by her presented to and endorsed by President Dole without objection by him as to its contents?’

“I replied, ‘As to whether or not Mr. Damon made any such promise I have no information except that you have stated that he did. I never heard of it before.’

“He said, ‘The word “until” is a word of limitation, limiting the existence of the government until the happening of a certain event, and an agreement was made with the Queen that whether such event should take place or not was to be left to the President of the United States. The event has failed to take place and why should you not be bound by your agreement when the President has rendered his decision?’

“I replied, ‘You entirely misapprehend the status of affairs. Your definition of what the word “until” means in the connection in which it is used is a manipulation of words which conveys an exactly opposite meaning from what my understanding of the word conveys. If a condition of affairs is to continue *until* the happening of an event, which may or may not happen at some time in the future, the failure of the event to happen does not thereby terminate the condition of affairs which were to continue up to the time of the happening of the event. Or in other words, if the happening of the event is indefinitely postponed then the condition of affairs will continue indefinitely. We do not admit that because annexation does not take place now it will not take place some time in the future. Looking at the reasonableness of the proposition, do you think for one moment that the members of the Provisional Government would have done what they did with the intention of making one spasmodic effort for annexation and failing to accomplish it immediately go voluntarily back to the position which they had revolted from? Such an alternative was never for a moment thought of and never until now have I heard it suggested.

*Gresham Usage
Twists Words,
Is the Retort*

“As to your statement concerning the agreement with the Queen to submit the question to the President of the United States, I do not admit that any such agreement was made. For the purpose of argument, however, admitting that it was made, I claim that that does not raise an issue which gives you any jurisdiction over the subject-matter. If we made such an agreement with the Queen and have not carried it out it may raise a question of morals and good faith as between the Provisional Government and the Queen; but the United States Government was not a party thereto and nothing concerning such matter has been submitted to the United States Government by the parties in interest in Hawaii.”

*No Agreement
Made to Let
States Decide*

“He said, ‘But the agreement made with the Queen was in consequence of the action of the United States representative there.’

“I replied, ‘I do not admit that. On the contrary I would call your attention to the fact that on the face of the report of Mr. Blount quoted by you in your letter the United States troops took no action against the Queen. All they did was to come ashore in pursuance with the precedent which has been set by three similar prior landings within the last twenty years, going to camp and remain there. The report and the records show that both parties desired the support of the American troops and both were peremptorily refused by the United States representatives. All that is alleged in the quoted portions of Mr. Blount’s report is that the Queen believed and feared that the United States troops would assist the Provisional Government and that Minister Stevens and Commander Wiltse would give such assistance. The Provisional Government cannot be bound by the fears of the Queen and are not responsible for the unexpressed and unexecuted thoughts or intentions of the American Minister. I claim on behalf of the Provisional Government that so far as any question exists between the Queen and the Provisional Government it is a matter in which the United States Government has no concern, and that the propriety or otherwise of the words or actions of the United States representatives is a question between them and their Government for which the Hawaiian Government is not responsible, and with which it has nothing to do.’

*Both Parties
Wanted Help;
Each Refused*

*Has America
No Power to
Right Wrong?*

“He said, ‘Suppose for the purposes of argument you admit that it was by reason of the action of the United States that the monarchy was overthrown would not that give the United States the authority to right the wrong done by its representative?’

“I replied, ‘I do not think that it would, for the reason that the United States Government has no power to interfere in the affairs of a separate sovereign State even though its representatives may at some prior time unlawfully have done so.’

“He said, ‘Your position then is, that what happened between you and the Queen is your business with which we have nothing to do, and what was done by the United States representative is our business with which you have nothing to do.’

“I replied, ‘That is exactly what I mean. On behalf of the Provisional Government I claim that it is a separate independent sovereignty subject to all the duties and entitled to all the rights of any other sovereign state. That the Provisional Government is to-day the only government de facto as well as de jure in that country, and as such has been recognized by this and other nations.’

“He said, ‘That is a fact which I do not dispute. I recognize the fact as well as you do that the Provisional Government is the only government in Hawaii and that you are its representative here, and I am not attempting to question it.’

*But America
Lacks Power
to Intervene*

“I replied, ‘The intimations in your report are inconsistent therewith however. If we are an independent sovereign State, you have no power to interfere in our internal affairs unless we ask you to.’

“He said, ‘We are not attempting to interfere in your internal affairs.’

“I said, ‘I do not know what you are attempting to do, otherwise than what appears upon the face of your report, and you there state that you are going to restore the Queen.’

“He said, ‘We have not done so yet. We have not done anything that you know of yet, have we?’

“I replied, ‘I don’t know whether you have or not. I have been trying to find out but you have not told me.’

"He said, 'As I told you before, we are not going to do anything that will cause any injury to anybody or prevent them going on with their business.'

"I replied, 'There is something in this life besides being able to attend to business.'

"He said, 'You mean that you fear that your liberties will be interfered with.'

"I replied, 'You are proposing to restore the Queen. If that is done it will result in a condition of affairs which will not be acquiesced in by the Provisional Government. They will overthrow the Monarchy again unless you maintain it by force. You are therefore compelling us, in defence of our liberties to resort to violence which but for your action would not be necessary. What I claim on behalf of the Provisional Government is that you have acquired no right to control affairs in Hawaii. The only proposition which has been submitted to you is whether or not you are willing to negotiate a treaty of annexation with the Provisional Government. That proposition you have the right to accept or reject. No other proposition has been submitted to you. If, as you have suggested there was any question on which we desired to submit to the President of the United States for arbitration a formal statement to that effect would have been transmitted to your Government. No such submission has been made and consequently you have no authority to do anything of the kind.'

"He said, 'How do you explain then the use of that word "until"? What did you mean by putting it in there, you probably drafted it yourself, if you did not mean the Provisional Government was simply to be temporary, to come an end when that question was settled one way or the other.'

"I replied, 'Unquestionably the Provisional Government was meant to be temporary and the Proclamation so declares on its face. There is nothing therein however which says that unless annexation takes place within a given time we shall revert back to the monarchy.'

"He said, 'There is nothing therein that says that you shall not revert back to the monarchy.'

"I replied, 'That is a question for us to decide and not for the United States. If at any time we should consider

*Word "Until"
Rekurs; What
Does It Mean?*

it for our interest to do so the same authority which enabled us to proclaim the Provisional Government is sufficient for us to dissolve that government and proclaim some other form if we choose to do so.'

"He thought over the matter several moments, and then said, 'I think I understand your position.'

"He then went into quite a lengthy discussion of why the supporters of the Provisional Government were opposed to the Queen, dwelling upon the fact that he did not see why they should object so much to her morals now, when they did not seem to think she was too bad when she was Queen to associate with and to allow her to associate with them and their families. After some considerable conversation upon this subject, I said,

" 'The question of her morals or lack of morals is not the main reason for the opposition to the monarchy. The main reason is that she and her brother before her and the whole family and system have been found utterly unreliable, constantly seeking for their own advancement toward arbitrary power regardless of the rights of the community, until from an absolutely peaceful commercial community it has been forced by a long continued experience into armed resistance until every home throughout the country is an arsenal. If you think that that community, made up and controlled as it is largely by Americans, who like yourself will fight for a sentiment, are going to quietly submit to a return of the conditions which they were wrought up to overthrow by force you do not understand what the conditions are. I tell you that when you attempt to enforce the policy which has been indicated you will find that you have a desperate community to deal with.'

"He said, 'I advise you not to let your discretion be guided by your temper.'

"I replied, 'There is no matter of temper in it. I am trying to be frank with you and state to you truthfully the conditions as I understand them.'

"He said, 'That is right. I am very glad that you feel like being frank with me, and I hope that you will continue to feel so. I shall always be glad to see you whenever you have got anything to say to me. I hope that by Saturday I will be able to be more frank with you than I

*Morality Not
Main Reason
of Opposition*

have today—no, frank is not the word I mean. I am perfectly frank with you when I tell you I am not at present at liberty to tell you anything more; but by Saturday I hope to be able to be more explicit in my answers to your questions than I am now able to be.'

"With this the interview ended, after my informing him that I would formally present a written protest against the action taken.

"I have the honor
"to remain Your Obedt. Servt.

"L. A. THURSTON."

—United States, Minister and Commissioners to Washington, November - December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

On November 15, 1893, I sent a 580-word telegram to Charles T. Wilder, Hawaiian consul at San Francisco, to be forwarded to President Dole by mail, as there was no cable service at that time. The telegram follows.

"Washington, D. C., Nov. 15, 1893.

"Charles T. Wilder,
"Hawaiian Consul Genl.
"Sansome St.
"San Francisco.

"Telegrams received. Do not talk further for publication can best judge here what should be said for publication. Mail copies this telegram to Dole Charles Carter, William Wilder. Request two latter deliver to Dole or other member Cabinet Show this General Dimond and Bailey Not for publication in San Francisco. Proposal restore Queen creates intense popular opposition. Five six columns day in the principal papers on subject. All Washington papers, World, Sun and many other Democratic and all publication" [Republican?—*Editor.*] "papers denounce it Herald editorial silent. John A. Kasson, late minister Berlin, Vienna in signed article declares restoration by force worse than

*Gresham Hopes
to Be Explicit
Next Saturday*

*Cleveland Aim
Is Denounced
by Newspapers*

*Minister Denies
Any Agreement
With the Queen*

war, is piracy. Had interview Gresham yesterday. Declines say whether Willis instructed use force said no instructions do anything cause bloodshed. I asked under what theory claimed right interfere unasked in Internal affairs he claimed Queen surrendered by reason action American Troops and representative and on condition her case submitted American President and Provisionals agreed thereto also that Provisional Government formed to exist until annexation and as annexation not secured it terminated by terms instrument creating it also that President decided favor Queen in accordance with agreement and Provisionals should acquiesce in decision. I denied agreement with Queen and claimed if there was such it was a question between Queen and Provisionals to which America not a party and gave it no jurisdiction over Hawaii denied Provisional Government terminated because annexation not taken place might yet take place if annexation indefinitely postponed Provisional Government continued indefinitely or until changed by people Hawaii America gained no jurisdiction over Hawaii by rejection annexation. Denied American Troops used force and claimed if Queen feared their action or American Minister exceeded rightful powers we not answerable to United States for Queen's fears or action based thereon and not responsible for thoughts or actions of American Representative. That question solely between him and his government claimed Hawaii Independent Sovereignty subject to duties and entitled to privileges of Sovereignty and Provisional Government sole representative thereof and that no portion such sovereignty surrendered to United States sole change in ordinary relations proposition annexation which United States could accept or reject but no other question submitted President. Admitted by Gresham Provisional Sole Government and I its representative. I protested against action proposed. Said 'Queen could be restored only by American Troops and maintained only by continuance such support that Provisionals would not fire on American Troops but would not retire until force used by them and would retake possession Government if troops withdrawn.' Gresham said restoring Queen to possession and maintaining her in possession very different. General belief Willis not ordered use force until further

*Restoring Her
Is Different
From Support*

instructions and that even if force used to restore Queen such force will not thereafter support her. If not dispossessed when you receive this best advisers here recommend make every preparation for resistance but not fire on American Troops but compel them to use actual force to dispossess you. Hold possession until satisfied actual hostilities will be commenced by American Troops if further resistance made if troops not yet landed and there is intimation intention land with hostile intent in writing forbid landing do not surrender but retire in last instance to other headquarters taking all arms and maintaining your organization if troops retire after restoration immediately retake possession Government agree to no compromise protest against all interference and if force not already used no likelihood it will be even if threatened or previously intended as overwhelming opposition will prevent it wire receipt of this immediately.

*No Compromise,
Is the Advice
to Judge Dole*

“LORRIN A. THURSTON.”

—United States, Minister and Commissioners to Washington, November - December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

The following dispatch, which I sent President Dole, analyzed the intense feeling of the American press at receiving the news of the intended restoration of Queen Liliuokalani:

“Hawaiian Legation
“Washington, D. C.
“Nov. 19—1893.

“My Dear Dole

“I have already mailed the accounts of my two interviews with Mr. Gresham, and sent a 580 word telegram to Consul Wilder with instructions to forward to you by Monowai. By way of precaution I directed that he also send duplicates of it to C. L. Carter and Wm. Wilder. He telegraphed back that the Monowai was delayed a day and that he had repeated it to Rithet at Victoria for mailing by the Canadian steamer leaving Thursday the 16, the Monowai having been detained until the 17.

*Infamous, Says
Dana's Paper,
Sounding Note*

"Since such writing there have been no developments from the Administration. They maintain absolute silence. The outburst of denunciation of the proposed policy by the press of the country, regardless of party, has, however been something wonderful. With the exception of one here and there the papers, secular and religious, condemn it in the severest terms. The N. Y. Sun sounded the keynote on the day after Gresham's report was published, with an editorial entitled 'The Policy of Infamy,' and has kept it up ever since, with three or four editorials every day, and on two days during the week, devoting the entire editorial page, with the exception of a few squibs, to a discussion of the subject in its various phases. The 'Outlook' of this week devotes three columns of editorial to condemning the policy. The Washington Star, usually a neutral, noncommittal paper, has outrivalled Dana in the use of every condemnatory adjective and phrase at his command. Mr. Noyes, the editor was at Honolulu this summer and knows his ground.

"The feeling throughout the country was intense, and, as one of the newspaper correspondents put it 'the whole country is holding its breath awaiting the arrival of the Australia.' It has for a week been the one universal topic of conversation. Bulletins were posted in front of the newspaper offices announcing the sighting of the Australia, and later giving the gist of the news as it arrived.

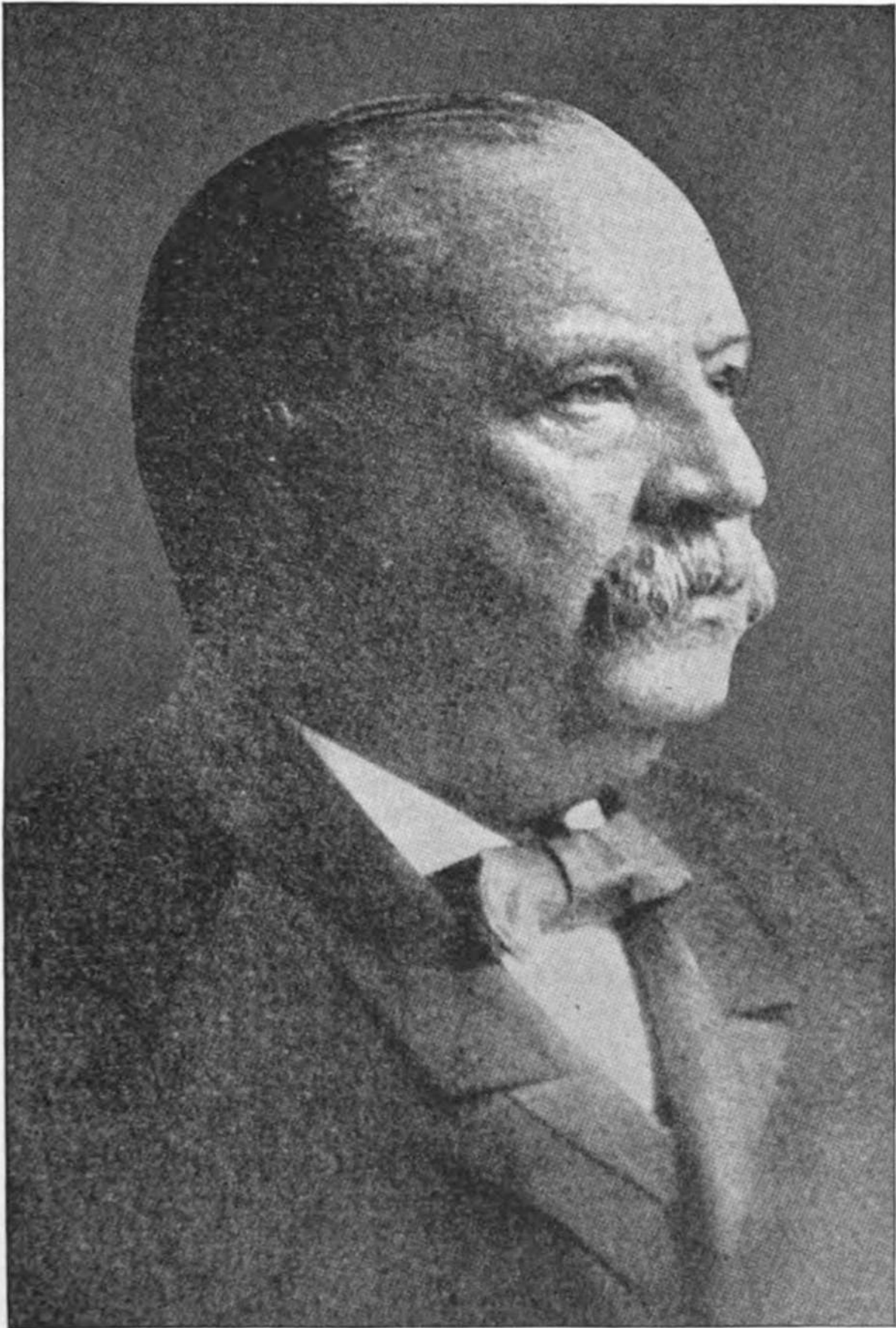
"I have not yet filed anything in writing with Secretary Gresham, having concluded after the letter was written, to await developments.

"My reasons for this are

"1st. Our rights are in no way prejudiced by not filing a formal protest.

"2nd. The protest would have no present effect upon their action, as they have determined to take such action as they contemplate, already, and instructions have been issued and passed beyond their present control. Insofar as any information which I am able to give them may lead to any possible change in their plans, I have already given them that information orally.

"3rd. It is difficult, and, in fact, impossible to write



Paradox: a great Democrat named Cleveland tried to restore a queen to her throne. History records that he failed

Grover Cleveland

properly, covering the full ground, in the absence of knowledge of what the intentions of the Administration are, and what the instructions to Mr. Willis are, without covering radically differing and opposite positions. This would necessarily require an argument upon a point which is not in existence and un contemplated and would put it in their power to say that I was imputing improper action to them on insufficient grounds.

"4th. They show a manifest desire to deal direct with you through their representative there, rather than through our representative here. Under such circumstances it has seemed better, in the state of uncertainty which exists, to await the full announcement of their plans before making a set reply in answer thereto, and there seems to be every reason to expect that such announcement will first be made, direct to you, when you can answer it with full knowledge of such plans, instead of the half knowledge which I now have.

"5th. We must not lose sight of the fact that even though we may not hope to secure annexation through this Administration, we still must try in every possible way to keep on their good side, so long as such position is not a surrender of essential principles. I do not therefore consider it sound to engage in any more controversial correspondence with them than is absolutely required. I am re-writing my letter, toning down the English in its more vigorous portions, and have about made up my mind to first submit the draft of it to Gresham before formally presenting it, if I present it, at all.

"At my last interview with him, his manner was more than usually agreeable, and he several times reiterated his personal friendly feelings. Altho. things look rather blue so far as getting anything from this Administration is concerned, I do not give up hope that all will come out right. It is darkest before dawn. Arbitrary monarchy never seemed so firmly seated in power as on the 13 of January last, and yet it was standing on the verge of its self dug grave. So I believe that the arbitrary harsh course proposed by the Gresham report has raised us up a host of friends who did not before exist, and, by stimulating interest in our affairs has given us a vantage ground which we could have

*Harsh Course
Evokes Many
New Friends*

reached in no other way. I believe that it will be a strong factor in favor of the ultimate success of the annexation movement.

“It was an intense relief to us, and to the whole country, to learn upon the arrival of the *Australia*, that Willis had taken no radical steps. Of course there is still the uncertainty as to what he may yet do; but after his presentation and personal expressions of regard to you, it will be a difficult thing for him, after the lapse of so many days to change and adopt a policy of open hostility, with the acknowledgment that he has under cover of fair words and smiles been concealing a bludgeon in his clothes with which to batter your brains out when the occasion seemed opportune.

“It fills me with wrath when I think what a fever of excitement you are going to be plunged into upon the arrival of the new outward bound steamer, even if Willis has not previously exploded his bomb. But I am pinning my faith upon my trust in the courage and steadfastness of you who know what we have come through and what odds we have already overcome and what we would have to go through with again if monarchy were restored. You may be assured that the American public are overwhelmingly on our side. There are numerous proffers to go down and help you fight if necessary. I hope to God that under no circumstances have you consented to give up your organization, and that if you have been forced out that you will by force go back again as soon as possible. It is an unpleasant alternative, but we might as well have it out now as to let the boil fester along keeping the whole body politic in a fever. The royalists will not be satisfied until they are once more thoroughly beaten. Even if Willis takes no radical action, it seems to me altogether probable that Mr. Gresham’s letter will so stir up and encourage the Royalists that it is altogether probable that they may take some overt action which will warrant your taking the action which I have previously recommended to be taken upon the first occasion presenting a reasonable ground for it, viz.—to proclaim martial law or not, as the occasion seemed to require, and arrest and deport the Queen and a number of her most prominent supporters. I would not send them to S. F. Some South Sea Island—Palmyra or some

*Americans Are
Overwhelmingly
for Revolution*

*A Suggestion:
Deport Queen
and Advocates*

such—a la the Samoan method would be preferable. Until you get rid of them they will prove a constant menace to the public peace which in turn will be destructive of material development. If they remain, there will sooner or later be an outbreak which will result in the loss not only of their worthless lives but the lives of many of our own people. We had better have the inevitable conflict out with them at the time of our choosing rather than at theirs. If we act now, it will be over with. If we wait it is bound to come later, and during the interval the possibilities and dread of it will do more harm than will the actual outbreak.

“I believe the time has fully arrived for change to a permanent form of Government, on the lines previously indicated. Keep the control for as long a time as it is reasonably probable that it will be required. I favor not less than 5 years for a readjustment and settling down period, before elections take place. Meanwhile I believe that annexation will have first been accomplished. I would not rush the formation of the new government. Take time to carefully consider and reconsider the different provisions of the Constitutional provision.

“There is much in a name. Call it ‘The *Republic* of Hawaii.’ It will not be a full exponent of the republican principle but that is the central thought around which it is gathered and into which which will develop in time.

“If you make the change do not issue new commissions to your representatives abroad. Announce to foreign powers that the Government has for the better effectuating of its purposes reorganized its form, and that all representatives diplomatic and consular are *confirmed* in their present positions. This will avoid possible complications which might arise if new commissions requiring acceptance by foreign governments were forwarded, while the other method requires no action by them, simply being a statement to them of an accomplished fact.

“With aloha no ia okou apau

“KAKINA” [THURSTON].

“P. S. I am reliably informed that Gresham has within a few days stated that under no circumstances would the United States undertake to support the

*“Republic” Is
Advanced as
the New Title*

*"I Don't Care
If the Throne
Topples Again"*

Queen by force, once she was back. In answer to the suggestion that the opposition would probably forthwith put her off again, he replied, 'very likely they will. I don't care if they do.'

"By maintaining a bold front and plainly telling the Queen what you will do if she should be put back, in case Willis should attempt to restore her, you may very likely scare her out of it and perhaps get her formal consent to annexation on a coin basis.

"L. A. T."

—United States, Minister and Commissioners to Washington, November - December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

Here follows a description by Professor W. D. Alexander of American sentiment developed by publicity concerning the attempted restoration of the Monarchy by President Cleveland.

"Washington, Nov. 19th, 1893.

"His Ex. S. B. Dole,
"Honolulu, Haw. Is.

"Dear Sir,

"Since I last wrote to you and Mr. Damon on the 11th inst., we have had exciting times here. As I wrote you by last mail, Gresham's letter of the 11th had the effect of a bomb-shell, and created great excitement all over the country. The American eagle did scream. The public condemnation of the policy of restoration has been overwhelming. Many who are strongly opposed to annexation, were furious at the idea of their government interfering to restore a discarded monarchy.

"With the ignorant, unthinking masses, the word 'monarchy' is enough, and that fact is in our favor. Editor Dana of the N. Y. Sun set the key note by his famous editorial of the 12th, entitled 'A Policy of Infamy,' and has kept up a most effective fire ever since, devoting several columns every day to the subject. The N. Y. Herald, our greatest enemy, has not yet dared to

*Dana Continues
Effective Fire
on the Subject*

say a word on the subject in its editorial columns, and the 'World' mildly advocates 'non-interference.' Conservative religious newspapers like the 'Outlook,' 'Congregationalist,' and 'Watchman,' use nearly as strong language as the 'Sun'. About the only influential papers that sustain the Hawaiian policy of the Administration are the N. Y. Evening Post, the N. Y. Times, the Chicago Herald and the Louisville Courier-Journal. All the Washington papers condemn Gresham's letter. Messrs. W. B. Oleson, H. N. Castle and T. L. Gulick have written able letters in reply to Gresham. Here in Washington the public feeling is even stronger than is indicated by the newspapers, especially among the army and navy officers.

"If the next mail shall bring news of the employment of the naval forces of the United States to reinstate the ex-Queen, it will cause a tremendous outburst of popular feeling, and if it should cause any bloodshed, the effect would be like that of the firing on Fort Sumter. The people are '*paramount*' in this country, and the late elections ought to teach Cleveland a lesson.

*Cleveland Must
Realize People
Are Paramount*

"Several of the highest authorities in this country on international law have come out in condemnation of Cleveland's course. Hon. John Kasson, ex-minister to Austria, Mr. Hitt of Illinois, ex-Assistant Secretary of State, Judge Baldwin of New Haven and others, denounce it as a violation of international, constitutional and even common law. They deny the right of the President to annul the official acts of a former administration, not to say of his own, and his right to make war without the authority of Congress, and they characterize an act of war, secretly prepared, and suddenly sprung upon a friendly nation as *piracy*.

"The secret and under-handed way in which the whole affair has been managed, the transfer of admirals, the pains that have been taken to keep the American people in the dark until after the elections, and to deceive this legation, so as to explode the torpedo without warning at Honolulu, and to take the Provisional Government at as great a disadvantage as possible, is more worthy of a Machiavelli than of an American Secretary of State, and has been well exposed and justly commented upon by the press here.

“Gresham still refuses to state whether Minister Willis was authorized to use *force* or not. A thirty page synopsis of Col. Blount’s report has been printed, and will probably come out this week. The partisans of the Administration confidently assert that it will cause a revulsion of feeling in the country, that it will justify their Hawaiian policy, and that it will bring to light a nefarious conspiracy concocted by the late Republican administration and the annexationists.

“Mr. Thurston has prepared a reply in the form of a letter to Secretary Gresham, which I think, will probably dispose of its main points.

“Mr. Pratt, Sen. of Albany, brother-in-law of Chief Justice Judd, a good Democrat and old friend of Cleveland, interviewed him on the afternoon of the 11th. He then and there gave him such a lecture as he probably never had before. He told him that Gresham’s letter was a garbled, ill-tempered piece of special pleading, founded on incorrect statements, to his personal knowledge. He told him that he (Cleveland) was violating international law, committing an outrage against a free government, ruining an American colony, and disrupting the Democratic party. He told him that he would not only have to install the ex-Queen by force, but also to disarm the white population, and to keep a force there to protect her. He asked him how he would like to have Washington city governed by the negro population of the District. And yet said he, there is far more property and education among them, than among the Kanakas.

“We watched with intense interest for the Australia’s news, and when the telegram came that Willis had not yet done anything, and that the trap had for some reason, failed to spring, there was a general feeling of relief throughout the country. It is wonderful what a strong sympathy is generally felt for you in this country. If you wanted more fighting men, you would be overwhelmed with offers. I hope and pray that you will hold the fort till Congress meets. It will be almost impossible then to restore the Queen in the face of public opinion. We have great confidence in your tried courage and good judgment. We believe that this outrage will hasten annexation. My friends have advised me to remain until

*Pratt Lectures
the President:
Something New*

*Hold the Fort
Until Congress
Is in Session*

Blount's report appears, and perhaps till Congress meets. I shall do all I can for the cause in the mean time. Possibly Mr. Armstrong will accompany me. I shall probably take the first opportunity in December.

"Faithfully yours,

"W. D. ALEXANDER."

—United States, Minister and Commissioners to Washington, November - December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

The following dispatch to President Dole relates a further interview between Secretary Gresham and myself on November 20, 1893:

"Washington, D. C., Nov. 20, 1893

"Confidential"

"My Dear Dole:

"I wrote you yesterday fully as to the main points that had transpired up to that time. This will be too late to catch the Australia, but I will begin it in the nature of a journal communication, giving events which may be of interest to you as they occur from day to day.

"If we were in a position to tell the administration to do as they pleased and we would do as we pleased, and that they could put that in their pipe and smoke it, I would not go near Secretary Gresham again until he indicated that he had something to communicate; but, as it is all important for us to remove as far as possible any existing feeling of strained relations, and the newspapers here have been flaying Secretary Gresham during the past week, and, to a considerable extent, without authorization using me as a club for that purpose, I thought it well to go over and see him this morning, especially as he himself had intimated that after Saturday he might have further communications to make to me. I accordingly called upon him at 10 o'clock this morning and have just come from half an hour's interview with him. He met me very pleasantly, and in response to my greeting and question as to how he felt this morning,

*Cannot Order:
In Your Pipe
and Smoke It*

he replied that he was feeling a great deal better than he had, as up to a week ago he had been troubled with ague, the result of spending the summer in Washington. He did not intimate that the ague affected his judgment as well as his body, and I did not suggest the idea to him.

“He opened the conversation by saying:

“‘I hope the last few days’ experience have convinced you that you cant believe everything you see in the newspapers.’

“I replied that ‘My thoughts had been running in the same direction; that the methods of the newspaper men reminded me of a naturalist who with a thigh bone as a foundation reconstructed an entire animal down to the size and shape of the teeth and claws; that so far as the various reported interviews and statements purporting to have been made by me regarding what had passed between us, was concerned, all that I had stated was that my call upon him was in my official capacity, and that our interview had been a pleasant one.’

“He said, ‘That he had said nothing about our conversations to any one except the President. That he had nothing to conceal, but that he did not propose to conduct the business of his department through the newspapers; that the reason why he did not talk to the newspaper men was that if he told them anything, they immediately began to fire questions at him without end, which he did not propose to answer.

“He then said ‘I will be perfectly frank with you and I hope you will be with me. All statements as to what I have received from Honolulu, which have appeared in the papers are without foundation. All that I have received from Mr. Willis was a statement by the China that he had arrived and that everything was quiet, and by the Australia that he had been presented to Mr. Dole, and that there was no change in the conditions. Now you know everything that I do that has transpired since Mr. Willis arrived at Honolulu.’

“I replied, ‘That my advices were of the same general effect, although there is intense anxiety as to what Mr. Willis’ actions and policy would be, and that the royalists had held a meeting at which they confidently predicted the Queen’s restoration at an early date and drank the Queen’s health and success to that movement.’

*Reporter Now
Is Compared
to Naturalist*

"He said, 'That is news to me. I had not heard of that.'

"I stated also that I had received letters stating that upon two nights the Philadelphia's boats had been hoisted out and manned with Marines, but that they had not landed.

*"Philadelphia"
in Preparation
For a Landing*

"He said that he had not heard of anything of that kind and thought that if it was so it must be in the nature of drill only.

"I said, 'I told you the other day that I felt it my duty to file a formal protest with you, which as you know I have not done.'

"He said, 'I think it is well that you did not. I told the President the other day what you had said and said to him at the time that I thought that after reflection you probably would not do so. My reason for thinking so is that on general principles it is unwise and unsafe for a man to go ahead in the dark and make statements about that concerning which he is not fully informed, which he might not make with full knowledge of the facts and would probably afterwards regret.'

"I replied, 'You have stated my reasons for not filing a written statement exactly. I drew up the statement indicated, but in the absence of definite knowledge have withheld it, partly for the reasons which you have suggested, and for the further reason that I cannot conceive of a condition of affairs which will place me and those whom I represent in a state of hostility to the United States Government. I have wished in the past, and hope that you may yet see your way clear in the future to look upon me and the Provisional Government in the light of those who instead of being hostile to you, are at all times willing and anxious to in all possible ways assist you in the solution of the questions arising out of the conditions at Hawaii. If things have occurred which do not meet with your approval, and which you desire should be different, I should be very glad to have you frankly state so, and we will be ready and willing to discuss them with you and attempt to arrive at a satisfactory solution.'

*Hawaii Wishes
to Solve All
the Problems*

"He said, 'There has been no thought in all that has been done or said of any personal hostility or favor

toward any one, and before this matter is completed, and as future developments will show, I think you will be convinced of that fact.'

"I further said, 'Although I do not propose to file the documents I spoke of the other day, I think that it would be expected of me by those whom I represent, and that it is the proper thing to do, that I present to you a formal statement of what our claim is, for your consideration. I do not propose to enter into a discussion of any alleged conflict of veracity, but simply to present to you a plain statement based upon the facts concerning which there is no dispute. As an evidence of my desire that there shall not be the suggestion even of hostility to the United States Government I should be glad to submit to you a draft of what I propose to file and receive suggestions from you concerning its contents.'

"He said, 'I see no objection to your filing such a statement if you desire to do so. As to my seeing your statement first, I doubt the advisability of that. I want you to speak freely and without any semblance of coercion from me, and if I should see your statement first and should make any suggestions concerning it, they would be sure and say that I had been trying to control you and it wouldn't make any difference if both you and I denied it, the newspapers would stick to it that I had. I should want to think over the matter first. You go ahead and draw up your statement and either send it to me or bring it to me, and I will talk to you further on the subject.'

"I said, 'Very well I will do so.' I then started to leave the room, which was the diplomatic reception room, and as I was going out of the door at the opposite end of the room where he was seated, he called me back and asked in regard to when the next information from the Islands could be expected. After talking over the various means of communication to and from the Islands, he spoke of Mr. Davies, and the newspaper reports of what he was doing; and said that Mr. Willis had not mentioned anything in regard to it, and asked if I knew anything about it. I took the opportunity to tell him something of Mr. Davies' history and movements.

"He then said, 'Mr. Davies was over here three or

*Gresham Doubts
That He Should
See the Draft*

four months ago, but I had no conversation with him on the subject.'

"In reply to my statement that Mr. Davies was in Washington a few weeks since, he said, 'That's the first I knew of it. I did not see him and did not know that he was here.'

"He then said, 'Mr. Spreckels' name has been mentioned considerably in this connection. He was here about four weeks ago. I met him at the Arlington one day and he walked with me from there to this building. He evidently wanted to talk about the Hawaiian subject, but I did not want to talk to him and turned the subject. With that exception I have not seen or heard anything of him.'

"He made some inquiry concerning Spreckels, which gave me the opportunity to tell him that Mr. Spreckels had scored a record in the Islands of steady failure, so far as political control there was concerned, whatever his commercial success might have been.

"He said, 'I understand his position there to be simply a dollars and cents one, simply how much he can make out of it.'

"He then drifted off into a general conversation concerning the morals and history of the country in the past, which lasted for ten minutes or so, when the interview terminated.

"I omitted to state that in the early part of the interview I stated to him that I was informed by Mr. Hastings that on the 25th of October last a request for the issuance of an exequatur to Mr. Gilman as Hawaiian Consul at Boston had been filed, but that no action had as yet been taken thereon.

"He said, that this was the first that he had heard of it, and that he was so engrossed in getting up his report that he had not paid much attention to what was going on in the office. 'You need place no significance on its not having been issued, as, if not issued, it has simply been overlooked and will be attended to in due course.'

"Yours sincerely,

"L. A. THURSTON."

—United States, Minister and Commissioners to Washington, November-December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

*Money Is Sole
Spreckels Aim
in the Islands*

CHAPTER XVIII

MINISTER THURSTON ANSWERS BLOUNT

Diplomatic etiquette prevented me from taking formal issue with the Blount report, which was an internal communication from an American commissioner to the American President, or from taking notice of the letter of the secretary of state to the President, which likewise was an entirely American communication. But there was no person in the United States, except myself, who knew the facts, or who was competent to state them; and public sentiment was becoming crystallized. As Mr. Blount's report made personal attack upon me and those who had acted with me in establishing the Provisional Government, I took the position that I was entitled to reply; I drew up an answer and gave copies to the Associated Press and the United Press on November 21, 1893. Those organizations distributed the reply throughout the United States, and it was printed in all the principal papers of the country. Here is my statement, as published in *The Washington Post* of November 22, 1893, the newspaper's subheads being retained.

*Reply Carried
by Two Great
Press Agencies*

"As I have received no official information that Mr. Blount has made a report; have not seen a copy of it and do not know what it contains, except from reading newspaper abstracts therefrom, and am unaware of the present contentions of the United States government concerning Hawaii, I am unable at present, in the absence of such knowledge, to intelligently state what the posi-

tion and claims of the Hawaiian government are. It would moreover, be contrary to diplomatic courtesy for me to publish a statement on such subject prior to informing the United States government of the same.

*Courtesy Must
Be Considered
in the Answer*

20th continued.

Since the interview in the Inter Ocean of Nov. 12, I have refused to be interviewed or make any statement for publication.

It was thought best, however, by numerous friends, that I make a personal reply to the personal charges against myself. I accordingly draw up a statement this evening, but finally withheld it for revision.

Tuesday Nov. 21st. I revised the statement of yesterday. Was obliged to leave out a good deal of material for fear it would be too long - made a 3500 word article.

Had type written copies given to the 3 press associations and to 8 principal papers.

The probable effect upon the Administration was thoroughly considered and it was decided that it was necessary to immediately present the points against the Blount Report while the question was still before the public and before public opinion had crystallized. While regretting the necessity, there seemed to be no other method of doing this so effectually as by a personal reply, as so many of the facts essential thereto are matters of personal knowledge of facts known only to myself.

See statement on next page - It was sent out in full by the Associated United Press and printed in all the large papers.

—From Mr. Thurston's journal and scrapbook, November-December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

"A large portion of the published extracts from Mr. Blount's report consist, however, of personal attacks upon me and those associated with me in the provisional government, impugning our veracity, good faith, and courage, and charging us with fraud and duplicity. I deem it proper, therefore, to make a personal reply to such charges, confining myself to statements of fact, which as a principal actor, I am prepared to testify to before any impartial tribunal.

"First. Before stating such facts, I desire to call attention to Mr. Blount's method of constructing his report. Although he in several places states that I was the leader of the revolutionary movement, he has never asked me a question concerning the same, nor given me opportunity to make any statement, although I have at all times been ready and willing to do so. The same is true of a large number of other men who took a leading part in the movement of January last.

"In the second place, his evidence consists exclusively of prepared affidavits or answers to leading questions put by himself, at private interviews, no one else being present but the stenographer. In no instance has there been any cross-examination of witnesses, opportunity given to contradict or explain evidence given, or present other evidence.

"Numerous Incorrect Statements.

"A brief examination of the published portions of the report shows numerous incorrect statements. I shall endeavor for the present, however, to answer the more salient points only.

"First. Mr. Blount charges that the American troops were landed under a prearranged agreement with the committee of safety that they should so land and assist in the overthrow of the Queen. In reply thereto, I hereby state that at no time did Mr. Stevens or Capt. Wiltse assure me or the committee of safety, or any sub-committee thereof, that the United States troops would assist in overthrowing the Queen or establishing the provisional government, and as a matter of fact they did not so assist.

"I can produce witnesses in support of this statement, of the highest responsibility, in overwhelming numbers;

*Thurston Never
Asked to Give
Any Statement*

but Mr. Blount has rendered it unnecessary to do so. The statements of Mr. Wundenberg and Mr. Damon have been put forward as the strongest evidence in support of Mr. Blount's contention. In Mr. Wundenberg's statement he says that when the committee of safety told Mr. Stevens they were not ready to act, he replied: 'Gentlemen, the troops of the Boston will land at 5 o'clock, whether you are ready or not.' The reason for this reply and the subsequent landing of the troops is manifest. The troops were landed to protect American citizens and property in the event of the impending and inevitable conflict between the Queen and the citizens, and not to co-operate with the committee in carrying out its plans. In fact, the troops did not co-operate with the committee, and the committee had no more knowledge than the Queen's government where the troops were going, nor what they were going to do. The whole gist of Mr. Damon's long examination is likewise contained in his statement that when, after the organization and proclamation of the new government, a request was made for the support of the United States troops, it was refused, Lieut. Commander Swinburne, the commanding officer sending back word, 'Capt. Wiltse's orders are, "Remain passive."'

*Troops to Land
Regardless of
the Committee*

"The Troops Did Not Assist.

"Second. Mr. Blount charges that the Queen had ample military force with which to have met the committee, and that but for the support of the United States representatives and troops the establishment of the provisional government would have been impossible.

"In reply thereto, I hereby state that, although the presence of the American troops had a quieting effect on the rough characters in the city, and may have prevented some bloodshed, they were not essential to and did not assist in the overthrow of the Queen. The result of the movement would have been eventually the same if there had not been a marine within a thousand miles of Honolulu.

*Result Same,
If No Marine
Had Appeared*

"In support of this statement I cite the following facts:

"(1) The troops did not land till Monday night, the

16th of January, after the revolution had been in full progress since the afternoon of Saturday, the 14th, during which time the committee of safety was openly organizing for the avowed purpose of overthrowing the Queen.

*Committee Aim
Not a Secret
to Government*

“(2) There was absolutely no attempt at concealment from the government of the objects and intentions of the committee.

“(3) The Queen, her cabinet, and their supporters were utterly demoralized, suspicious of one another, and devoid of leadership.

“(4) The committee of safety and their supporters were united; had ample force to execute their purpose; knew precisely what they wanted, and proceeded with intelligent deliberation, thoroughness, and confidence to do it.

“There is no conflict concerning the facts of the first proposition. It is admitted by all that the Queen began the revolution at noon on Saturday, the 14th, by attempting to promulgate a constitution; that such attempt was immediately followed by preparation on the part of the citizens for armed resistance; and that the United States troops landed at 5 o'clock Monday, the 16th.

“The Revolution Not Secret.

“In support of the second proposition, that there was no concealment from the government of the intentions of the committee, I submit the following:

“1. On the afternoon of Saturday, the 14th, in reply to the request of the Queen's cabinet for advice as to what they had better do, the Queen then still insisting upon the promulgation of the constitution and supporting it by force, I advised them to declare the Queen in revolution and the throne vacant, and at their request and with the express approval of two of them and the tacit assent of the other two, then and there drew up a form of proclamation to that effect.

“2. At half past 4 on the afternoon of Saturday, the 14th, at a meeting of about 200 citizens at the office of W. O. Smith the Queen was denounced in the strongest terms; armed resistance and a counter-revolution was

*Strong Terms
Against Queen
at Gathering*

openly advocated, and the Queen's minister of the interior, John Colburn, addressed the meeting, asking their armed support against the Queen. The Queen's attorney general, Mr. Peterson, and her attorney, Paul Neuman, were both present, taking part in the meeting. The committee of safety was publicly then and there named, and proceeded forthwith to organize.

"At 6 o'clock on Sunday morning, the 15th, I told Mr. Peterson and Mr. Colburn, two members of the Queen's cabinet, that the committee intended to depose the Queen and establish a provisional government; that if they would take charge of the movement, well and good; otherwise the committee intended to take action on its own account. They asked for twenty-four hours in which to consider the matter. I declined to wait, stating to them that the committee intended to proceed forthwith.

"4. The committee met openly that morning at 10 o'clock, with the full knowledge of the government of the place of its meeting. It remained in session during the greater part of the day, while several police kept watch of the building from the street.

"The Public Meeting.

"On Monday morning at 9 o'clock the committee, without attempt at concealment, met in my office, within 200 feet of the police station, Marshal Wilson's headquarters, where the entire police force was stationed. While the meeting was in progress Wilson came to the office and asked to speak to me privately, and we went into an adjoining room. Our conversation was in substance as follows:

"Wilson said, 'I want this meeting stopped,' referring to the mass-meeting for that afternoon.

"I replied, 'It can't be stopped. It is too late.'

"He said, 'Can't this thing be fixed up in some way?'

"I replied, 'No it cannot. It has gone too far.'

"He said, 'The Queen has abandoned her new constitution idea.'

"I replied, 'How do we know that she will not take it up again as she said she would?'

*Ministers Told
That Committee
Intends to Act*

“He said, ‘I will guarantee that she will not, even if I have to lock her up in a room to keep her from doing it, and I’ll do it too if necessary.’

“I replied, ‘We are not willing to accept that guarantee as sufficient. This thing has gone on from bad to worse until we are not going to stand it any longer. We are going to take no chances in the matter, but settle it now, once and for all.’

“Wilson then left the office. He has since stated that he immediately reported to the cabinet and advised arresting the committee, but the cabinet were afraid and refused to allow it.

“At 2 o’clock on the afternoon of Monday, the 16th, a meeting of 3,000 unarmed men was held within a block of the palace. The meeting was addressed by a number of speakers, all denouncing the Queen. The meeting, with tremendous cheering and enthusiasm, unanimously adopted resolutions declaring the Queen to be in revolution and authorizing the committee to proceed to do whatever was necessary. The police was present, but no attempt was made to interfere with the meeting or make any arrests. The meeting adjourned amid the most intense excitement, and the citizens dispersed throughout the town, awaiting the further call of the committee.

“While the meeting was in progress another meeting was being held by the royalists in the street, within a block of the armory, which adopted resolutions in support of the Queen.

“Mr. Blount Grossly Inaccurate.”

“Never in the history of Hawaii has there been such a tense condition of mind, or a more imminent expectation of bloodshed and conflict than there was immediately after the adjournment of those two radically opposed meetings. Mr. Blount’s statement that the community was at peace and quiet was grossly inaccurate.

“It was at this juncture, two hours after the adjournment of the above meeting, that Capt. Wiltse and Mr. Stevens, acting upon their own responsibilities and discretion and irrespective of the request or actions of the committee, landed the troops, which were distributed in

*Three Thousand
Are Unanimous
Against Throne*

three parts of the city, instead of being massed at one point as stated by Mr. Blount. The reason that the Queen's government took no action against the committee or its supporters, was that they were overwhelmed by the unanimous display of indignation and determination shown by the citizens, and were cowed into submission in the same manner that the King and his supporters were cowed under precisely similar circumstances, by the same citizens, in June, 1887.

*Royalists Were
Cowed in 1887,
Again in 1893*

"The Queen's Supporters Demoralized.

"In support of the third proposition, that the Queen and her supporters were demoralized and devoid of leadership, I submit the following:

"1. During the few weeks prior to the revolution Mr. Colburn, minister of the interior at the time of the revolution, had been one of the leaders of the political party opposed to myself, and openly and bitterly hostile to me personally. My first intimation of the revolutionary intention of the Queen was at 10 o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the 14th, when Mr. Colburn came to me greatly excited. He told me of the Queen's intentions to promulgate a new constitution, and asked my advice. I said to him: 'Why do you not go to the members of your own party?' He replied: 'I have no party. Those who have been our supporters are supporting the Queen. The down town people (referring to the merchants) have got no use for me, and unless the members of your party and other citizens will support us, we are going to resign right away.'

"2. At 1 o'clock on the same day I met all the members of the cabinet at the attorney general's office. They had just come from an interview with the Queen, at which she had announced her intention of promulgating a constitution and demanded their support. They stated that she had threatened them with mob violence, whereupon they had immediately left the palace, each one going out by a separate entrance. While we were talking a messenger came from the Queen requesting them to immediately return to the palace. Peterson and Colburn positively refused to do so, stating that they did not consider their lives would be safe there. I shortly after left them and started down town. After I had gone about

*Peterson and
Colburn Fear
to See Queen*

*Eighty Leaders
Pledge Support
to the Cabinet*

two blocks I was overtaken by a messenger from the cabinet asking me to return, which I did. They asked me to ascertain what support they could expect from citizens, and formally authorized me to formally state the condition of affairs to leading citizens, and in their behalf to call for armed volunteers to resist the Queen. I immediately proceeded to comply with their request, and, with the assistance of others, within an hour or two thereafter about eighty leading citizens had signed a written statement agreeing to support the cabinet against the Queen by force.

“Stormy Interview with the Queen.

“3. Later the same afternoon Mr. Colburn informed me that he had finally gone to the palace and held a stormy interview with the Queen lasting for over two hours. He told me that he had no confidence in his colleague, Mr. Peterson, whom he believed was playing double with him, and told me to beware of telling Peterson anything further. As a reason for his distrust he said that he knew nothing of the intention to promulgate a constitution, but that while they were discussing the matter with the Queen she said, in reply to an objection made by Peterson, ‘Why did you not make this objection before; you have had this constitution in your possession for a month and raised no objection to it?’

“Colburn said also that in reply to an objection made by Mr. Parker, minister of foreign affairs, she said, ‘Why did you not tell me this last night when we were talking over the subject?’

“Colburn further stated to me that at a caucus of their party on the previous Friday night, one of the members of the Legislature, Kaluna by name, had said that if he could establish the new constitution he would die happy, if he could kill some other men before dying.

“4. The Queen was furiously angry at the refusal of the cabinet to join her in promulgating the constitution, and publicly denounced them therefor.

“Royalists Wanted to Shed Blood.

“5. When the Queen made announcement of her failure to promulgate the constitution, two of the leading

*Die Happy, If
He Could Kill
Before Dying*

Royalists, members of the Legislature, one in the throne room in the palace, and one upon the steps of the building, addressed the assembled crowd, denounced the cabinet as traitors, and said that they wanted to shed blood. One of them included the Queen in his denunciations.

"6. During the entire time between noon of Saturday, the 14th, and the afternoon of Tuesday, the 17th, when the provisional government was proclaimed, the Queen's cabinet was without plan of action, and did practically nothing but rush about the city consulting with various foreign representatives, and citizens of all parties, as to what they had better do, begging the American minister for the support of the American troops against the committee of safety, and securing from the Queen a declaration that she would not again attempt to abrogate the constitution, which they hurried into print and distributed broadcast to try and appease the indignation of citizens and break up the proposed mass-meeting.

*Officials Beg
United States
to Aid Queen*

"The Committee of Safety Were United.

"In support of the fourth proposition, that the committee and their supporters were united; had ample force to execute their purpose, and proceed with deliberation and confidence to do so, I submit the following: An essential factor in judging whether the force of the committee was sufficient, and their confidence in themselves well founded, is to know what the same men under similar conditions have done upon previous occasions. Fortunately, there is no dispute as to the facts concerning two recent incidents in Hawaiian history, in which the same parties who were brought into conflict in January, 1893, were arrayed against each other under similar circumstances.

"1. In 1887 the King, by a manipulation of the electorate and the Legislature, had encroached upon popular rights and obtained autocratic power over the people. In this course he was supported by practically the same persons who in January last, and now, constitute the Royalist party in Hawaii. The open bribery, corruption, and debauchery of the King and his supporters crystallized the opposition thereto into an organization of practically the same men who organized and now constitute the provisional government. Such organization was formed with

*Kalakaua Arms
For Resistance
to the Demands*

the openly avowed intention of wresting from the King his powers or dethroning him. In preparation of the expected movement, the King fortified the palace; loop-holed its basement for sharpshooters; erected sandbag breastworks at the entrance of the building; mounted cannon and Gatling guns at all the approaches thereto; largely increased his regular military force and defied the organization and public opinion.

“The leaders of the revolutionary movement proceeded deliberately to collect such arms as were available and organized their plans. An executive committee of thirteen was appointed who took entire control of the movement and called a mass-meeting in the same building used for that purpose in January last.

“The King attempted to head off the meeting by sending a letter to it promising certain reforms. The letter had no effect. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the King and demanding the granting of a new constitution depriving the King of all personal power. The resolutions were forthwith presented to the King by the committee, who unarmed and alone proceeded direct from the meeting to the fortified palace, with the ultimatum that he comply with the demands within twenty-four hours or take the consequences.

“How the King Surrendered.

“The King was then in absolute control of the regular troops, the special troops enlisted for the occasion, four companies of native militia, the police, all the artillery and Gatling guns, the government buildings, the palace, the barracks, and the station-house, with full knowledge of and weeks of preparation for the action taken by the citizens. His military strength was greater and his control of the public buildings more complete than was that of the Queen in January last.

“He did not fire a shot, submitted to all demands, disbanded his troops, and turned the whole control of the government over to the revolutionary party, who, in consideration of his abject submission, allowed him to continue on the throne in a figurehead capacity.

“2. In 1889, while the same men who now constitute

*Revolutionists
Let King Stay
as Figurehead*

the provisional government were in control of the King's government, a conspiracy was organized among the royalist supporters by the King and Liliuokalani, for the overthrow of the cabinet and the restoration of the old royal power and constitution.

"The conspirators took the cabinet by surprise, and on the night of July 29 took possession of the government buildings and palace, and, securing possession of all the artillery, fortified the latter.

"Victory Over Royal Power.

"The regular troops, by order of the King, refused to assist the cabinet, who called upon the white militia and white citizens for assistance. The call was promptly responded to. The revolutionists were protected by an eight-foot stone wall around the palace, and used artillery as well as rifles, while the cabinet supporters were armed with rifles alone. The fighting opened at 9 o'clock in the morning with less than thirty cabinet supporters in position in front of the palace, which number was later increased to about 500. The royalist revolutionists opened with a furious fire of both artillery and small arms. Within half an hour they were driven from their guns, seven were killed, and twelve wounded, and before dark all of them were dispersed or captured, while not one of the cabinet supporters was injured.

*White Citizens
Rally at Call
For Assistance*

"Such is the undisputed record of events upon two occasions when the royalists and the organizers of the provisional government have come into armed conflict, when there has been no suggestion of support to either side by any outside power.

"Provisional Government Not Cowardly.

"Under these circumstances I submit that the burden of proof is upon those who claim that the leaders of the provisional government are cowards, or that they are incompetent to organize or successfully carry out a revolution against the royalists in Hawaii.

"It is unnecessary for me to here restate the details of the bitter constitutional conflict which had been carried on between the Queen and the legislature during

the seven months prior to January last, nor to speak of the intense indignation existing among all classes of citizens by reason of the open and successful alliance of the Queen with the opium and lottery rings. The political liberties of the people had been trampled upon and their moral sense shocked. It simply needed the added provocation of the arbitrary attempt to abrogate the constitution and disfranchise every white man in the country to spontaneously crystallize opposition into a force that was irresistible.

"They Were Not Aliens.

"In reply to the sneer that the persons taking part in the movement were 'aliens,' I would say that every man of them was by the laws of the country a legal voter, whose right to the franchise was by the proposed constitution to be abrogated. A large proportion of them were born in the country, and almost without exception those who were not born there had lived there for years, owned property there, and had made it their home. They were the men who had built up the country commercially, agriculturally, financially, and politically, and created and made possible a civilized government therein. They were and are such men as to-day are the leading citizens of the most progressive communities of the United States, with interests as thoroughly identified with the interests of Hawaii as are the interests of native and foreign born citizens in similar communities in this country identified with it." —From Mr. Thurston's journal and scrapbook, November-December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

[Here follow stories and editorials of American newspapers on Mr. Blount's report and Mr. Thurston's reply. They were selected by Mr. Thurston from one of his scrapbooks, and are published here in full, except that the ends of two news stories are missing, the lacks being indicated by ellipses: . . . All type of the quotations here has been set directly from the clippings; heads of

*Every One Was
a Legal Voter
of the Country*

both stories and editorials have been dropped, since they could not be republished handily, but subheads have been retained, as nearly as practicable in the original style. The titles and dates of some newspaper sources could not be determined; approximations have been deduced. Although the arrangement of the quotations generally is chronological, the aim has been to make it topical also, and to subordinate time to aptness. For example, when *The Chicago Tribune* of November 23, 1893, published an editorial on Mr. Thurston's reply to Mr. Blount, *The Evening Star*, Washington, of November 22 already had indicated that Mr. Thurston might be given his passports. Hence the *Tribune* editorial precedes the *Star* story in these pages.—*Editor.*]

An unidentified Minnesota newspaper of November 21, 1893: "San Francisco, Nov. 20.—H. W. Severance, late United States consul general at Hawaii, was asked to-day what he thought of the report of Commissioner Blount.

"'In the main,' said Mr. Severance, 'the report as published seems to be entirely misleading in regard to the events of January last which resulted in the overthrow of the queen and the establishment of the provisional government. It was not the result of a conspiracy on the part of a few men, but a genuine revolution. There is no just ground for the charge that Minister Stevens conspired with the organizers of the provisional government. His actions under the circumstances were entirely regular and in accordance with diplomatic customs. The statement that the landing of the troops from the Boston was inexcusable and unnecessary is unjustifiably false. Blount's own report shows that there was reason to expect disturbance and bloodshed, endangering the lives and property of peaceful Americans. The occasion certainly warranted the

*Stevens Action
Quite Regular,
Says Severance*

landing of the troops for the protection of American interests.

“ ‘Much stress is laid in Blount’s report on the placing of troops near the government building. Admiral Skerrett is quoted as saying this disposition was a wise choice if the intention was to support the provisional government. The admiral must have been unaware that the troops were not quartered in Arion hall until efforts to secure all other available places at a distance from the government building had failed. As to the matter of Blount’s investigation, I have nothing to say except that he did not appear to make any discrimination in regard to the credibility or standing of the persons whom he questioned. I made that remark to him and he replied that it made no difference what sort of position or standing the witness held. I am satisfied that everything had been surrendered to the provisional government before it was recognized by Minister Stevens, though the aim of Blount’s report is to make it appear that the contrary was the case. If a conspiracy existed between the revolutionists and Minister Stevens and the uprising could not have been successful without the United States troops, how is it that none of the foreign powers have made a protest or some diplomatic note of such a serious matter? They could not have been ignorant of the fact. England, Japan, France and Portugal were represented there by ministers and consuls. Germany, Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, Chile and Mexico also had consuls there. All these governments, through their official representatives, recognized the provisional government . . . ’ ”

Inter Ocean, Chicago, November 22, 1893: “The report on Hawaii made by ‘Paramount’ Blount is quite as remarkable for what it does not say as for what it does. There is a studied and palpable attempt to mislead the public. It naturally recalls this bit of bar humor: ‘Mr. Lawyer, I want your advice, and I want such advice as what you give to a man whose mind is made up.’ ”

“It will be observed that Mr. Blount has an unconcealed dislike for the Hawaiian constitution of 1887

*Does Not Care
What Standing
Witnesses Have*

and thinks it was all wrong to have forced that upon the Queen, but he passes over it lightly. It is no longer susceptible of being galvanized into the semblance of a live issue. But what was no doubt more to the point, Grover Cleveland was then President and Thomas F. Bayard Secretary of State. Mr. Bayard wrote some very vigorous and truly American letters of instruction about that time to our Minister resident at Honolulu. There was the ring of manly patriotism in them which contrasts sharply with the Hawaiian policy of the present administration. Mr. Blount conceals the part taken by the United States government in that crisis. This was the first great omission of the report as summarized and given out by the State Department.

*Blount Masks
American Part
in '87 Crisis*

"The two great immediate causes of the revolution of last winter were the Louisiana lottery scheme and the attempt to set aside the constitution of 1887 by royal edict. The first is not so much as alluded to and the second is barely alluded to and no more.

"It will be remembered that the Louisiana lottery fought with all the desperation of a lion at bay for a renewal of its State charter. Money was poured out like water to carry Louisiana. Baffled and utterly routed, the lottery company cast about for some place where it could establish itself. It was decided to try Hawaii. The climate is lovely, and perhaps a New World Monte Carlo could be established. If not the business could be done by mail, express, and secret agencies. Negotiations of a clandestine character were opened and found encouragement. The enormous bribe offered was just what corrupt officials at the capital of that country wanted, and it seemed as if the lottery scheme were about to lay its harpy hands on Hawaii. The danger aroused the indignation of the better element, and it was because the Queen and her corrupt councilors were to be baffled in this boodle plot that they resolved on destroying the constitution.

*Enormous Bribe
What Corrupt
Officials Want*

"It may be recalled, parenthetically, that it is peculiarly inconsistent and reprehensible in Walter Q. Gresham to be now trying to overthrow a republic born in large part of opposition to the Louisiana lottery, for his own recognition as a National character really dates

*Gresham Made
Valiant Fight
on the Lottery*

from his valiant fight against that same lottery some ten years ago. As Postmaster General he tried his level best to execute the anti-lottery act of Congress, and he won great praise for it. Personal animosity also makes strange bedfellows.

“Returning now to Mr. Blount’s omissions we will quote his only allusion to the Queen’s attempt to destroy the constitution of 1887 by royal edict. After mentioning the ceremonies and ‘functions’ attending the proroguing of Congress” [the Hawaiian Legislature.—*Editor.*] “Blount mildly adds: ‘The Queen informed her Cabinet of her purpose to proclaim a new constitution and requested them to sign it.’

“No details are given. In the very next sentence he goes on and takes up another subject, the proclamation of Jan. 10.” [In the “next sentence,” Mr. Blount discusses the changes that Liliuokalani would have made to the constitution of 1887, *Morgan’s Report*, p. 1389.—*Editor.*] “There are a great many constitutional governments in the world, many of them monarchies, and where, pray, is there a people enjoying the blessings of constitutional liberty who would not resort to revolution, if need be, to prevent the overthrow of the existing constitution by the executive, be it King and Cabinet or President and Cabinet? How long does Mr. Blount think Grover Cleveland would be tolerated after announcing to his Cabinet his purpose to proclaim a new constitution and requesting them to sign it?

“The only other point we care to recall in this connection is the entire omission of any reference to the representatives of other governments at Honolulu and their acquiescence without a protest in the course pursued by Minister Stevens and Captain Wiltse. There were four other Ministers there at the time besides Mr. Stevens. The countries thus represented were England, Japan, France, and Portugal. Six other countries had Consuls, but no Ministers, namely, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Holland, Chili, and Mexico. Not a word of censure has come from any of these ten countries. Partisan bigotry and personal malice, not national jealousy and the rivalry of commerce, has attempted by garbled and *ex parte* testimony to cast aspersions upon our National honor.”

*Personal Malice
Would Asperse
National Honor*

Tribune, Chicago, November 22, 1893: "The administration has taken another step in its Hawaiian coup d'etat. It has given out the report of 'my special Commissioner,' 'Paramount' Blount. It adds, however, nothing essential to what already has been stated in Secretary Gresham's report to the President, and its appearance in print only can be regarded as an attempt to excuse the conspiracy to replace the dissolute Liliuokalani on the throne. The Blount report is made up of affidavits from royalists and friends of the Queen and of statements from those who are interested pecuniarily in keeping her on the throne as a subservient and corrupt tool for their purposes. Blount was expected to fit the facts to the policy and he did so by taking them all from one side and ignoring everything on the other side. It was therefore but an ex parte investigation, and as such not a complete investigation at all. It goes without saying that it antagonizes the statements of ex-Minister Stevens and makes a clear issue of veracity as between Blount and Stevens, upon which the latter now will have something more to say. It may be anticipated he will produce the proofs to support his allegations.

"But even if all the statements of Paramount Blount were correct and substantiated by proof it would not change the situation one whit, nor would there be any justification for the secret conspiracy of the administration, hatched long months ago and concealed from Congress until after its adjournment, to restore the Queen to the throne and change a republic back again into a monarchy. The provisional government was recognized by the United States as well as other nations as soon as it was formed. And now President Cleveland has sent his Minister accredited to that government with every assurance of good will and with an expression of the hope that the peaceful relations of the two governments long will continue, unless the provisional government recedes and voluntarily abandons its power. There is no way in which either Secretary Gresham or President Cleveland, under the provisions of international law, can annul this formal recognition, twice expressed, except by force, which would be an act of war. It matters little therefore whether Mr. Blount's state-

*Cleveland Aim
Is Kept Secret
From Congress*

ments are correct or incorrect. They have no bearing upon the situation. It matters little what instructions have been sent to Minister Willis. If he should attempt to put the Queen on the throne and the government should resist the act, he only can restore her to power by landing marines from our war vessels, which would not alone be an unfriendly act towards a government which has been recognized twice but would be war, with all that word implies. Should such an event occur it may be assumed as beyond all question that the Cleveland administration having sown the wind will reap the whirlwind. Congress, which is the war-making power, would resent the act and the people emphatically would condemn it."

Sun, New York, November 25, 1893: "Washington, Nov. 24.—Mr. Henry N. Castle, editor of the Honolulu *Advertiser and Gazette* and brother of the Hawaiian Commissioner, furnished to-night the following interesting information and comments regarding the men who are quoted by Commissioner Blount in his report as in support of the charge that Queen Liliuokalani was dethroned by the assistance of the United States Government:

"Statements as to the events of the revolution and the causes which led up to it Mr. Blount has taken from Messrs. Cornwell, Colburn, Parker, Peterson, V. V. Ashford, and Mr. Wundenberg, and from these men only. Four of these men were members of the ex-Queen's Cabinet, the other two are disappointed office seekers, and all are bitter opponents of the Provisional Government and everything and everybody connected with it, first, last, and all the time. Not one of them is of high standing in the community or entitled to special credence, to put the case with extreme mildness. Yet one of them did give some evidence in favor of the Provisional Government, and this part of the evidence Mr. Blount has ignored in his report.'

"Did Mr. Blount then hold no converse with the supporters of the Government?"

"Most assuredly he did. He called or received Judge Judd, Vice-President Damon, Prof. Alexander, Henry

*Persons Lack
High Standing
in Community*

Waterhouse, Mr. Bolte, the Rev. S. E. Bishop, the Hon. C. R. Bishop, and Mr. Loebenstein. He did not, however, seek from them any general statement as to the revolution and its causes. His purpose seems to have been a different one. From Damon, Waterhouse, and Bolte he sought to wring an admission that a particular theory which he had formed of the events of Jan. 16 and 17 was the true one. When he was through with this his interest in these gentlemen seems to have been exhausted. Chief Justice Judd he questioned, in order to draw from his answers some confirmation of his own theory that the motives of the revolutionists of 1887 were bad and their methods wicked. That exhausted his interest in the Chief Justice. From Prof. Alexander and the Rev. S. E. Bishop, who were eye witnesses of the revolution, and whose word would have carried with it absolute authority, he sought information of a historical, statistical, and geographical character. That exhausted his interest in them. Statements were furnished him by Mr. Glade, a merchant of high standing; by the German Consul; by Mr. Blaisdell, manager of one of the largest plantations; by the Rev. J. Kauhane, the Rev. J. K. Josepa, and the Hon. Mr. Waipuilani, three of the only four natives who voted against the lottery bill, and others, but he made no use of their statements, and he suppressed them, as he did the valuable historical sketch by Prof. Alexander. For many alleged matters of fact he gives nowhere any authority, but as these matters are uniformly injurious to the Provisional Government, its aims, its methods, and its supporters, their source may readily be conjectured.

“As far as can be ascertained from the report, the list which I have given practically exhausts the witnesses upon which Mr. Blount depended. One more should be mentioned, one who called on Mr. Blount at the head of a Hawaiian deputation and who was evidently for the Commissioner a witness and star of the first magnitude. This was the half white, John E. Bush, a notorious blatherskite, demagogue, drunkard, bribe taker, and political turncoat—annexationist and ex-annexationist, royalist and ex-royalist, republican and ex-republican, hero or co-hero in every disreputable

*Blount Seeks
Confirmation
of His Theory*

*Is Drunkard,
Blatherskite,
and Turncoat*

*Bush Preferred
to Judge Judd
by "Paramount"*

transaction which has stained Hawaiian affairs for the last twenty years. The Commissioner Paramount did not take this view of him, however, but made him a present of a certificate of good character, which he certainly could have got nowhere else, described him to the President of the United States as "intelligent and respectable," and preferred his testimony on a point of cardinal importance to that of the Chief Justice of the Hawaiian Islands. Other Hawaiians of the reputable and honorable sort, who came to him with memorials in favor of annexation, he has never found worthy of mention.

"But even Mr. Bush, much as his virtues endeared him to the heart of Blount, was not the prime favorite of all. The special pet of the Commissioner, the man upon whom he gazed with admiration, whose alleged facts he swallowed, hook and all, is Mr. Wundenberg. It was from Wundenberg that he got his history; it was Wundenberg who gave him his views of the character of the Queen and "Paramour" Wilson; it was the mellifluous tongue of this siren Wundenberg which led him to pass over in silent contempt the historical sketch furnished him by the learned and impartial historian of Hawaii, Prof. Alexander. Finally it was Wundenberg from whom he derived all the evidence which he cared to take as to the aims, character, and methods of the revolutionists of 1893. Who, then, is the gentleman whom Mr. Blount delights to honor, and of whom he is unwearied in his praise? Who is Wundenberg?

*Earth Too Tiny
to Hold Wrath
of Wundenberg*

"Mr. Wundenberg is a deputy clerk of the court and was himself one of the revolutionists whom he now describes as cowards and "riff raff." His testimony, therefore, is that of a man who, by his own showing, belongs to the "riff raff," to the off scourings of society, and it is this testimony which Mr. Blount has preferred to that of honorable and reputable citizens of Hawaii. Mr. Wundenberg was a candidate for the Marshalship, and when the office was given elsewhere, the world was not large enough to contain his wrath. He raved against the Government, and everybody connected with it, abandoned the party of annexation, hobnobbed with the royalists, and began to dote on men whom I have

myself heard him, not once, but a dozen times, describe as thieves and vagabonds. He maligns the revolution of 1887, though he took a part in it, and he blackens that of 1893, though he shared in it from beginning to end. If his story is true, it destroys his own character and fatally impeaches his credit as a witness. Fortunately, or unfortunately for his character, his story is not true. It is not necessary to be a Hawaiian to discover its manifest malignity and falsehood, its manifest inconsistencies and contradictions. A single quotation from the report will furnish one of a dozen decisive instances:

*Its Malignity
and Falsehood
Held Manifest*

“ “Question—You separated from them (the revolutionists) then, when it was developed that they meant to overthrow the Queen?”

“ “Answer—Yes, I stopped on Wednesday, when I found it began to develop.”

“ ‘Now, the dethronement of the Queen was planned on Sunday and completely effected on Tuesday, or the day before Mr. Wundenberg says the plan “began to develop.” Mr. Wundenberg, moreover, according to his own account, was present at all the meetings of the Committee of Public Safety, in which the plan referred to was formulated and developed. There can be no question of a misunderstanding here—none of haste. Mr. Wundenberg read over his entire statement, deliberately vouched for its accuracy, and deliberately signed it. Yet here is an irreconcilable contradiction of the utmost seriousness in the face of this statement. Mr. Wundenberg, at one moment, for one purpose, claims to have been cognizant of all the transactions of the revolutionists; at the next moment, for a different purpose, he professes ignorance of what was the very heart and core of their undertaking. Can the testimony of a witness who is shown to be prejudiced, uncandid, and untruthful be decisive in an affair of international importance against the evidence which Mr. Blount might have had for the asking, and some of which he did have, of practically all the men of character, weight, and intelligence in Hawaii? Yet Mr. Blount has plainly pinned his own faith and credit to that of this witness, and the two must stand and fall together.

“It would require a volume to follow and expose in detail the errors of fact with which the statements of Mr. Blount and his royalist witnesses abound. It is sufficient to draw attention to the fact that the findings are practically made by the deposed Cabinet and their adherents. It was a pure waste of the public money to send a Commission to Hawaii to get these pretended findings of fact. It is sufficient to note that from the beginning to the end of this long report there is not to be found one statement covering the general subject of the revolution and its causes from any friend of the Provisional Government, or, indeed, from any Hawaii resident of acknowledged probity and standing. It would be absurd to call this fact an accident. It would be no less absurd to treat as a judicial inquiry a report like this, or to regard as a judicial inquirer a man who thus selects his witnesses, selects again from their evidence, perverting some of it and suppressing the rest, a man who accepts the testimony of demagogues and office seekers and rejects that of Christian ministers and judicial magistrates, and who requires apparently nothing from a witness, save that he shall be an enemy of republicanism and a friend of royalty and reaction. The report is not a judicial proceeding; it is an inquisition. Mr. Blount's findings of fact are like those of that member of Alva's council of blood, who used to wake at the end of the trial and yawn “Hang him, hang him.” Mr. Blount is the would-be hangman of the white race and its civilization in Hawaii.’ ”

*Blount Finding
Is Likened to
Alva's Council*

Tribune, New York, November 22, 1893: “Washington, Nov. 21.—Mr. Thurston, the representative of the Provisional Government of Hawaii in Washington, gives out for publication to-night a statement in reply to ‘Paramount’ Blount's report, which leaves the Cleveland-Gresham-Liliuokalani combination without a leg to stand on. It completely shatters the Paramount one's reasoning, shows him to have been the victim of his own credulity, and convicts him, in one conspicuous instance at least, of a wilful perversion of facts. No one reading Mr. Thurston's statement can escape the impression of candor it leaves behind, nor doubt for

a single moment that the writer thereof honestly endeavored to state the truth without either fear or favor.

"Unlike 'Paramount' Blount, Mr. Thurston indulges in no vindictive reflections, he impugns the motives of no one, and he scorns to bolster up the character of his witnesses. Indeed, he has no need. His tale is a straightforward one, the tale of a participant in the event of which he was a conspicuous part. His facts are not gathered at second-hand; they are not the result of gossip and tittle-tattle. The talk of the grogeries and the confessions drawn from 'reluctant' witnesses are unknown to him. The salacious scandals of a corrupt and degenerate court are not retailed to serve as a foil to set off the righteousness of the cause he has espoused.

"For aught the reader of Mr. Thurston's statement can tell, 'Paramour' Wilson occupies in the mind of the Provisional Government's representative a position

*Court Scandals
Not Recounted
in the Answer*

BLOUNT PULVERIZED.

HIS REPORT TORN TO TATTERS

MINISTER THURSTON ANSWERS THE PARAMOUNT ONE'S ACCUSATIONS.

A COOL, DISPASSIONATE DOCUMENT.

UNLIKE THE COMMISSIONER, HE INDULGES IN NO PERSONAL ABUSE AND NO IMPUTATION OF BASE MOTIVES—DISCOURTEOUS TREATMENT OF THE HAWAIIAN REPRESENTATIVES BY THE ADMINISTRATION—PROMISES THAT WERE NOT KEPT.

[BY TELEGRAPH TO THE TRIBUNE.]

Washington, Nov. 21.—Mr Thurston, the rep-

—*Tribune*, New York, November 22, 1893, from Mr. Thurston's journal and scrapbook, November-December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

equal, from a moral point of view, to that occupied by 'Paramount' Blount. In this absence of all rancor and venom, Mr. Thurston's statement differs conspicuously from Mr. Blount's report. It reflects the mind of an upright and self-respecting man, not that of an advocate hired to traduce a cause and besmirch the character of his own Government.

"Mr. Thurston's Trying Position."

"It may not be out of place here to draw attention to the extraordinary and trying position occupied by Mr. Thurston since his arrival in this country as the representative of the Provisional Government. If he and his colleagues who accompanied him on his mission in February last had been irresponsible tramps and adventurers, instead of being the accredited agents of a friendly government recognized officially by the United States and the rest of the civilized world, they could not have received treatment more discourteous or more flagrant in its violation of international comity than was that accorded to them by Secretary Gresham. From the first they were received with distrust. They were not asked for a statement of their case. They were never invited to enlighten the Administration as to the condition of Hawaii. They never received a hint as to what the Government proposed to do. Officially they knew nothing of Blount's departure, much less of the nature of his mission.

"It is a well-established custom of diplomatic intercourse that before sending a foreign minister to a friendly government that government's consent to the appointment is informally secured through its resident representative. But if Blount's appointment, first as Commissioner with 'paramount authority,' and afterward as Minister, was ever officially communicated to Mr. Thurston, that fact will yet have to be demonstrated by the State Department. Equally extraordinary was the conduct of the Secretary of State when Mr. Thurston's colleagues, before their return to Hawaii, waited upon him and informed him that they should like to go home, but would remain if he wished to communicate with them or desired to have submitted to

*Tramps Could
Not Have Been
Treated Worse*

him additional information to enable the Administration to reach a settlement of the question. General Gresham curtly announced to them that they could go 'whenever they pleased,' intimating in a rather startlingly undiplomatic manner that he had no use for them any way.

*You May Leave
Whenever You
Like: Secretary*

"Prevarication At The State Department.

"After this, Mr. Thurston was probably prepared to derive his information as to the return of 'Paramount' Blount and the appointment in his stead of Mr. Willis from the newspapers and not through the regular diplomatic channels. This, in fact, he did, and to the present hour he is understood to be officially ignorant of Mr. Willis's appointment. Equally ignorant is he, presumably, regarding the instructions given to this deputy Queen-restorer. But he was hardly prepared to be confronted at the State Department, not with evasions, but with downright prevarication. He, or his representative, is understood to have received the assurances of the Secretary of State that nothing should be done by the Administration and nothing given to the public until after it had been communicated to him. Yet in spite of this assurance the Hawaiian Legation here derived its information as to the nature of Secretary Gresham's letter to the President, the abstract of Mr. Blount's report (prepared at the State Department under the Secretary's supervision and furnished by him to a few friendly newspapers), and lastly, Mr. Blount's report itself, first from the public prints. In the mean time the Administration's Royalistic friends, like Claus Spreckels and Theophilus W. Davies, have been kept fully informed as to the intentions of the Government, and Charles Nordhoff has been permitted to ravage the archives of the United States Legation in Hawaii. They certainly never permitted themselves to doubt that Mr. Cleveland would, when the right moment came, order their puppet Queen to be restored under the shadow of American bayonets and the strains of 'Hail Columbia.'

*Royalists Had
Never a Doubt
of Restoration*

"Mr. Thurston is represented as keenly feeling the discourteous treatment accorded to him by Secretary

Gresham, though it can readily be understood that he is in no position to resent it. Quite different it may be with President Dole. While Mr. Thurston must endure, for the present, to see State papers given to the public filled with personal attacks upon him and those associated with him in the Provisional Government, President Dole may take a course which may induce the Administration, perhaps, to tone down its top-lofty manners. In diplomatic circles here it would surprise no one if President Dole, after having been fully acquainted by Minister Willis with Mr. Cleveland's intentions, should simply proclaim a republic and furnish the Queen-restorer with his passports. While it is possible that the Administration has considered such a contingency, it is scarcely credible that it has contemplated seriously the results which would necessarily follow. It would be left to decide between carrying out its programme of setting up again a throne and crushing a republican form of government . . ."

*President Dole
Might Proclaim
a Republic Now*

Tribune, Chicago, November 23, 1893: "Minister Thurston has made a personal, straightforward, and dignified reply to the report of Paramount Blount. Were it not for violation of diplomatic courtesy the reply might have been made even more convincing and gone more directly to the settlement of the question at issue, but even with this drawback Minister Thurston's answer sufficiently disposes of Blount's *ex parte* report. It raises a direct issue of veracity, but as between the testimony of 'my Commissioner,' who was not on the ground, who obtained his information second-hand from royalist witnesses only, and that by private interviews, in which there was no opportunity to refute or cross-question, and the testimony of Minister Thurston, who was on the ground and whose statements are confirmed by ex-Minister Stevens and numerous others who were eyewitnesses of what occurred, no fair-minded man can hesitate to accept the latter.

*Versions Leave
No Choice Open
to Fair-minded*

"It is needless to go into the details of Minister Thurston's reply. It is sufficient that it contradicts Blount's report in every essential particular connected with the action of the provisional government. It

shows that there was no conspiracy on the part of the American Minister, that the troops were not landed under a prearranged agreement with the Committee of Safety to render assistance in dethroning the Queen, that the troops did not cooperate with the committee, that the committee had no knowledge what the troops were going to do, and that all they did was to protect American interests, which it was their duty to do. Ex-Minister Stevens' latest statement is to the same purport. He says:

“The troops from the Boston were not landed for the purpose of supporting the provisional government, but to save the city from being plundered, and possibly destroyed by fire. We acted under the latest instructions in the State Department touching on the subject, the letter of Secretary Bayard, which is now on file to the then Minister, holding the Minister and Commodore of the United States fleet not only responsible for the preservation of American life and property, but also for the good order of the city. They were not landed for the purpose of overawing the Royalists or frightening the Queen into submission. We were compelled to recognize the de facto government, which was the provisional government. Had the government of the Queen been the de facto government we would have certainly recognized it. Affairs on the island were in a chaotic state and the American citizens demanded the landing of the troops, and even if this demand had not been made I should have considered it necessary for the public safety to have had the marines on shore.’

“But whether Minister Thurston's or Paramount Blount's statement be the correct one, and even assuming that Blount's is a true statement of the circumstances attending the overthrow of the Queen, with all her corrupt and dissolute following, the policy of the administration remains indefensible. If it be true that this woman has been replaced on the throne then it is the first time in the history of this country that the power of the United States, moral or physical, has been exercised to overthrow a republic and set up a monarchy—a fact which in itself should condemn the policy, as it is repugnant to the instincts of the American people. But over and beyond this the Hawaiian Gov-

*Policy Remains
"Indefensible,"
Says "Tribune"*

ernment has been recognized by the United States and foreign powers. The Cleveland administration has accredited its representative to it with expressions of the highest respect and friendly cordiality. That government is now in power. It represents the intelligence of the people. It has been in power many months, and during that time it has preserved peace and order, given the islands good government, and advanced their material prosperity. This Democratic administration has no more right to interfere with it than it has to interfere with the government of any other comparatively weak country. It has no right to review or seek to annul an act consummated by a previous administration, for as good Democratic constitutional testimony already has shown 'the power to review and revise the action of a predecessor assumes higher power in the office which reviews than exists in the office whose conduct is reviewed.' There is no constitutional warrant for this assumption as applied to different Presidents, for 'the powers of one President are absolutely identical and equal with the powers of all Presidents.' The government of the Hawaiian Islands was as much an accomplished fact when Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated as was the government at Washington. If, therefore, that government shall be disturbed by him; or, still more, if it shall be overthrown and a monarchy restored, whether by moral pressure, terrorism, or physical force, Congress immediately upon reassembling should call for all the papers and testimony in the case and administer a severe rebuke to the unpatriotic and un-American act. The people will rely upon Congress to bring the administration to a speedy halt if it persists in its attempt to overthrow an established government."

*One President
Has the Power
of Any Other*

Journal, New York, seemingly of November 23, 1893: "The representative of the Provisional Government in Hawaii is a frank and outspoken man, as he showed long ago in his statement of the original difficulty, which was first published exclusively in the Morning Journal.

"He makes such vigorous and complete answer to all of Mr. Blount's charges which refer to himself that

even those prejudiced against him must account him vindicated.

"His refutation of the capital charge of the 'paramount' Commissioner, that the forces of the United States interfered in the revolution which precipitated the long-named Queen from her throne, is absolute. In fact, Mr. Blount furnishes abundant material for his own demolishing, and of this Mr. Thurston makes skilful use.

"But we do not need to rely upon Mr. Thurston's unsupported testimony to be convinced that Uncle Sam was guiltless of undue pressure in Hawaiian politics. Other unimpeachable eyewitnesses contradict Mr. Blount as flatly as the Provisional Government's delegate does. The representations of these people have had much effect upon Congress, which will have a word of its own to say about the whole Hawaiian business when the regular session begins."

Tribune, New York, November 23, 1893: "Minister Thurston's statement completes the discomfiture of the Administration and of its 'paramount' person, Blount. It is a singularly straightforward document, dignified and to the point. Under ordinary circumstances a diplomatic officer representing a foreign Government at our capital would be guilty of serious impropriety in thus addressing the people, but the hot-tempered bungler now at the head of our State Department has behaved toward Minister Thurston with such extraordinary discourtesy that he is required to choose between having his country and its interests misrepresented to the people and coming in this way to their defence. It is of a part with his whole conduct in the Hawaiian affair that Mr. Gresham has deliberately and offensively ignored Mr. Thurston. The Hawaiian representative is here in no equivocal position. He is just as much the representative of the Hawaiian Government as Sir Julian Pauncefote is the representative of the British Government, and he is just as fully entitled to the usual and recognized relations existing between all foreign offices and the diplomatic representatives of Governments abroad. It is not the

*"Hot-tempered
Bungler" Heads
State Affairs*

smallest part of this Administration's outrage on Hawaii that it sent Minister Willis to that country charged to commit an act of war without communicating to its representative here the slightest indication of our Government's purpose.

"Mr. Thurston has full justification, in these circumstances, for the unusual course he has taken, and he will be thanked by the people generally for the exceedingly clear, frank and complete statement he has addressed to them. It is as different from the Blount report as light from darkness. There is not an unmanly reflection nor a vindictive remark in it. Its candor and truth are obvious from the opening to the closing sentence. It shows as a fact what everybody has already perceived from Blount's own report, that he went to Hawaii for the simple purpose of making a case in condemnation of the course of Minister Stevens, and to prevent the success of the annexation movement. The fact that he took no notice of the men who had brought about the revolution, that he asked them no questions, or at least paid no attention to their statements, disposes of his whole harangue, and leaves it and him jointly discredited before the people. The fact is as much established as any other fact in recent history that the revolution had succeeded before a single American marine had left the decks of the Boston. The Queen's Government was demoralized and broken. The Revolutionary Committee had been for two days organizing its forces for the openly avowed purpose of destroying the monarchy, and nobody had dared to lift a finger against them. The Queen and her party had no thought of anything except getting the best terms they could. There was no other interference on the part of Minister Stevens or the American troops than was absolutely necessary to insure the safety of American life and property and the conservation of our treaty rights against a situation that might have arisen or a result that might have been drawn from the unnatural and excited conditions of the Hawaiian capital. Mr. Stevens and Captain Wiltse did their duty, and nothing but their duty. They are entitled to the praise and thanks of the country.

"The Administration ought to retire from the posi-

*Thurston Will
Receive Thanks
For Frankness*

*Minister and
Captain Wiltse
Did Their Duty*

tion it has assumed with regard to Hawaii. It must retire or suffer the severest public rebuke that has been delivered to any President of the United States in a generation. Its supporters are scarcely a handful among the people. The great body of the Democratic press throughout the country is cold and silent, while many of the most powerful of the journals that usually support Democratic policies are sternly and resolutely declaring against this crazy Hawaiian reaction. 'The New-York Sun,' 'The Brooklyn Eagle,' 'The New-York World,' 'The Philadelphia Record,' 'The Atlanta Constitution,' 'The Philadelphia Ledger,' 'The Chicago Record,' 'The Springfield Republican,' 'The San Francisco Examiner,' 'The Providence Journal,' 'The Washington Post,' 'The Hartford Times,' 'The Rochester Post-Express' and 'The Washington Star' are examples of the Democratic newspapers which are giving daily warning to President Cleveland that he cannot rely on the Democratic party to support him in the sacrifice of American interests and American honor to serve the personal animosities of his narrow-minded Secretary of State. The Administration has put itself where it must either go forward or go back. There is no middle ground to take. It is, of course, unpleasant to acknowledge error, but that is the very least of the disagreeable conditions from which Mr. Cleveland must choose. However the people stand on the subject of annexation, no one but a fool, and a wilful fool at that, will now doubt that the Provisional Government of Hawaii has their sympathy and respect, and that they will not allow their Government to make war on that Government, nor to injure it in any respect whatever. And if Mr. Cleveland assumes of his own responsibility powers to accomplish the injury of the Hawaiian Government that do not belong to him, he will find that he has taken a step which will destroy his prestige and bring shame and condemnation to his supporters."

*Only a Willful
Fool Can Doubt
Public Opinion*

Evening Star, Washington, November 22, 1893: "The State Department people, with a good many winks and knowing nods of the head, are again insisting that the queen is now upon the throne in Hawaii. They do not,

of course, claim to have received any information since the arrival of the last steamer, which left before any move had been made on the part of Mr. Willis, and it is said, too, that the steamer which is expected to arrive tomorrow will not bring any news of importance on the subject, since the day set for the overthrow of the provisional government by Mr. Willis was after the time for the sailing of the steamer now about due. The information is that the latest communication received from Mr. Willis assured the department that at the time fixed he would make the move in accordance with his instructions, and that day has now passed. The plans were so timed that information on the subject cannot be received for two weeks or more. Therefore the department may enjoy the belief that the queen is on her throne for some time, but if on this occasion they are again mistaken the humiliation of the administration will be extreme.

"Offended At Mr. Thurston.

"The statement by Thurston in controversion of declarations in Mr. Blount's report has been very favorably received publicly, and is regarded as a complete answer to the material points in Blount's report. The administration is greatly offended at Mr. Thurston for daring to appeal to the public with his side of the case, and regard his action as a breach of the mysterious unwritten laws which govern diplomacy. Officials of the State Department regard this action as sufficient warrant for the administration to give Mr. Thurston his passports, but they are afraid that to take this course would offend public sentiment still more and that it would injure the administration.

"Blount's Breach of Propriety.

"On the other hand the publication of the report of Mr. Blount containing brutal attacks upon Mr. Thurston, an accredited representative of a friendly government in this country, is regarded in diplomatic circles as an almost unheard of breach of propriety and it is said had any representative of a stronger government been treated in this way he would have demanded his

*Thurston Gives
Reason Enough
For His Recall*

passports and an apology would have been required of this government.

"Mr. Gresham And Mr. Thurston.

"While there has been no intermission of personal intercourse between Mr. Thurston and Secretary Gresham, the course of the department toward the representative who was sent as the accredited minister of the provisional government of Hawaii to the United States appears to have been that of quietly ignoring him in a diplomatic capacity. This is indicated by Mr. Thurston himself, by his assertion that no copy of the Blount report has been officially transmitted to him. This was also true of Secretary Gresham's letter to the President of October 18. Mr. Thurston derived his knowledge of both documents through the press. There is, therefore, a double edge to his prefatory statement that it would be 'contrary to diplomatic courtesy' for him to publish a statement on the contentions of the United States government concerning its relations with Hawaii 'prior to informing the United States government of the same.'

*Now He Seems
to Be Ignored
by Department*

"Lord Sackville's Memorandum.

"Mr. Thurston's dramatic recital of the revolution of 1887 recalls the fact that when the news of that event was received the British minister (at that time Sir Lionel Sackville West) asked the United States to join England and France and Germany in an international guarantee of the neutrality of the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands (similar to the Samoan agreement). He waited upon Mr. Bayard and handed him the following memorandum, which is printed at page 774 of Foreign Relations of 1888: ('Memo handed to Mr. Bayard by Sir L. S. Sackville West.)

" 'WASHINGTON, Dec. 23, 1887.

" 'England and France by the convention of November 28, 1843, are bound to consider the Sandwich Islands as an independent state, and never to take possession, either directly or under the title of a protectorate or any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed.

*We Never Will
Take Islands,
Is the Pledge*

*United States
Did Not Adopt
the Suggestion*

“The best way to secure this object would, in the opinion of her majesty’s government, be that the powers chiefly interested in the trade of the Pacific should join in making a formal declaration similar to that of 1843, above alluded to, and that the United States government should, with England and Germany, guarantee the neutrality and equal accessibility of the islands and their harbors to the ships of all nations without preference.’

“The United States did not adopt the suggestion.

“Nothing in affirmation or contradiction of the rumor that yesterday was the date fixed for the restoration of the queen can be obtained from official sources.

“Mr. Thurston Not Disturbed.”

“Mr. Thurston is not disturbed. He laughingly said this morning that he really didn’t believe that his passports would be sent to him. There was just a suspicion in Mr. Thurston’s manner of a feeling that such an outcome would not be a terrible disaster after all. It is certain that his return to Hawaii as an exile from here for indulging in a modification of the manly act of self-defense would be very much of a triumph and would elevate his political stock immensely. He is a popular man and as a martyr would easily command a still greater following at home.

“One Theory Advanced.”

“‘I have a theory,’ said an official of the government—not of the State Department—whose name cannot be given for obvious reasons, ‘that there has been a good deal of sailing close up into the wind on both sides of this case. It seems to me that nothing would please the government better than for Mr. Thurston to ask for his passports, and something tells me that Secretary Gresham had a belief that perhaps Mr. Thurston might take sufficient offense at the original report to leave of his own accord. And, on the other hand, I have information that Mr. Thurston had this matter fully in mind when he wrote his reply and threw out a tempting bait that he would not have been displeased to see swallowed.’

“This represents a certain line of sentiment. It is known that Secretary Gresham would like to see a

*Tempting Bait
Is Thrown Out
to Mr. Gresham*

change made in the Hawaiian legation here, and that he would welcome any steps that might lead to Mr. Thurston's withdrawal.

"Mr. Gresham May Resign.

"At the same time the reports come rattling in that the Secretary himself is on the verge of a resignation, all of which makes a most wonderful tangle.

"Ministers have been dismissed from countries for less cause than that afforded by Mr. Thurston's statement. In effect he accuses Mr. Blount boldly and unqualifiedly of misstating matters, and he also charges him with unfair and ex-parte methods of conducting so important an investigation. As Mr. Blount made the statements as an officer of the government and as his report was accepted by Secretary Gresham as the basis for his suggestion to the President that the queen be restored, Mr. Thurston is definitely placed in the attitude of impeaching the accuracy of Mr. Gresham's own report and thus he has placed in question the entire case of the government. To be sure Mr. Thurston starts out by disclaiming any official knowledge of the reports made by Mr. Blount, and relies entirely upon the newspaper abstracts that have been printed of it. He also affirms that he writes as an individual and not as a diplomatic agent.

"As to Mr. Willis.

"In case Mr. Thurston should be sent away it would not necessarily follow that Mr. Willis would be recalled from his post in Hawaii, for the dismissal of a minister only is a personal matter and does not impliedly reflect upon the government from which he is accredited. Should the entire legation be given their passports then it would be essential that our legation in Hawaii should be brought back. If Mr. Thurston only should go, the next in charge at the legation would be accredited pending the appointment of another minister.

"At the same time it is important to state that while this government might not send for Mr. Willis, the Hawaiian government would be very apt to dismiss him when the news of Mr. Thurston's dismissal from here became known out in the islands.

*Hawaii Likely
to Give Willis
His Passports*

“There is a case of recent happening where a foreign minister was sent out of the country. This was the case of Lord Sackville West, the British minister, who, during the second campaign of Mr. Cleveland, wrote a letter to a supposed former English subject in the west, who had addressed him to ask for advice as to how to vote in the ensuing elections. The reply of the minister was that his correspondent would in all probability be furthering British interests best by voting for Mr. Cleveland.

“This government immediately dismissed Lord Sackville on the ground that he had interfered with American politics. Great Britain took no offense at this action and the status of the American minister in London was not changed.

“A rumor of what Mr. Thurston had written reached the ears of some of the officials of the administration last night and it is said that there were threats made that if the minister had gone as far as was reported he would be sent away without much ceremony.

“The Administration May Let Go.”

“It is stated today that it was decided at yesterday’s cabinet meeting that the administration had pursued the policy of restoration far enough and that if the queen were not restored when the steamer, which is due tomorrow, left Honolulu, all further efforts to secure that result would be dropped.”

Herald, New York, November 23, 1893: “Persons unfriendly to the attitude of the administration in the Hawaiian matter profess to believe that the officials of this government are much exercised over the reply of Minister Thurston to Mr. Blount’s expose of the conspiracy of Minister Stevens and the members of the provisional government, and that Secretary Gresham will retaliate by giving Mr. Thurston his passports.

“So far as Mr. Gresham is concerned Mr. Thurston’s published statement has had no more effect than if it had never been made and no official attention will be paid to it. To all intents and purposes Minister Thurston and

*Mr. Secretary
Is Unaffected
by Statement*

all the members of his government are already practically 'back numbers.'

"Minister Thurston has been received recently by Mr. Gresham, and will be treated pleasantly if he should call again. The State Department, however, will not transact any further official business with him; neither will it give him his passports as has been rumored. The department takes it for granted that Mr. Thurston will leave the country of his own free will upon the receipt of the first news that Minister Willis has recognized the Queen.

*Expected to Go
at Recognition
of Liliuokalani*

"Except among those who are anxious for anything that will aid to offset the strong evidence submitted by Minister Blount against the outrageous conduct of Minister Stevens the statement of Mr. Thurston is generally considered here as a very lame defence. State Department officials consider that they can leave Mr. Blount's statement of facts out of the question altogether and take up Minister Stevens' own official papers on file in the department and make an argument which will rebut every contention made by Mr. Thurston."—From Mr. Thurston's journal and scrapbook, November-December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

CHAPTER XIX

RETORT OF FORMER MINISTER STEVENS

John L. Stevens, former United States minister to Hawaii, who had returned from Honolulu to Augusta, Maine, issued a reply to Mr. Blount's report, which was published throughout the country on November 29, 1893. It was as follows:

*Colony Planted
Righteously as
Plymouth Rock*

"A deep sense of obligation to my country and an American's duty to defend an insulted, threatened, and struggling American colony, planted as righteously and firmly on the North Pacific Isles as our Pilgrim Fathers established themselves on Plymouth Rock, demand that I shall make an answer to the astounding misrepresentations and untruths of Commissioner Blount's report on Hawaiian affairs, a copy of which I first obtained, with difficulty, Saturday evening, November 25th. It is proper for me to preface my answer by briefly alluding to the fact, that those familiar with international rules and proceedings, and have had diplomatic experience, must be astonished that Secretary Gresham and his commissioner should make, before the world, such a persistent effort to discredit the recent agents of the department they now represent, and which was once represented by Thomas Jefferson, William L. Marcy, William H. Seward and James G. Blaine. The general adoption of such a policy, by our department of foreign affairs, could not fail to weaken greatly our influence with foreign countries in any future effort, and serve to make the American diplomatic service contemptible in the eyes of the world. Not only is the course of Gresham and Blount extremely un-American in its form and spirit, but it is also in direct opposition to the civilizing and Christianizing influence on the Hawaiian Islands, while is playing into British hands, in direct opposition to the efforts of the American Board of Missions, and to the American Government, for more than sixty years, in all of which period there

*States Playing
Into the Hands
of the British*

MEMOIRS OF LORRIN A. THURSTON

has been a uniform, continuous, and patriotic American policy.

"I may also make a preliminary remark regarding the repeatedly asserted opinion of those who have assailed my official action, that I was prepared for, and stimulated to, it by the accomplished and thoroughly Ameri-

*Patriotic and
Uniform Policy
Toward Islands*



TWO SOULS WITH BUT A SINGLE THOUGHT

"Herald," New York. President Cleveland and Queen Liliuokalani watch an argument between James H. Blount and John L. Stevens; from Mr. Thurston's journal and scrapbook, November-December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

*Course Plotted
by Secretaries
Marcy, Bayard*

can statesman who occupied the Department of State most of the period of President Harrison's Administration. It is sufficient to say, that this expressed surmise is utterly without foundation. What I know and state on this point accords with what ex-Secretary Tracy has recently asserted in that regard. Still more, I may properly add, that the lines of official duty as followed by myself and Captain Wiltse, and the course of the Administration and of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, in the critical Hawaiian days of January and February last, were exactly on the lines marked out by Secretary Marcy in 1854, and by Secretary Bayard in his dispatch to Minister Merrill, July 12th, 1887. Marcy's instructions and draft of Treaty provided for Annexation. Bayard's instructions, of 1887, held the United States' Minister and Naval Commander, at Honolulu, responsible for the protection of American life and property and the '*preservation of public order.*'

"So much as a necessary introduction to my consideration of Blount's report. Not wishing to be severe on a neophyte in diplomacy, with little knowledge of the world's affairs outside of his own country, sent on a very peculiar errand amid currents and quick sands entirely unknown to him, he has been partly the victim of circumstances, having been caught in the meshes and snares adroitly prepared for him by the cunning advisers of the fallen Liliuokalani, and by the shrewd, sharp, long-experienced British diplomatic agent, whose aims and hopes Blount has served so well, and without the least suspicion that he was aiding ultra-British interests, even more than he was helping the Hawaiian monarchists and the justly dethroned queen. It is clear enough from Blount's manner on the day of his arrival at Honolulu, as well as by his letter to the Department of State written shortly after, that he designed, at whatever cost, to repudiate the views and action of the recently terminated administration, and that in order to do so he must impugn the action of Minister Stevens and of the Commander of the United States ship, Boston. A total stranger, it was impossible for Mr. Blount to know how unfitting it was for him to take up his quarters where he was certain to be surrounded by royalists, and where the supporters of the Provisional Government would be reluctant to go. The

hotel was kept by one who had served as Kalakaua's chamberlain, who was one of the principal persons in a syndicate that had cheated the Hawaiian Government out of nearly one hundred thousand dollars, a transaction which Minister Merrill had officially reported to Secretary Bayard, and this man was the leading member of a firm that sought to do its chief business with England, a thoroughly unprincipled opponent of the Provisional Government and of the American predominance in the Islands. He employed as his active assistant in managing the hotel a highly educated Englishman, of disreputable character, who had written in the Hawaiian British newspaper, under anonymous signature, articles abusive of the United States and grossly falsifying our Government's treatment of the Indians." [The men were George W. Macfarlane, president of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, and F. M. English, manager.—*Editor.*] "This man had had a most unsavory record while residing in the United States, and has been a bitter assailant of American officials in American newspapers—in the paid service of the fallen queen he has written whatever she and her immoral favorite, Wilson, have asked him to write. Residing at that hotel, Mr. Blount was under the constant espionage of the palace adventurers. As a precautionary safeguard against thus shutting out the Americans from ready access to Commissioner Blount, a wealthy and a highly respectable widow lady, of the American colony, was ready to grant the use of her house to Mr. and Mrs. Blount, the Commissioner to pay the same amount it would cost him to live at the Royalist's Hotel. This private house was situated near the United States Legation, in the quarter of the city where Annexationists and Royalists could have unobstructed access to the commissioner, and where he could conveniently avail himself of the Legation records. This polite offer of an American residence to an American Commissioner did not originate with the Provisional Government, nor did the Provisional Government have anything whatever to do with the proposed arrangement. A committee of three American citizens, born and educated in the United States, the superiors of Mr. Blount in education and manners, men who had not taken part in the revolutionary proceedings of the previous two weeks, went on board the *Rush* when that

*Hawaii Loses
Sizable Sum
to Syndicate*

*Polite Proffer
Not Suggested
by Government*

*Blount Manner
Repels Three;
Stevens Talks*

vessel came into the harbor, while I was courteously meeting Mr. and Mrs. Blount on their arrival. At the request of the three American gentlemen I introduced them to Mr. Blount. His manner of receiving their visit repelled them, and they asked me to state the reasons why it would be pleasant to him, and better for all concerned, not to go to the Royalist's Hotel, but to take residence on neutral ground, where he would be master of his own surroundings. As delicately as I could do so, I stated the offer of the committee of his countrymen, pointing out to him that by accepting their proposition he would be near the archives of the Legation, which he could conveniently use, which I would be pleased at once to place at his disposal. Brusquely, not to say insultingly, he refused the courteous and honestly-intended offer of his countrymen, and at once placed himself amid royalists and ultra-British surroundings, the British Legation being near this Royalist's Hotel, at which the British Minister soon took residence and living.

"The effort in his report to cast imputation on the Provisional Government and myself as to the offer of the American house to an American Commissioner, will be estimated at its true value by the American public. Commissioner Blount's manner towards me in the following weeks I would not allude to here, were it not absolutely necessary to do so. It is well known to all who have knowledge of diplomatic rules and customs, that when a new diplomatic agent arrives at the capital to whose government he is accredited, his predecessor and the occupant of the Legation should receive him courteously, proffer his services to his successor, inform him of the existing state of affairs, and, as soon as convenient, give him access to the Legation archives. This I did promptly, and had he availed himself of the kind offer of his countrymen as to residence, he could have occupied the room at the Legation, containing the official records, which I was ready to offer him. He coldly repelled my kindly-intentioned offers, did not allow me to show to him the customary forms of introducing him to the foreign diplomatic officials and to the chief public men of Honolulu. How much of his singular course in these regards was due to want of knowledge, and how much to his already matured purpose to make out a case against the United States Min-

*Commissioner
Not Presented
to Officialdom*

ister, the Naval Commander and the Provisional Government, the American public must judge. All insinuations and implications in Blount's report, that I was averse to his access to the legation records, is a shameless perversion of facts. To show the character of the men into whose environment he so quickly placed himself, I took to him the printed dispatches of Minister Merrill to Secretary Bayard, the printed records of the recently adjourned Legislature, containing the recorded votes for and against the lottery gang, the recorded votes as to the recent changes of Ministers, the official copy of the lottery charter, evidence of decisive value, if he had really come to Honolulu for any other purpose than to convict Harrison's Administration, and the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, of hasty and ill advised action in January and February last.

"His manner while allowing me to leave these important documents in his room, showed that he cared not to receive them, and the general drift of his report indicates that he did not even read them. Ignoring his inferiority of official rank, which, according to established rules the world over, was below that of Minister Resident, between a Consul General and Charge d'Affaires, with the utmost effort of will controlling my outraged sensibilities, while suffering a terrible affliction at the recent sad drowning of a gifted and beloved daughter, I endured this insolent treatment, after thirteen years of service as United States Minister, without a stain ever before attempted to be made on my official honor or my fidelity to American prestige and to American interests, never during my seventy-three years of life having lifted my voice, my hand, or my rifle, against the flag of this American Republic. The charges, implications, and insinuations of Commissioner Blount against President Dole, Minister Thurston, and the other chief men of Provisional Government, are as baseless and unjust as those against myself and Captain Wiltse, now sleeping in his honored grave." [Miss Grace Stevens, secretary to her father the minister, sailed with him for Hilo on the U. S. S. *Boston* on January 4, 1893. Instead of returning to Honolulu with him, she visited friends in Hamakua, Island of Hawaii. Hearing of the revolution, she wished to return to assist her

*Never Lifted
Hand or Rifle
Against Flag*

father, and was lowered down a cliff into a boat of the steamship *Kinau* at Kukaiau. She was killed when the boat was smashed against the rocks. Her body arrived in Honolulu on January 31, on the eve of the proclamation of the American quasi protectorate on February 1. The statement of Mr. Stevens, that he had never lifted his voice, hand, or rifle against the flag, is a thrust at Mr. Blount, who was a Confederate colonel.—*Editor.*]

“But it is well for me to be more specific in meeting our opponent’s recklessly partisan and ex-parte statements and arguments. Under the date of April 21, he says he disapproved of a request of the Provisional Government, that the American forces be landed for drill. I here affirm that the Provisional Government never made such a request. The Provisional Government followed the exact course followed under the monarchy. Whenever the Naval Commander desired to drill his men on shore, in accordance with naval regulations, he so signified to the United States Minister, who made the request of the Hawaiian Government through the Minister of Foreign Affairs. To my knowledge, at the period of which Blount speaks, the Provisional Government preferred that the American sailors and marines should not land for drill, because of possibilities of ill-feeling and broil between men of other naval vessels then in the harbor, but they granted these requests only as friendly and customary courtesy.

“What Blount says about the Japanese Man-of-war is equally ex-parte, absurd, and egotistic. For weeks after his arrival in Honolulu he had not even met or spoken with the Japanese Minister. He had neglected to call upon the Japanese official, and did not ask me to take him to the Japanese Legation and introduce him to the Japanese representative.

“Touching certain incidents of suspicion and alarm in Honolulu regarding some of the Japanese in the Islands and the sudden appearance there of a powerful Japanese iron-clad, in addition to a smaller vessel there, in February and March, prior to Mr. Blount’s arrival, I had taken the most prompt precautionary steps, and fully informed both Secretaries Foster and Gresham, who were at the head of the Department of State in those

*Japanese Craft
Suddenly Comes
to the Islands*

months. How much solid foundation there really was for the excitement and anxiety in Hawaii at that time in regard to the Japanese, it was impossible positively to ascertain. But the circumstances were such that I would have been derelict as a Minister of the United States, which has a large preponderance of interests and commercial rights in the Islands, not to have been vigilant in the discharge of my duty. Several weeks before the fall of the monarchy I had been authoritatively informed that the newly arrived Japanese Commissioner would press on the Hawaiian Government the demand, that the Japanese in the Islands should have the right of suffrage precisely as the American, European, and native born Hawaiians enjoyed it under the constitution of 1887. Not long after the Provisional Government had been established, prior to Blount's arrival, I received positive information, both from the Japanese Minister and from the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the renewal of the demand of the right of suffrage of the Japanese residents, and there was known to be much ferment, if not an organized movement, among some of the Japanese in the same direction. I had positively learned that the Japanese Commissioner had sent, by the steamer *Claudine*, which left Honolulu with the Hawaiian Washington Commissioners, January 19, a cable dispatch to his government at Tokio, requesting that a powerful iron-clad be immediately sent to Honolulu, though it was known that a smaller Japanese warship was about to arrive there from San Francisco. I do not intend to criticise the Japanese Commissioner for thinking he needed another Japanese war ship at Honolulu at that time. He was entitled to his own opinions, and was bound only by the instructions of his own Government. It certainly was not strange that in the peculiar circumstances of the Hawaiian situation, there should be anxiety among the Americans and the members of the Provisional Government, as to what might grow out of this agitation about Japanese suffrage and certain Japanese ambitions as to the future control of the Islands. Sir Edward" [Sir Edwin, author of *The Light of Asia*.—*Editor*.] "Arnold's elaborate letter in the London Telegraph, of January 24th, had arrived there. Arnold's Japanese residence and sympathizers

*Nippon Intends
to Push Demand
For the Ballot*

*Disquiet Felt
by Government
and Americans*

*Contract Labor
Enriches Some
in Both Lands*

were believed to have some relation to much that had been said in Tokio, by certain European antagonists of American interests and aims, and it was well known that individuals, both in Japan and Hawaii, had enriched themselves in the supply of Japanese contract labor. These persons were known to be bitterly averse to the passage of the Islands under the American flag, in the just fear that in such an event, their contract labor profits would no more swell their bank accounts. The fallen queen's unscrupulous and oily attorney was known to be one who had shared in this kind of gain, and was still the agent of this ring of speculators. It was feared by the supporters of the Provisional Government, that the fallen queen, the lottery ring and palace gang, would not hesitate to promise to grant to the Japanese the right of suffrage in the Islands, provided they would aid in restoring Liliuokalani to the throne. Among the nearly twenty thousand Japanese on the Islands, there were said to be many who had served in the Japanese army at home. The sudden appearance of the Japanese iron-clad in Honolulu harbor could not fail to create anxiety and misunderstanding. It was in these peculiar circumstances that I felt it my imperative duty to have repeated interviews with my Japanese colleague. He did not attempt to conceal from me his wish that the suffrage right should be granted to the Japanese residents. He was frank and earnest on the subject. I was equally frank in informing him that I had no authority to speak on the subject, but that in the then existing circumstances and in the maintenance of our superior rights and interests in Hawaii, I expressed to him the opinion that the United States would resist any encroachment on the soil or sovereignty of Hawaii, and that I would maintain this position until otherwise instructed by my Government. These friendly interviews, in which the long existing friendship and mutual interests of our respective countries were fully gone over, gave pacifying results to the well informed, though they did not at once put an end to public anxiety as to the suffrage agitation and as to what use the fallen Queen's supporters might make of it. Every step of my action was duly reported to the Department of State, prior to Blount having any knowledge on the subject. His claim to have put an

*United States
Cannot Permit
Encroachment*

end to Hawaiian anxiety about rumored Japanese encroachment is as purely assumptive as his expression to me at my house, that to him the Harrison Administration was indebted for the strong Democratic support which was given it in the threatened war with Chili, and that Senator Morgan, now chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs could not aid much in the same direction, and is not a level headed man.

"In Blount's report, as given in the press, I find the following language:

"The two leading members of the committee, Messrs. Thurston and Smith, growing uneasy as to the safety of their persons, went to Minister Stevens to know if he would protect them in the event of their arrest, by the authorities, in which he gave his assent."

"It is enough to say that there is not a semblance of truth in this assertion of Blount, made by him without his ever having hinted it to me or made any inquiry of me on the subject. He thus gives the signature of his endorsement to a charge which I never even heard of until I found it in Blount's printed report.

*Stevens Calls
Blount Charge
Wholly Untrue*

"He says, the response to the call of the Committee of Safety to land the men of the Boston 'Does not appear in the files of the Legation.' The meaning of this insinuation is obvious. Enough to say, there never was any such document. I received the invitation of the Committee of Safety for what it was worth, as I received other information on the same subject. I should have requested Captain Wiltse to have landed his force, had not the Committee of Safety requested it. The critical circumstances existing, the fear of incendiarism, tumult, and robbery, and the danger of alarming panics in the night, more than justified our carrying out the standing instructions of the State and Navy Departments of July, 1887, which held the United States Minister and Naval Commander responsible for the protection of American life and property, 'and for the preservation of public order.' The facts and the logic of the situation clearly indicated our duty.

"It is well to state here, that this landing of American forces in Honolulu, had repeatedly taken place in a period running over many years. This happened in

1874, in 1887, in 1889, and was on the eve of being done on several other occasions. Several times prior to the events of January last, I had been notified by the representatives of the queen, to be in readiness to receive a request to land our naval force. Repeatedly had our naval commanders during my official residence in Honolulu got everything in readiness to land, on information as to signs of danger which they and their officers had gathered by being in close touch with the then existing state of things.

*Three Critical
Years See Play
of Same Forces*

“The elements and forces of Hawaii in play in 1887, 1889, and in 1893 were and are essentially the same. The breadth and strength of the prevailing elements and forces in 1893 being more decisive than in the former periods. Those who assert to the contrary, are not honest, else they do not understand what they have written about. To say that the overturn of the Hawaiian monarchy was bogus, a mere scare, is as absurd as would be the claim of those who might assert that the fall of Louis Philippe in 1848, and of Louis Napoleon in 1871, was an illusion and a fraud.

“Blount squarely asserts that I promised to aid the Committee of Safety by force. This is emphatically and categorically untrue. In reply to rival parties at different times, whether the representatives of the queen or her opponents, my answer was always the same, that the force would not land until danger should be plainly imminent, and then only to protect American life and property, and to no one did I ever hint that I could, or would, recognize any but the de facto government, whether monarchical or republican, and as I said in my letter to Secretary Gresham, I here reaffirm that royalists and their opponents had equal access to the Legation and to its official head. The best answer to the baseless charge, that I promised to use force against the queen, is the order of Captain Wiltse to his officers and his men, ‘To remain passive’ and that no force was used, though the queen, through her Ministers, strongly requested it hours before the Provisional Government was recognized by me and all the other diplomatic representatives in Honolulu.

“One of the most striking evidences of Blount’s

prejudices, exparte, and unwarranted statements, is the following: 'A meeting of the Committee of Safety was held that night, January 16th, at the house of Henry Waterhouse, next door to Minister Stevens' house, determined on the dethronement of the queen, and selected officers.'

"The intent of the author of this language is obvious on its face. He wished it to be understood that this meeting was held near my residence for the purpose of easy access to, and in collusion with, the United States Minister. What are the facts? Henry Waterhouse is an English merchant of wealth, of recognized character for integrity, intelligence, and of the most exemplary life. He has resided in the Islands since early childhood, and is now a member of the Provisional Government. Though living so near me, he rarely talked Hawaiian political affairs with me, though he could but suppose that my private convictions must be in harmony with the prevailing views of all respectable Americans as to what had been going on in the Islands for months. Of this meeting at the house of Henry Waterhouse, specified by Blount, I had no hint or knowledge at the time it was held, knew not of whom the meeting was composed, nor what was its action, and my first information as to the persons assembled at that meeting I obtain from Blount's report.

"It is proper for me to say here, that for three years prior to the queen's *coup d'etat* and fall, I had kept myself as thoroughly informed as possible as to the views, plans, and purposes of the several factions and parties that contended for control in Hawaiian political affairs. This was my imperative duty as a Minister, and it was equally my duty to keep the State Department at Washington well informed as to all facts bearing on the actual situation. This necessarily compelled me to hold conversations with the best informed persons of the Reform party, the queen's party, and with the Wilcox and native Hawaiian party, whose organized efforts for months was to induce or compel the queen to break with her paramour, marshal Wilson, whom they regarded as a foreigner, who was born in Tahiti, of native mother and an English father, and who was very objectionable to the native Ha-

*Report Hints
at Collusion
With Minister*

*Hawaiian Party
Desires Queen
to Drop Wilson*

*Marshal Stands
Between People
and the Throne*

waiians, who believed Wilson stood between them and their sovereign, and who they well knew largely dictated at the palace. I was certainly as well informed of the views and plans of the royalists as I was of those of her opponents, generally carefully keeping my private opinions to myself.

“Regarding the expectations and hopes of the queen and her representatives in the exciting days from January 14th and January 17th, and the views and hopes of her opponents, the following official documents speak for themselves:

“The assurance conveyed by a royal proclamation by myself and ministers yesterday having been received by my native subjects and by them ratified at a mass meeting, was received in a different spirit by the meeting representing the foreign population and interests in my kingdom. It is now my desire to give to Your Excellency as the diplomatic representative of the United States of America at my court, the solemn assurance that the present constitution will be upheld and maintained by me and ministers and no changes will be made except by the method therein provided. I desire to express to Your Excellency this assurance in the spirit of that friendship which has ever existed between my kingdom and that of the Government of the United States of America, and which I trust will long continue.

“LILIUOKALANI, R.

“SAMUEL PARKER, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

“WM. H. CORNWELL, Minister of Finance.

“JOHN F. COLBURN, Minister of Interior.

“A. P. PETERSON, Attorney General.

“IOLANI PALACE,

“HONOLULU, January 17, 1893.’

*Pleading Paper
From the Queen
Is Bit Belated*

“This earnestly pleading document from the fallen monarch and the terror-stricken lottery gang came to me more than twenty hours after the men of the Boston had landed. This plainly enough implies that the fallen queen and her confidants then knew, as they could not have failed to know, that we had not taken part in her overthrow, which had already been accomplished. An hour later the fallen ministers came to

the Legation and urged on me the inquiry, if I could not use the United States force to sustain the queen. My answer was what one can readily suppose it must have been,—that the United States soldiers were on shore for a specific purpose, to protect American life and property, and could not take sides in aid of the fallen monarch nor with those who were then masters of the situation and were creating a new government.

“It will throw light on this pleading message from the queen more than forty-eight hours after her practical dethronement, to state that the landing of the United States forces in 1874 to put down a mob, which United States action resulted in securing Kalakaua on the throne, had had the effect of strongly fixing in the mind of Liliuokalani and her immediate supporters, the idea that they had only to call on the United States Minister whenever her power was in danger, and that the United States force would continue to adhere to an established policy in this regard. In this is the explanation that her fallen ministers came to me, with much assurance, to ask that I would use the United States forces to restore and support the fallen Liliuokalani. She and they could not see the very different case of her brother Kalakaua in 1874 and her own case, January 17th, 1893.

*Royalist Idea:
American Force
Always at Call*

“In a report to the navy department, dated January 16, Captain Wiltse, after announcing the fact that the forces had been landed, says:

“‘While there has been no demonstration, so far, there can be no doubt that the prompt landing of the battalion has saved life and property.’

“The request of Minister Stevens upon which the Captain acted reads as follows:

“‘United States Legation, Jan. 16, 1893.

“‘In view of the existing critical circumstances in Honolulu, indicating an inadequate legal force, I request you to land marines and sailors from the ship under your command for the protection of the United States Legation and the United States Consulate, and to secure the safety of American life and property.

“‘JOHN L. STEVENS.

“To Captain Wiltse, U. S. N.’

“The order of Captain Wiltse to Lieutenant-Commander Swinburne, who commanded the naval battalion on shore, reads as follows, under the same date:

“‘You will take command of the battalion and land in Honolulu for the purpose of protecting our Legation, and the lives and property of American citizens, and to assist in the preservation of public order. Great prudence must be exercised by both officers and men, and no action taken that is not fully warranted by the condition of affairs and by the conduct of those who may be inimical to the treaty rights of American citizens. You will inform me at the earliest practicable moment, of any change in the situation.’

“Mr. Blount’s shamefully unfair attempt to cast suspicion on myself in the matter of the hall for the men of the Boston, on the first evening of their landing, I have answered in my letter to Secretary Gresham. I will repeat my language here.

“After I had made my request to Captain Wiltse to land his men as a precautionary safeguard to American life and property, he and his officers informed me that their men must have shelter for the night. Without special information in that regard, I had supposed that the ship’s marines had tents of their own for their customary use in case of emergency on shore. I at once wrote a note and sent it by messenger to secure a large hall that was supposed to be available. The man in charge of the hall was several miles away. I had not known of the existence of the Arion hall until that evening, when a messenger with my note was sent to the supposed agent of the Arion hall, who was a royalist. He returned me a courteous answer, saying he would be pleased to let the hall for the specified purpose, but he had ceased to be the agent, informing me who had then charge of the hall. This required a third note, and a third effort of the messenger, which proved successful. So much time had been thus consumed that the Boston’s marines and sailors were obliged to stand weary hours in the streets before they were able to go to their night quarters. All of them would have been lodged at the legation and consulate but

*Great Prudence
Is Enjoined by
Captain Wiltse*



Paul Neumann, once attorney-general, more prominent in these memoirs as the attorney for the deposed Liliuokalani

Paul Neumann

for want of room, where as many as possible were received, these localities being several streets and squares from the palace and government building. For the occupation of Arion hall by the men of the Boston the committee of public safety and supporters of the provisional government had no more responsibility than Secretary Gresham himself.

"One of the chief objects in view by myself and Captain Wiltse in landing the marines and sailors was to quiet the fear and panic in the city that incendiary fires might be set by irresponsible parties for sake of plunder. This fear was augmented by the fact that most of the buildings of the city are of wood. The request made of me by Captain Wiltse and his officials when they came ashore was a hall for shelter, and maps of the city to enable them to act effectively if tumult and incendiarism should come, so that they would know how to act with capacity and efficiency. To obtain the hall and receive the necessary maps occupied my time until late in the evening, there being only one map of the city in the Legation, others being obtained by application at different private houses.

"A copy of the call of the Committee of Safety which Blount insinuates that I wished to conceal from him, had been promptly forwarded to Washington in January, and was in the printed pamphlet of the State Department documents, ordered published by the Senate, a copy of which I supposed Blount must have brought with him when he came to the Islands.

"Perhaps it is unnecessary to copy here the following from Blount to Gresham dated June 28, 1893:

"In my dispatch to the Department of April 26, I said: "Mr. Paul Neumann is generally regarded here as a bright, plausible and unscrupulous person." I desire now to say that so far as the expression "unscrupulous" is concerned a better knowledge of public opinion satisfies me that I was not justified in its use.

"JAMES A. BLOUNT,

"Special Commissioner of the United States.'

"Why this remarkable change of opinion? So long as he supposed Neumann wished to make a trade with the

*People in Fear
of Incendiary
Fire, Plunder*

*Committee Call
Promptly Sent
to Washington*

*Three Linked
in Conspiracy
on Annexation*

United States or with the Provisional Government for a cash consideration of all Liliuokalani claims, Blount regarded Neumann a knave. As soon as this astute Commissioner ascertained that Neumann was in full accord with Spreckels and Blount for Liliuokalani's restoration to the throne, at once Blount immediately learned that Neumann is 'a right down' good fellow. So much for conclusive evidence that Spreckels, Neumann and Blount were then, as now, rowing the same boat, and closely linked in the conspiracy to damage the action of Harrison's Administration, and of the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs, on the question of annexation. To the same object Blount devoted much of his report to disapprove and repudiate the action of Secretary Marcy and the Democratic Administration of 1854, in authorizing our Commissioners at Honolulu to negotiate a treaty of annexation on lines similar to those of President Harrison and the Senate Committee of February last.

"This tilt of Blount, Spreckels and Neumann against Marcy, Grant, Seward, Fish, Blaine, Harrison, and other leading American statesmen, must amuse the American public, as much as other recent transactions hostile to the American colony in Hawaii are exciting just public indignation.

"So far as the affidavits of John F. Colburn and A. P. Peterson and Charles L. Hopkins and the letter of W. H. Cornwell conflict with any writing or act of mine I will not multiply words. The first named is a notorious corruptionist, with some amiable qualities, who aided in bribing the Legislative members to vote out the Jones-Wilcox ministry and to pass the lottery bill, and he demanded and received as compensation for his infamous services a few hours of occupancy of the Hawaiian Interior Department, and Peterson is the man who aided in the distribution of the lottery stock for the purchase of legislative vote, and held the Queen's authority to constitute a lottery cabinet, and to aid the Queen to proclaim a reactionary Constitution.

*Minister Glad
to Say Little
of Mr. Parker*

"As to Samuel Parker whose testimony is used to discredit my action, I would gladly say little. Mostly of native Hawaiian stock, he has a small fraction of Anglo-Saxon blood. Good-natured, free-hearted, ignorant, fond

of luxuriant living, a notorious spendthrift, he has wasted a large fortune left him by his grandfather and uncle. His word and his note are of little value among the bankers and business men of Honolulu. For years trying to play politics and to be the queen's Minister, for which service he is without capacity, he has competed with Wilson for the control and the favors of the recent immoral occupant of the palace. He was a ready tool in the hands of Peterson and Cornwell in the palace conspiracy which precipitated the fall of the monarchy. It seems impossible that Blount should not have learned of the real character of the four fallen Ministers, whose words he cites.

"Of the Dr. G. Trousseau, who figures conspicuously among Blount's affidavits, white-washing the notorious Wilson and Liliuokalani, and abusively reflecting on my official action, I need only say, that he is an adventurous Frenchman, with whose printed record in Paris and moral career in Honolulu, I will not soil this paper. Of J. A. Cummins, it is correct to remark, that what is herein said of Samuel Parker, in most respects applies to Cummins. A half-white, left valuable property by his English father, he has wasted it in extravagant living and shameful expenditures. For years Cummins has had two wives at the same time in his home. It is not strange that W. T. Seward unites in testimony with Cummins, for Seward is a kind of house clerk and steward of Cummins, occupying the same home in which, it is well known in Honolulu, there is a great deal of unlawful freedom of life.

"Throughout his ponderous document Blount ignores that the division between the queen's supporters is not the ordinary division of parties in most countries. In Hawaii now and in recent years it is a division between bad men and good men, between men of moral character, property, and intelligence, and those of the opposite characteristics. The distinction is as broad as between the notorious Boss Tweed and his supporters, and the best citizens of New York, who overturned that powerful and corrupt ring.

"Regarding the Governor Cleghorn, whose protest Blount speaks of relative to landing the men of the Boston, little need be said. Under the monarchy, prior to the

*Writer Refuses
to Soil Paper
With Trousseau*

adoption of the Constitution of 1887, the Hawaiian Governor had some importance. The office was abolished by that Constitution. The Legislature of 1890 restored the office as an honorary title, giving little power or duty. Cleghorn is a brother-in-law to the fallen Liliuokalani, is the reputed father of the so-called princess now residing in England, whose half-sister is married to the English Minister's son. Cleghorn is completely under the influence and follows the advice of English Minister Wodehouse. His protest came to me after the landing of the Boston's marines.

*Life at Palace
Called Bestial
and Lecherous*

"Hopkins belonged to the same gang as Cornwell and Peterson. Cornwell had been one of the intimate palace associates of Kalakaua in his bestial, lecherous life and shameful transactions. He is of notoriously immoral habits. He has been a cheat on the race course, betting against his own horses. He was one of the most active in aiding Peterson and Colburn to bribe the Legislature in forcing out the Jones-Wilcox ministry, whom all the responsible men of the Islands wished to continue. He had been repeatedly voted out of the ministry after a very brief stay, by large majorities, all the honest members voting against him. Prior to Cornwell's two expulsions, Neumann had been voted out August 20, 1892, by a vote of 31 to 10. Reappointed by the queen Sept. 12, he was voted out October 17, by 31 to 15. He was a close confederate with Peterson and Cornwell. He was known to be of the contract labor ring who was bleeding the planters. With good reasons he was believed to be the author of the queen's revolutionary despotic new constitution. Losing cast in California as a political corruptionist, he had years before gone to Honolulu under the flattering auspices of Claus Spreckels. He had played poker with Kalakaua to the depletion of the weak king's purse.

"He is the man whom the queen sent to Washington to get her restored to the throne, or to sell out her claim to the crown in hard cash. He is the man by whom Blount absurdly hints I had sent dispatches to Washington, on an errand for which on no occasion had I ever employed anyone. Blount asserts he received this information from Spreckels. What a remarkable trio, Spreckels, Neumann, and Blount, two honest German Jews, and the

astute, impartial, unprejudiced, new-born diplomatist, who had represented that he was the Democratic leader who had led his party to support Harrison in the threatened Chilian war, while he severely denounced Admiral Brown and Minister Egan. Spreckels, Neumann and Blount. Who will decipher the enigma, explain the philosophy and state the substantial considerations which bind this trio together?

"The testimony of hundreds of such would not counterbalance the words of Minister Thurston, President Dole and Henry Waterhouse, among honest men who know the respective parties. As to Wilson, the queen's immoral favorite for many years, whom Blount attempts to white-wash, I will not soil these pages by giving even the notorious facts in his regard.

"As to my recognition of the Provisional Government, I reaffirm what I said in my recent letter to Secretary Gresham.

"Queen Liliuokalani inaugurated the revolution by attempting to destroy the constitution by revolutionary means. From Saturday afternoon, January 14, to January 16, there was no government in Honolulu, except in the united and self-possessed attitude of the citizens, who assembled in a great mass meeting, on January 16, and consummated their efforts for law and order by the establishment of the Provisional Government on the 17th, which was promptly acknowledged by all the foreign representatives, who were familiar with the circumstances of its creation. It was nearly fifty hours after Liliuokalani and her favorites had destroyed her throne by a revolutionary outbreak when the men of the Boston landed. In the exciting hours preceding and following her fall, her representatives, as well as those who formed the Provisional Government, had equal access to the legation. To all proper inquiries my answer was, that the United States marines could not take sides, but whatever *de facto* government might exist, would have to be recognized. When I did recognize it late in the afternoon of the 17th, the Provisional Government was complete master of the situation, had full control of the city and of the government archives, the police station being surrounded and at the mercy of the Provisional Government. It was a

*No Government
Except in the
United People*

*Royalists Must
Surrender Soon
Out of Hunger*

small building in which the disorganized and powerless followers of the fallen Queen's paramour marshal took refuge, and they must surrender in a few hours by mere force of hunger. The Provisional Government knew its power to possess the station at once, but wished not to take a single life of its occupants. It deemed it wiser to await their surrender. Had the Queen's supporters dared to resist the organization of the new government, their only possible chance to do so was during Sunday and Monday of the 15th and 16th, while the citizens were attending their mass meeting, selecting their committees of public safety and preparing to organize a government, as openly as public meetings are held in any American city. They did not dare to attempt to arrest or interfere with the aroused white citizens. It was a united and irresistible movement of the same men, with now increased numbers, that took away the despotic powers of King Kalakaua, in 1887, and crushed the Wilcox revolt of 1889. They gathered at the armory with their rifles in hand, which were increased by other arms openly carried in a carriage from a gun store, with only three men in charge. The only government that existed, or could exist under those circumstances, was the Provisional Government.

"I am fully aware that I have made this paper too lengthy. I regret to tax the public patience with words of mine. Against all just expectations I have been forced to expose the anomalous, the un-American, and most unfair course of Blount and associates against my official conduct, my honor, and all that a public man holds dear. This extraordinary assault on the American colony in Hawaii, antagonizing the American Christian civilization there established at the cost of the lives and labors noble American men and women, this strange turning back on an American policy of more than half a century, this wanton disregard of the opportunity to assume jurisdiction and ownership of a territorial and maritime prize, with a clean title and without the cost of a single life, is justly causing profound indignation among the American people. These strange and unpatriotic proceedings in the presence of our national rivals is making a most shameful page of American history, which our future,

*Shameful Page
Is Being Made
in Our History*

if not our present, statesmen and generation will repudiate and blot out by wise and effective measures.

“JOHN L. STEVENS.

“AUGUSTA, ME., Nov. 29, 1893.”

—From Mr. Thurston's journal and scrapbook, November-December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii. The original is proof; it has been followed faithfully, except where the correction of typographical errors was desirable for sense.

This editorial comment on Mr. Stevens' reply to Mr. Blount appeared in the *New York Press*:

“Ex-Minister STEVENS leaves nothing of Mr. BLOUNT's report save the prejudice, malice, and narrow-minded partisanship which the Paramount Commissioner carried out with him on his ignoble mission. Mr. BLOUNT's conclusions and charges were already discredited by intrinsic evidence concerning their chronology and origin. All that was needed to demolish the remnants of this make-up case was just such a statement as Mr. STEVENS has now furnished from Augusta; candid, straightforward, truthful, and crushingly effective.

*Blount Carries
Malice on His
Ignoble Errand*

“The conspiracy which the Fifty-third Congress will be called upon to investigate is not the conspiracy alleged by Mr. GRESHAM on the strength of Mr. BLOUNT's findings. The Administration elected to bring the matter before the high court of public opinion; and public opinion has already arrived at a verdict. What concerns Congress now is the conspiracy to restore monarchy in Hawaii, and incidentally to destroy the reputation of a faithful, honest, and patriotic servant of the United States, a gentleman of blameless character and unstained record, whose only crime, if it can be called a crime, was personal sympathy with a cause which commands the sympathy of every American entitled to wear that name.

“The circumstance that Mr. STEVENS is a Republican in domestic politics, while a majority in each branch of the present Congress is Democratic, will not deprive him of fair treatment in the Senate and the House.

*Gresham Once
a Republican;
Hates Harrison*

His responsible accuser, the Secretary of State, is himself a Republican; or he was a Republican so recently as to be an aspirant for the nomination which went to the man he hated, BENJAMIN HARRISON. Party bonds are not so rigid in affairs of international policy, that a Democratic Legislature made up of Americans will tail in behind BLOUNT and undertake to complete the work of BLOUNT, at any man's dictation."

—From Mr. Thurston's journal and scrapbook, November-December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

William D. Alexander made the following analysis of the attitude of the American people and press after the publication of Mr. Blount's report:

"Washington, December 8, 1893.

"His Ex. S. B. Dole
"Honolulu.

"Dear Sir,

"At the present moment the center of interest has been transferred from Washington to Honolulu. It is no exaggeration to say that the people of the United States are eagerly waiting to hear the next news from Honolulu, and that they generally sympathize with our cause. The religious press of the country, as far as I can ascertain, is unanimous in our favor, and so are the army and navy journals. There are indications that even the President and Secretary of State are not insensible to the storm of popular indignation, especially in view of the November elections. Since I last wrote to you, a small edition of Blount's report with the accompanying 'evidence,' so-called, has been issued by the State Department, and no doubt Mr. Hastings will send you a copy of it by this mail. It has fallen rather flat. The public has formed a pretty correct opinion of the extremely unjust and partisan character of this report, and of the disreputable character of Blount's principal witnesses. You will see my statement in the N. Y. Tribune and Henry Castle's in the Sun, both of Nov.

*Religious and
Army and Navy
Papers as One*

25th. I will enclose another article of mine, which exposes Nordhoff's lying and his collusion with Blount. I have written a continuation of my historical sketch of Hawaiian politics, bringing it down to Jan. 14th, 1893.

"As you will see, Blount's report bears on its face the plainest evidence that it was a predetermined effort to make out a case by hook or crook against Stevens and the Provisional Government. It never refers to the Lottery bill, passes very lightly over the Queen's attempt to change the constitution, and almost ignores the great mass meeting of the 16th of January. On all disputed points he adopts the Royalist version of facts.

"He entirely ignores Hon. Kauhane and the other native annexationists. In a literary point of view the report is a very poor piece of work, sometimes not even grammatical. He would have done better to have employed Nordhoff to write it. His examinations of witnesses betray an intense desire to extract from them admissions that will strengthen his preconceived theory.

"The greater part of his materials is contributed by royalists. The most false and malicious statements are those by Dr. Trousseau, C. T. Gulick and F. Wundenberg. In comparison with them Antone Rosa and V. V. Ashford appear truthful and fair-minded. The Queen's statement is very damaging to Peterson. I believe that few of the witnesses expected their statements to be published. Before this reaches you, the mysterious 'Corwin' will have arrived, and you will know what very few in Washington know. I hope and pray that you may be guided and sustained by infinite Wisdom in baffling the machinations of your enemies, and that you may be enabled to make an honorable chapter in Hawaiian history. I expect to remain here a short time longer to observe the action of Congress, and to furnish information about our case to our friends.

"I remain Faithfully Yours,

"W. D. ALEXANDER."

—United States, Minister and Commissioners to Washington, November-December, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

*Hook or Crook
Serves Blount
in the Report*

*Few Witnesses
in Expectation
of Publication*

CHAPTER XX

OTHER EVIDENCE REGARDING OVERTHROW

Lieutenant Lucien Young was an officer of the United States cruiser *Boston*, which was stationed at Honolulu in the latter part of 1892 and the early part of 1893 under command of Captain G. C. Wiltse. Lieutenant Young had served with distinction in the Navy, having received the formal thanks of Congress for gallant conduct. He had no connection with either the royalists or the revolutionists. In 1898 he published a book entitled *The Boston at Hawaii*,* setting forth the conditions, as he saw them, of the dethronement of Queen Liliuokalani and the abrogation of the Monarchy.

On January 4, 1893, says Lieutenant Young, the *Boston* left Honolulu for the windward islands, with United States Minister John L. Stevens and his daughter as passengers. From what Lieutenant Young heard just before leaving Honolulu, he was convinced that the George N. Wilcox-Peter C. Jones cabinet probably would be voted out soon by the Legislature, and that Queen Liliuokalani was scheming to that end. To quote Lieutenant Young:

*Young Learns
That Cabinet
Is Near End*

* Excerpts from *The Boston at Hawaii*, by Lucien Young, are used by permission of Mrs. Leonard E. (Louise) Schellberg, niece of the late Rear Admiral Lucien Young, U. S. N.

“ . . . In a conversation with the United States Minister, Mr. Stevens, shortly after, I remarked that I believed that the cabinet would be voted out before the adjournment of the legislature, and from what I had heard from reliable royalist sources, the Queen had no intention of permitting them to remain in office until the next legislature; that she was using the lottery and opium bills as a leverage to induce the natives to vote solidly for the removal of the cabinet. The Minister replied that the Wilcox cabinet had come to stay; that he was pleased to know all was at last settled in Honolulu to America's interest, and expressed satisfaction at being able to have peace and quiet during the rest of his stay on the islands, and time to devote to some literary work. He was talking confidentially and with manifest sincerity, for he was an aged, frail man, in no condition to seek or endure the excitement of political strife attendant upon the overthrow of the monarchy, which did, in fact, hasten his death, which occurred a little over a year after.

*Stevens Holds
Wilcox-Jones
Here to Stay*

“This is extremely important in view of the cruelly unjust charges since made by political opponents of Mr. Stevens that the overthrow of the monarchy was the result of a scheme of the American Minister.”—pp. 145-146.

Returning to Honolulu on the morning of the 14th, Lieutenant Young was informed by a resident of the city that Queen Liliuokalani contemplated the abrogation of the constitution, and the promulgation of a new one. He informed the American consul general [Henry W. Severance—*Editor.*] of what he had heard. With a remark that Lieutenant Young's informant was a man of nervous disposition, the consul general discredited the information. When Lieutenant Young told Captain Wiltse of the report, the captain directed him to go ashore and ascertain what he could of the situation. Lieutenant Young did so, reporting

*Report Taken
More Seriously
by Commander*

to Captain Wiltse in considerable detail. Afterward he embodied his observations and reports in a connected narrative, which he proposed to publish, and submitted his copy to the secretary of the navy. Meanwhile President Cleveland had been inaugurated in March, 1893, and Walter Q. Gresham had been appointed secretary of state. Hilary A. Herbert, secretary of the navy in the second Cleveland administration, forbade publication of Lieutenant Young's manuscript; after the election of President McKinley in 1896, Secretary of the Navy John D. Long permitted publication, and the book was published in 1898.

*One Secretary
Thumbs Down;
Other Approves*

Lieutenant Young's narrative of the events of the three days, January 14 to 17, is all vital to the issue. Its extreme detail and the account of how Lieutenant Young secured his information carry conviction of sincerity and accuracy, in that it is the recorded observation of a totally disinterested witness, made on the ground and set down at the time. He tells of the words and actions of the Queen in attempting to promulgate a new constitution on January 14; of the assurances of support given her by Marshal Wilson, who was in command of the police, and his preparation for forceful measures, if required; of the attitude and declared intentions of those opposing the Queen—all indicating the intensity of the situation and the tinder-like state of affairs. Then Lieutenant Young continues:

*Marshal Wilson
Gives Promise
of His Support*

"The importance of the measures taken by the Queen, the Marshal, and the Cabinet, above set forth, consists in the fact that they constitute an absolute refutation of

the reiterated charge made by Commissioner Blount, Secretary Gresham, and President Cleveland, that there was profound peace in Honolulu when the Boston troops landed and the Provisional Government was formed.

"From my personal observation, made at the time, on the spot, and an intimate personal acquaintance with all the leading people of all parties, I assert unhesitatingly that during the three days between the attempt of the Queen to overthrow the constitution and the proclamation of the Provisional Government, Honolulu was a slumbering volcano, liable to break out into bloody conflict at any time on two minutes' notice. I repeatedly urged Captain Wiltse to land the troops on Sunday," [January 15] "but he waited until the evidences of impending conflict became so strong that he would have been wilfully negligent of his duty to have waited longer, and did not land until Monday afternoon." [January 16.]—pp. 173-174.

*City a Volcano
to Erupt Blood
at Any Moment*

In accordance with Captain Wiltse's instructions, Lieutenant Young visited the Legislative Assembly, about to be prorogued that morning. On the floor of the Legislature, he states, a native nobleman, with whom he had been on quite intimate terms, turned around and said to him in a boastful tone: "We have them at last. Wait until we leave the hall and you will see something. Come over to the palace when you go out." Lieutenant Young asked: "Do you refer to the new constitution?" The noble "smiled and nodded his head in assent." After telling of the prorogation and of an informal reception held by the Queen immediately thereafter, Lieutenant Young continues:

"On the outside a large crowd of natives and a few whites were congregated, while great numbers were moving towards the palace grounds. I was again told

*Wilcox Refuses
to Take Charge
of Four Cannon*

of the Queen's intention to proclaim a new constitution, and a half-white by the name of" [Robert W.] "Wilcox, an ex-member of the legislature and generally mixed up in every revolution that takes place, in a burst of confidence, said to me that he would have nothing to do with it; that the Queen, in anticipation of resistance on the part of the whites, had sent for him the night before to take command of four small pieces of cannon which she had caused to be placed in the upper halls of the palace, enfilading the approaches to that building from all sides, and that he had declined. These cannon were still there when the Provisional Government took possession of the palace. I also learned that the household guards to the number of eighty, who were at that time drawn up in line from the palace to the entrance gate, were armed with ball cartridges and under the command of a favorite who had received explicit instructions. The police-station had been fortified with two Gatlings, and a force of police, under the Marshal, and were in readiness for immediate use. I still had my doubts as to the accuracy of either the whole or part of the prevailing rumors; but on entering the palace grounds and noticing the extraordinary gathering and the position and armament of the troops, I began to realize the seriousness of the situation and felt it my duty to at once go on board ship and report to my commanding officer what was going on, which I did. He was much surprised, and said he had just before received a message of similar import, but paid little or no attention to it; but from what I reported to him he thought it best to find out all he could. I was then ordered to shift into citizens' clothes and return on shore as soon as possible, and in a quiet way obtain any and all information and keep him posted.

"Immediately upon my return on shore, I found at the landing a number of native boatmen loitering about who informed me that the Queen was going to make a new constitution and that there was much excitement in the palace and uptown. A few minutes later I met an American, who was on his way to the Boston to convey the news to Captain Wiltse. He informed me the Queen had commanded the ministers to countersign the new constitution and they had refused, in consequence

of which she had threatened their lives. To avoid personal danger, in great fear and excitement they had hastily made their way down town and appealed to the leading men of the community to protect and sustain them. I was further informed that at the office of W. O. Smith, on Fort street, a large number of prominent men were holding a meeting. I hurried on to that place, only a few hundred yards from the landing, and found the two rooms of the office crowded with the best men of the city, irrespective of political affiliations, busily devising ways and means to avert serious consequences, and to prevent, if possible, the Queen from doing such an unconstitutional act. Some excitement was exhibited on the part of a few, and much uneasiness shown by all, yet everyone was outspoken in a determination to do something to prevent the arbitrary promulgation of a constitution. Short speeches were made, voicing this sentiment, but nothing was said or intimated beyond a condemnation of the Queen's act as unconstitutional, and threatening to the business of the kingdom.

"I left them still in session and went on to the palace grounds, where the native crowd still remained waiting for news from the inside of the palace. The soldiers were still drawn up in line ready for a move. . . . I made a circuit of the city . . . and visited the hotels, clubs, and public places, and heard the people discussing the situation. The prevalent talk was a denunciation of the Queen in no measured terms. The intelligent people appeared to be alarmed and exceedingly apprehensive of serious trouble, and throughout the city the excitement and uneasiness were growing. At W. O. Smith's office the crowd had increased, with many people on the sidewalk, in front of the door, while those inside were still in discussion. I then went again to the palace, meeting the Chief Justice coming in a carriage from the palace. He stopped and informed me that, after hours of argument and persuasion the Queen had been induced to defer her *coup d'etat*, but that she had announced her determination to promulgate the new constitution in a few days. The Chief Justice thought she would attempt it again on Monday, and that such

*Prevalent Talk
a Denunciation
of Her Majesty*

was her stubbornness and determination they would have the whole affair to go through with again.

"I went on to the palace grounds and there saw the Queen in front of the palace, standing on the balcony. She had just finished a speech in the throne-room, before a large gathering, stating her desire to promulgate a new constitution, declaring that she had been prevented from doing so by her ministers. . . . While the Queen still stood on the balcony, two natives near her began to harangue the crowd, stating that the ministry, under the influence of the whites, had prevented the Queen from giving them a new constitution, and appealed to them to rise and kill those opposing her. A few natives in front, realizing what the effect of such language as this would be, climbed up the balcony and, by force, removed the two incendiary speakers from the scene. Neither the Queen, nor any one near her, made any effort to stop these speakers, and her actions indicated that she was pleased with their remarks and conduct. After this the natives began to disperse and leave the palace grounds. . . .

*Kill Those Who
Oppose Queen,
Speakers Urge*

"From all these sources I learned that the Queen, immediately after leaving the government building, had gone direct to the palace and retired to the blue room, where she summoned the ministers to come to her at once. She presented to them the draft of the new constitution and demanded their signatures, declaring at the same time her intention to promulgate it at once. In the meantime a native political association, all dressed in evening dress and tall hats, carrying banners and badges, had marched in columns of two from the government building. They were headed by their president carrying a large flat package suspended in front of him by ribbons about his shoulders. This was a draft of the new constitution, a prepared address and petition for the promulgation of the constitution. All this had been prearranged by direct orders from the Queen. They marched to the throne-room and took position in regular lines, the president to the front and holding in his hands the address opened and ready to read at the given signal when the Queen took her position on the dais. In the throne-room were assembled a few members of the dip-

lomatic corps, two of the judges of the supreme court, the Governor of Oahu, the two princes, and a number of the native members of the late legislature, all in position for a state ceremony, but they were kept waiting by what was going on in the blue room. Two of the ministers, Colburn and Peterson, positively refused to sign the document, and the other two reluctantly followed their example. The Queen became enraged and, in most excited and emphatic terms, accented by a sudden striking of the table with her clenched fist, informed them if they did not sign the paper laid before them she would go out on the balcony and denounce them. To gain time and means of escape, they asked for fifteen minutes to retire and deliberate. This was at first refused, but finally granted. They had no sooner left the room than they hurried over to the government building and immediately sent word down town calling on the citizens to support them in their resistance to the revolutionary acts of the Queen. They sent for several of their leading opponents of the Reform party and asked their advice. They were promised the support of the Reform party, and advised to resist the Queen; to issue a proclamation declaring the Queen in revolution against the constitution and calling on people to support them; also to request the assistance of the American naval forces, if necessary, to maintain order. The cabinet acquiesced in the plan, if the Queen persisted, and at their request a draft of proclamation and request, in accordance with such advice, was drawn up on the spot. Two of the ministers signed the request to land troops, but it was never delivered. Two of them, Colburn and Peterson, more apprehensive of their safety and impatient of delay, rushed down town and personally addressed the meeting at Smith's office, appealing for their support against the Queen. Leading people hurried together at Smith's office and, after brief consultation, unanimously agreed to support the laws and resist the revolutionary encroachments of the Queen, and sent a message to that effect to the ministers. A document pledging the armed support of the signers, to the Cabinet, for the purpose of resisting the revolutionary acts of the Queen, was drawn up and signed by nearly every one present. The ministers were advised not to resign,

*Two Ministers
Will Not Sign;
Others Follow*

*People Pledge
Armed Support
to the Cabinet*

and to hold out to the last. Meanwhile the Queen was in the blue room awaiting the return of the ministers. She finally sent a messenger requesting their immediate return. Two of the ministers refused, on the ground that their lives would be endangered. Two went to the palace, and somewhat later, upon receiving assurances of support from the people at Smith's office, the other two reluctantly followed.

*Wilson Exerts
All His Power;
Threatens Her*

"In the meantime the Queen's special favorite, C. B. Wilson, the Marshal, and one who was known to have great influence over her, was sent into the blue room. He used all his power to induce her to go no further. He even threatened her; but finding her obdurate, he assured her of his support if she persisted. Just as the ministers returned, he went to the police-station, called in all the police that could be spared, appointed and armed a few white friends as deputies, and made preparations for armed resistance or aggression, as the occasion might require. Other efforts were made to induce the Queen to retrace the revolutionary steps she had already taken, but without avail, she only consenting, with great reluctance, to a temporary postponement of the premeditated *coup*.

* * * *

"The assembly in the throne-room, after listening to her announcement, left the building, and the news was sent to the citizens down town of what had transpired. The impromptu meeting at Smith's office, appreciating that the Queen did not intend to give up, and that the trouble had but begun, continued their deliberations. A Committee of Public Safety, composed of thirteen members, was formed, to which the further consideration of the situation was delegated, and the assembly adjourned. The committee remained where they were and continued their deliberations for about an hour, but with little or no plan of operations.

*Liliuokalani's
Act Construed
as Revolution*

"The unanimously expressed opinion was that the Queen, having violated her oath to support the constitution, the people were absolved from further obligations to her; that she was in revolution against the government; that this was only the last act of a series extending over years, all tending in the one direction, viz.,

the concentration of arbitrary power in the hands of the sovereign and encroachment upon the just rights of the people; that the limit of endurance had been reached, and the abolition of the monarchy was the sound course to pursue. Before adjourning, the sense of the committee was formally expressed in the following resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 12 to 1, the one explaining that the only reason why he voted 'no' was because there was no assurance as to what the United States would do:

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this committee that in view of the present unsatisfactory state of affairs, the proper course to pursue is to abolish the monarchy and apply for annexation to the United States.'

*Resolved: That
Proper Course
Is Overthrow*

"The committee adjourned about dark, without having come to any decision as to means of carrying the resolution into effect, agreeing to meet on the following morning. Several of the committee and some other leading citizens held an informal meeting that night at the residence of a prominent citizen," [Lorrin A. Thurston.—*Editor*.] "which gathering was reported to the Marshal, who at once informed the Queen and her supporters and requested that she would declare martial law and permit him to arrest the Committee of Safety, but she was afraid to do it. The Marshal deserves great credit for his course throughout this exciting period. Fully realizing and disapproving the Queen's unlawful project, he nevertheless was loyal to his mistress and displayed more judgment and genuine pluck than all of her other followers put together.

"The main features of the constitution which the Queen attempted to promulgate had been at her order drafted and submitted to Peterson and Colburn weeks before, meeting at the time with no disapproval by them. Parker and Cornwell, the other two ministers, were in ignorance of its full text. The knowledge of the extreme character of the instrument, and of the effect which it would have upon the determined characters who had led the fight against both Kalakaua and Liliuokalani accounts for the great fear on the part of the first two and the less anxiety shown by the latter two ministers at the critical moment.

“The most objectionable clauses of the proposed constitution provided that the Queen should have the power to appoint and remove at will her ministers; that all members of the upper house of the legislature were to be appointed for life or good behavior, the choice being absolute with her instead of their being elected by the people for terms of six years as had theretofore been done; that the tenure of office of the Supreme Court judges should be changed to six years only instead of life, as theretofore; that all whites theretofore possessing the voting right should be disfranchised except those married to native women.

“Such was the condition of affairs when I returned to the ship at midnight. I made a detailed statement of the situation, and expressed the opinion that nothing would happen that night, but that, from the state of feeling of the people, serious trouble would come as soon as the counter-revolutionists could organize.—pp. 166-176.

On page 196 of *The Boston at Hawaii*, Lieutenant Young says of President Dole:

“ . . . No better man could have been selected. In fact, there was no one else available gifted with those great qualities which nature lavishes on men born to rule. Quiet and unobtrusive, modest in demeanor and of sterling integrity; possessing a cultivated mind and a benevolent heart; a leader in all the moral, religious, and progressive movements on the islands; careful in thought, fair in judgment, honest in convictions, an excellent lawyer, and a cool, deliberate statesman, Judge Dole was fortified with the universal confidence of the citizens of Hawaii of all nationalities. . . .”

Lieutenant Young writes as follows of the temporary quartering, in Arion Hall, of troops from the *Boston* under his command:

“ . . . Early in the evening the deputy marshal,” [J. A. Mehrten.—*Editor.*] “dressed in citizen’s clothes, called to see me with an apparently friendly message from the Marshal, but obviously to find out

*White Husbands
of the Natives
Keep Franchise*

*No Better Man
Than the Judge
For Presidency*

the disposition of our forces, and the part we proposed to take in the event of a fight. I understood his mission and extended to him a most cordial reception, took him all through the camp and emphatically informed him we were there simply to protect American life and property, and under no circumstances would we take part with either side; but I believed no fighting would be permitted in the streets or residence portion of the city. He replied, they knew that, and the next evening the Marshal told me he knew we would have nothing to do with either side, and that he wanted to go out and fight, stating at the same time the cowardly ministers would not let him."—pp. 190-191.

*Deputy Marshal
Told Americans
Remain Neutral*

One of the most illuminating accounts of the stormy days of 1893 is a book entitled *Hawaii and a Revolution*,* by Miss Mary H. Krout, described on the title page as "the personal experiences of a correspondent in the Sandwich Islands during the crisis of 1893 and subsequently." It was published in 1898. Miss Krout was a native of Indiana, a distinguished newspaper correspondent, and the author of many books. She also had edited several country newspapers, served for ten years on the staff of *The Inter Ocean*, of Chicago, paid a visit to New Zealand and Australia in 1884, was a staff correspondent in London from 1893 to 1898, wrote syndicate letters for a number of leading dailies, and was a correspondent in China for the *New-York Tribune* in 1899 and 1900. She arrived in Honolulu immediately after the overthrow of the Monarchy, and was there while Mr. Blount was conducting his so-called in-

* Excerpts from *Hawaii and a Revolution*, by Mary H. Krout, are used by permission of the publishers, Dodd, Mead & Company, Inc.

vestigations and subsequently. Her experience makes her investigation and conclusions exceedingly important. In the preface to her book, she says:

“When I visited the Islands first, in 1893, I went prejudiced in favor of the natives, deeply sympathising with them because they had been dispossessed of their lawful possessions. A careful and conscientious study of the situation on the spot led me to change my views absolutely, and I perceived that whatever had been done had been done of necessity and with wisdom and forbearance.”

*Knowledge of
Islands Gained
by Miss Krout*

Miss Krout lived in Honolulu long enough to become thoroughly acquainted with the people and the life of the country. She personally met Queen Liliuokalani, President Dole, and practically all of the persons who took prominent parts in the social and political events of the time, so that her judgments are not based on hearsay or previous contact, but are those of a seasoned investigator, with opportunities to compare statements and form reliable conclusions. I consider her record as one of the fairest, most reliable, and most conclusive concerning the people and period of which she treats. Much that she has written is so to the point that I should like to make many and long quotations from her book, but lack of space prohibits; I feel, however, that it is due Miss Krout and the history of the times, as I record it, that some of her conclusions be included in this work. Referring to the activities of the Hawaiian League, which forced a reform upon King Kalakaua and secured from him a more liberal constitution in 1887, Miss Krout says:

"When she" [Liliuokalani] "learned what concessions had been made to the men whom she regarded as aliens and interlopers, her rage knew no bounds, and it is not too much to assume, judging from subsequent events, that she never for one moment relinquished the determination to wrest from them the privileges they had secured and to restore them to their former status. It was of no consequence that the State Treasury was almost entirely dependent upon the taxes of which they paid so large a part, and that the colleges, the public-school system, the laws, the entire judiciary—all that the country possessed that entitled it to a place among civilized peoples—were wholly due to their efforts and support. . . ."—p. 14.

*Princess Rages
at Being Told
of Concessions*

• • • •

"It is not necessary to review the steps which led to the crisis of January 14th, 1893, the final culmination of years of misrule, held in abeyance only when a responsible Ministry could be secured and kept in office. The people at last were forced to acknowledge that nothing more could be hoped for from the monarchy. It brought them face to face with the only possible alternative: the establishment of a republic, with ultimate annexation to the United States; or the abandonment of the country, its relapse into barbarism, or its forcible cession to Japan or to some European power.

"The story of the Queen's last decisive act is briefly told. From June 1892 until January 1893 a contest was waged between the Queen and the Legislature, the former claiming the right of personal choice of Cabinet officers; the latter contending that the Cabinet should represent a majority of the Legislature. Three of the Queen's Cabinets were voted out in quick succession. The Queen then, apparently submitting, appointed a Cabinet representing the Legislature, but immediately entered into a conspiracy with persons seeking an opium license law and a lottery franchise, she agreeing to assist these measures in return for their help in overthrowing the Constitution and establishing a new one, disfranchising the whites and giving the Queen arbitrary powers. In pursuance of this agreement the Cabinet was voted out, the opium and lottery bills passed and signed by the

*Deal Is Made:
Opium, Lottery
Join the Queen*

Queen, a new Cabinet, supposed to be subservient to the Queen, appointed, and the Legislature prorogued.”— pp. 16-17.

On pages 18 to 21, Miss Krout reviews the events of January 14, 1893, the efforts of the Queen to proclaim a new constitution and force her cabinet to ratify her action, and the resistance of the community, including the formation of a committee of safety. On page 21, she says of Sanford B. Dole, judge of the supreme court, who had been placed at the head of the Provisional Government, formed to resist the revolutionary acts of the Queen:

*President Dole
Above Suspicion
of Liliuokalani*

“ . . . The integrity, patriotism, and statesmanship of Judge Dole were beyond question; not even the Queen herself could suspect the motives of a man who was, and still is, one of the wisest and most devoted friends her people have ever had. A committee of five men was also chosen and dispatched to Washington to ask for annexation to the United States. The proposition was favorably considered by President Harrison, who was just retiring from office; but it was subsequently rejected by President Cleveland. Not only was the treaty rejected, but, after a so-called inquiry made by a commissioner, Mr. James H. Blount, who was dispatched to the Islands in February, Mr. Cleveland devised a Quixotic scheme of reparation, which was to effect the Queen’s restoration, with certain other compensations for what she claimed to have suffered through the interference of the United States authorities. The evidence of Mr. Blount, when it was finally submitted to Congress and carefully analyzed, proved to be *ex-parte* testimony of the most pronounced type. Undue importance was given to statements made by persons, tools of the Queen, who proved to be wholly untrustworthy; while many who could have given, and were entitled to give, important evidence were shown very scant courtesy or set aside altogether.

“Mr. Albert S. Willis, who succeeded Mr. Stevens”

[and Mr. Blount] "as United States Minister, arrived in Honolulu on November 4th, 1893, with instructions to restore Liliuokalani, at the same time bringing letters of extreme cordiality and professed friendliness to the President of the Provisional Government. There is every reason to believe that these orders were to be carried out, peaceably if possible, by force if necessary, and in the latter case it would have meant landing American marines from the warships in the harbour to fire upon the American residents of Honolulu.

*Writer Thinks
Force Planned
by the States*

"The tenor of the instructions given Mr. Willis was not learned until twelve days later, and in the meantime he had received the most cordial welcome, both from the citizens and from the heads of the Government. An incredible cablegram, which had been received *via* London, dated November 2nd, brought by a steamer from New Zealand, stated that the President 'was drafting a message to Congress in favour of restoring the monarchy.' This could not be believed, until all doubt was dispelled by the arrival of the U. S. S. revenue cutter *Corwin* from San Francisco a little later with decisive instructions.

"In the interval Mr. Willis was negotiating with the Queen. One condition exacted by Mr. Cleveland was full amnesty for all who had taken part in the revolution. An unforeseen obstacle was encountered, which delayed decisive action on the part of Mr. Willis, and this was the prompt and stubborn refusal of the Queen to grant amnesty, and her savage demand that those chiefly instrumental in the organisation of the Provisional Government should be beheaded. Mr. Willis with great wisdom and discretion perceived that restoration was impossible without great resistance and probable bloodshed. He notified the Secretary of State, the late Walter Q. Gresham, and waited further orders. Business was entirely suspended, the Government building was strongly barricaded and fortified, and men and even women held themselves in readiness to defend the Provisional Government to the uttermost.

*Queen Demands
Revolutionists
Forfeit Heads*

"The course which Mr. Cleveland had pursued was extremely unpopular in the United States. By this time the flimsy pretext that the revolution had been com-

*Mr. Cleveland
Is Condemned
by Democrats*

passed by the connivance of the United States Minister, Mr. Stevens, backed up by the marines from the U. S. S. *Boston*, was known to be false; and an attempt to restore a corrupt and incapable monarchy by the Chief Executive of a nation pledged to the support and maintenance of democracy raised such a storm of indignation that the project had to be abandoned. Even the best representatives of his own party condemned the President unsparingly; and the Press, even that faction which bitterly opposed annexation, grudgingly acknowledged that his efforts in the direction of arbitrator had been carried to an extreme."—pp. 21-24.

* * * *

"No restraint whatever was placed upon the Queen. She came and went at will, residing at her town house, Washington Villa. The attitude of Mr. Cleveland toward the sister Republic all this time was one of intense disfavour. He refused to recognise it as long as he could do so without absolute hostility, and finally carried his animosity to the extreme point of withdrawing the U. S. S. *Philadelphia* from the Honolulu harbour early in September, and in spite of the emphatic warnings of Admiral Walker, then in command of the Pacific Squadron.

*Large Portion
of Her Private
Fortune Spent*

"Even the nominal support of Mr. Cleveland being thus entirely withdrawn, the ex-Queen secretly returned to her old methods. Plots were set on foot; she sacrificed a great part of her private fortune in paying accomplices and in the purchase of arms and ammunition. A portion of these equipments was subsequently found carefully hidden in various places, and there were unearthed upon her own premises eleven pistols, thirteen Springfield rifles, twenty-one Manchester rifles, thirty-eight full belts of cartridges, one thousand loose cartridges and twenty-one dynamite bombs."—pp. 25-26.

* * * *

" . . . The views of the President-Elect" [William McKinley, who was elected in 1896.—*Editor.*] "were well known. The courage and determination of President Dole, his firm and dignified resistance to gross injustice; the proof of capacity for self-government which the government had furnished in its strengthened credit, the

steady increase of its revenues, and the careful expenditure of these revenues; the unanimity and clemency it had exercised towards cruel and relentless enemies, had intensified the sympathy of its friends in the United States, increased their number, and refuted the baseless charges of American opponents as to the delay of the older Republic in the matter of annexation. While it has involved cruel suspense and certain dangers to the weaker Government, it has been in the end the path of wisdom. . . .”—p. 28.

* * * *

“ . . . All that Hawaii possesses of civilisation, of religion, of law, and of education is of purely American origin.

“Whatever may be the ultimate decision of Congress . . . there are but three alternatives—the anarchy of chronic revolution, the abandonment of the Islands by Europeans and Americans, or their permanent absorption by some stronger and stable power. Whether this is destined to be Japan, England, or the United States time and legislation will decide.”—pp. 30-31.

* * * *

“Mr. Gresham, the recently chosen Secretary of State, informed the Hawaiian Commissioner, the Hon. L. A. Thurston, that, ‘with insignificant knowledge of facts and of details, they desired time for consideration of the subject, and the treaty’” [of annexation negotiated by President Harrison] “‘had been withdrawn for that purpose.’

“Subsequent action contradicted this, which was a mere excuse to gain time. There was never a moment from the hour that they went into office when both the President and his Secretary of State were not bitterly hostile to the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands and afterwards to the Republic, because they had secured the sympathy and co-operation of the ex-President, to whom both Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Gresham were unfriendly. . . .”—pp. 138-139.

* * * *

“ . . . Mr. James H. Blount . . . was a man of upright life, but unpolished in manner; he had never been outside of his own country before; he knew nothing of people

*President and
Gresham Both
Oppose Hawaii*

*Blount Lacks
Qualification
For His Task*

other than his own, except such members or attaches of the various legations in Washington as he might have met. He had not a single attribute that fitted him for the delicate task which had been placed in his incapable hands—work that demanded the wisdom and knowledge of the highest statesmanship, and all the courtesy and *finesse* of the skilled diplomat. Mr. Cleveland had made a wrong start from the very beginning, and he was destined to go further and further astray, until he should find himself in a political *impasse*, from which he could only emerge—backwards. . . .”—pp. 145-146.

* * * *

“In the evening at eight o’clock the Annexation Club called upon Mr. Blount, and the Commissioner was informed that the organization had a membership of two thousand, representing the respectability, intelligence, and material interests of Honolulu. The need of a strong, stable Government was pointed out as necessary to save the community both from internal discord and from foreign interference, and the time was anticipated when Hawaii would become a part of the Republic. Mr. Blount’s appointment by President Cleveland was a matter of congratulation—a hasty conclusion which the Annexation Club was destined to reverse—and they felt confident that, upon careful inquiry into the situation, the fact would be disclosed that the establishment of the Provisional Government had been a matter of necessity, of duty performed in the interest of civilisation. The head of the recent Government had disavowed the obligations with which the Constitution of 1887 had invested her, and had announced her intention to rule by royal proclamation, and not by law. The establishment of the Provisional Government, therefore, was the only course that remained to the people. The Speaker, Dr. J. S. McGrew, a resident of the Islands for more than forty years and president of the club, said in conclusion: ‘It is the hope of the members of this association that a treaty of annexation may soon be accomplished between Hawaii and the United States, which, while securing all the safeguards of a free and stable Government to all the natives—aboriginal Hawaiians, as well as to those of foreign ancestry—will

bring no burdens upon the United States, but, on the contrary, be a source of additional strength and satisfaction.'

"Mr. Blount's reply to this dignified, straightforward, and truthful presentation of the situation was peevish and petty. He said impatiently: 'Gentlemen, you will readily understand I can make no reply to this address. My negotiations will be conducted entirely with your Government.' Then he added, as an afterthought, 'I am pleased, however, to meet you.'

"He had listened with stolid indifference, and his manner belied the latter assertion. The Annexation Club departed in no very cheerful frame of mind."—pp. 151-153.

* * * *

"Among his" [Mr. Blount's] "visitors in the evening was a committee from a body of Hawaiians known as 'The Patriotic League,' who presented an address, and of which Mr. John E. Bush, the partisan editor, acted as spokesman. Their reception was very different from that accorded the Annexation Club the evening before, and they were assured by Mr. Blount that the United States did not approve of its representatives 'meddling in the conduct of the government of foreign countries.'" —p. 164.

* * * *

"During the remainder of the time which Mr. Blount devoted to his official inquiry he saw very little of the people, except the natives, who had access to him at all times to the last. Those who were qualified to speak on behalf of the Provisional Government were still given the briefest and most reluctant hearing; there was no change in his partial and unfriendly attitude. His witnesses, as the Congressional investigation subsequently showed, were many of them disreputable fellows, entirely untrustworthy—one especial source of his information having been arrested and imprisoned in China for forging passports for coolie emigrants. An attempt had been made to prove that the Revolution was a conspiracy of the annexationists, who had perfected their plans in a series of meetings held secretly at the residence of the American Minister. . . ."—p. 209.

*Reluctant and
Brief Hearing
For Deposers*

*Public Opinion
Forces Change
on Washington*

“ . . . The plan of restoration” [of Liliuokalani by President Cleveland] “was furiously opposed by the people of the United States, irrespective of politics, as un-American and undemocratic, and Mr. Cleveland, dogged and stubborn though he was, was forced to yield to public opinion. It is doubtful if there was ever a more ridiculous fiasco. The President of the United States was so absolutely certain that he would carry out what he had undertaken that he evidently notified France that it had been actually accomplished, and that government sent out a successor to its consul, who had asked permission to resign his office. When the successor arrived, he found himself accredited to a non-existent monarch, and his rage knew no bounds.”—p. 211.

William D. Alexander was born in Hawaii of American parents who arrived in 1832 as missionaries. He graduated at Yale University, class of 1855, with salutatorian honors; he served as president of Oahu College, at Honolulu, for some years; he was the author of a grammar of the Hawaiian language, and the recognized Hawaiian historian of the revolutionary period, noted for his independence and accuracy. In January, 1893, he was head of the Hawaiian government survey department under Liliuokalani; he was in Honolulu at the overthrow of the Monarchy, but was not a member of the Provisional Government, and had no connection with its organization. After the overthrow, Mr. Alexander compiled and published a statement of his observations under the title *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*.* From

* All excerpts from the works of William D. Alexander, both in the memoirs of Lorrin A. Thurston and those of Sanford B. Dole, are used by permission of his heirs.

that book I make extracts, pages 29 to 36, inclusive. [Mr. Alexander wrote the first chapter of his history for Commissioner Blount, when Mr. Blount was in Honolulu in 1893, investigating the overthrow of the Monarchy. The second chapter was written later in 1893; and the other chapters were written in March and April, 1895. Besides continuing as head of the survey department after the revolution, Mr. Alexander was sent to Washington by the Provisional Government in the summer of 1893, to assist Mr. Thurston in informing the public and members of Congress of the political situation in Hawaii, and remained in Washington until late in February, 1894.—*Editor.*]

*First Chapter
of the History
For Mr. Blount*

“CHAPTER III.

“THE ATTEMPTED COUP D’ETAT OF 1893, AND THE COUNTER REVOLUTION.

“The closing acts of the Legislature of 1892, narrated in the last chapter, had been entirely unexpected by the community of Honolulu. The general feeling of indignation was intense, but there was no thought of any revolutionary action, or of any opposition to the existing Government except within the limits of the Constitution.

“The U. S. cruiser *Boston*, Captain Wiltse, had sailed for Hilo, with the U. S. Minister, J. L. Stevens, as a passenger, on the fourth of January, 1893, and was absent from Honolulu ten days. Having left the city in apparent tranquillity, Minister Stevens returned about 10 o’clock on the morning of the fourteenth, to find himself unexpectedly in the midst of a revolution.

*Stevens Finds
Self in Midst
of Revolution*

“The events of that day occurred in such rapid succession, attended by such intense excitement, that it is difficult now to ascertain exactly what took place, or to arrange the details in their proper order.

“WARNINGS.

“Although the community in general was entirely in the dark as to the intention of the Queen to proclaim a new Constitution, a few persons had received intimations of the fact.

*All Ministers
Agree to Sign
a Constitution*

“From the Queen’s written statement, fully corroborated by other evidence, it is certain that all the members of her last Cabinet had accepted office with the understanding that they should sign her new Constitution and assist in its promulgation. Mr. C. B. Wilson, who was the Marshal, has stated that she discussed the project with him on the 8th of January, and again on the 13th, in connection with the appointment of the new Cabinet, and that on both occasions he opposed it, denying ‘its suitability and feasibility at the time.’ On the 10th Mr. Marcus Colburn” [brother of John F. Colburn] “sent a warning to the Wilcox-Jones Ministry, through Mr. Henry Waterhouse, stating that the Queen intended to promulgate a new Constitution, and that in case she was not able to get the Wilcox Ministry voted out, her plan was, after the prorogation of the Legislature, to invite the four Ministers over to the palace and to lay before them the new Constitution which she had prepared, and that if they refused to sign it, they were to be made prisoners.

“An unsigned letter, written the next day, undoubtedly by John Colburn, and addressed to Mr. P. C. Jones, contains the following passage: ‘If you don’t get out of office, and *a new Constitution is shoved on this country by the Queen*, you four men and your hypocritical supporters will be to blame for it, etc.’

“At a caucus of the Queen’s party, held on Friday night, the 13th, one of the members, John Kaluna by name, said that if he could establish the new Constitution, he would die happy, provided he could kill a few white men before dying.

“Between 10 and 11 o’clock A. M. of the 14th, Mr. John Colburn called at the office of Mr. A. S. Hartwell, informed him that the Queen was determined to proclaim a new Constitution that very afternoon, and asked his advice. At his request Mr. Hartwell called

in Messrs. L. A. Thurston and W. O. Smith, who strongly advised him and his colleagues to see the Queen immediately, and tell her that the Constitution must not be promulgated, and that if she persisted in her design, it would be the death-warrant of the Monarchy; to refuse to countersign the new Constitution, and to decline to resign if their resignations should be demanded; if the Queen persisted in her attempt, to declare her to be in revolution against the Government, and to call upon the people for support against her; assuring them of the united support of the community if this course were followed. Mr. Colburn then hurried back to see the Queen, but failed to see her before the ceremony of prorogation.

*Plan of Queen
Death Warrant
of the Throne*

“At the same time Mr. W. O. Smith called at the Chamber of Commerce, (which had met to consider a memorial on the lottery bill), and informed the merchants present of the impending crisis. The facts were also communicated to Captain Wiltse, of the *Boston*, who simply said that he was here for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens, and that he would do it if called upon. Mr. Hartwell promptly laid the matter before Minister Stevens, who had just landed from the *Boston*. At his suggestion, Minister Stevens sought the co-operation of the British Commissioner, Major Wodehouse, and they two went together to the Foreign Office to seek an interview with the Queen. They were, however, too late, the ceremony of prorogation having already commenced.

“THE PROROGATION.

“The ceremony of proroguing the Legislature took place at noon with the usual pomp and display. The members opposed to the lottery had absented themselves, as did nearly all the white residents and most of the Diplomatic Corps, but the U. S. Consul-General and Lieutenant Young, of the *Boston*, were present. A native political society called the ‘Hui Kalaiaina,’ about forty in number, attended, wearing broadcloth suits, with tall hats, and badges, and carrying banners. Immediately after the prorogation, they marched across the street to the Palace, two and two, headed by their president, Alapai and one John Akina, who ‘carried a

*Native Society
at Prorogation
of Legislature*

large flat package in front of his breast, suspended by ribbons from his shoulders. This was the Constitution.' It had been previously arranged by the Queen that they should bring the Constitution which she had prepared, and go through the form of asking her to proclaim it. The members of the Legislature, the Diplomatic Corps, and other officials were invited over to the Palace to lend eclat to the intended *Coup*.

"THE CONFERENCE IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

*Diplomats Hold
Interview With
Four Ministers*

"As soon as the Queen had left the Government building to return to the Palace, the four Ministers, at the request of the Diplomatic Corps, held an interview with them in the Foreign Office. Major Wodehouse asked them whether it was true that the Queen intended to promulgate a new constitution that afternoon, to which Mr. Parker replied that 'it was a fact. He had not seen the Constitution, but the Queen had requested them to come over and sign it.' Major Wodehouse then inquired what course the Cabinet would take, on which they all assured him they would not consent to sign the new Constitution. Major Wodehouse emphatically said that the Queen must not promulgate a new Constitution, and that if she had any such idea she must abandon it. In the course of the conversation Mr. Stevens inquired whether the Queen had signed the lottery bill. On Mr. Parker's replying in the affirmative, he asked again whether the Cabinet had advised her to sign it. Mr. Peterson explained that the Queen considered that the bill having passed the Legislature, she ought to sign it, as she had no reason for vetoing it, and that the Cabinet agreed with her. Mr. Stevens is reported to have 'pounded his cane upon the floor,' and to have exclaimed that the passage of that bill was a direct attack upon the United States. This alleged remark was made a serious grievance of by the Cabinet. The meeting then broke up and the Cabinet went directly to the Palace, while Mr. Stevens and Major Wodehouse returned home.

*Lottery Bad:
Stevens Pounds
Cane on Floor*

"THE SCENE IN THE PALACE.

"In the meantime a large concourse of Hawaiians had assembled around the Palace gates, and in the

grounds near the front entrance of the building, while the household troops were drawn up in line from the front steps of the Palace to the west gate, under arms, with their belts full of cartridges. In the throne-room the 'Hui Kalaiaina' were drawn up in regular lines, and their president, Alapai, had an address to deliver, which he held open in his hand. Besides these, most of the native members of the Legislature, Chief Justice Judd with Justice Bickerton, some members of the Diplomatic Corps and other officials were stationed as for a State ceremony.

"Meanwhile a memorable scene was taking place in the blue room, to which the Cabinet had been summoned by the Queen. On their tardy arrival, she at once placed before them a copy of her new Constitution, demanded their signatures, and declared her intention to promulgate it at once. According to his own account, Mr. Parker said, 'Your Majesty, we have not read that Constitution, but before we read it you must know that this is a *revolutionary* act. It cannot be done.' An angry discussion followed. The Cabinet spoke of the meeting just held with the foreign representatives, of the danger of an uprising, etc. She told them that 'she would not have undertaken such a step if they had not encouraged her.' She said 'they had led her to the brink of a precipice, and now were leaving her to take the leap alone.' She also said, 'Why not give the people this Constitution and I will bear the brunt of all the blame afterwards.' Mr. Peterson said, 'We have not read this Constitution,' on which she exclaimed, 'How dare you say that, when you have had it in your possession for a month?' She then invited them to resign, which they declined to do. She went on to threaten the Cabinet that unless they acceded to her wishes she would go upon the steps of the Palace and tell the excited mob that she wished to give them a new Constitution, but that her Ministers were inside, hindering her from doing so. These Ministers well remembered the Court House riot of 1874, and the fate of the unlucky representatives who then fell into the hands of the mob. Before her threat could be put into execution, three of the Ministers escaped from

*Revolutionary,
Mr. Parker Says
of Instrument*

*Charles Wilson
Single-handed
Against Queen*

the Palace by different exits, and repaired to their offices in the Government building. Mr. Parker alone remained with the Queen, fearing that if left alone, she might sign the Constitution herself, proclaim it from the Palace balcony, complaining that her Cabinet and judges would not comply with her wishes, and tell the people to look out for them. Meanwhile Marshal Wilson told the Chief-Justice in great emotion that he had been fighting the battle alone all the morning, and that the Queen was determined to carry out her design.

"THE APPEAL TO THE CITIZENS.

"About 1:30 P. M. Mr. J. F. Colburn came to Mr. W. O. Smith's office in great excitement, and requested him to come at once to the Attorney-General's office, in the Government Building, which he did. Messrs. Thurston, Wundenberg, and E. C. Macfarlane were already there, and other leading residents came in afterward. After Mr. Colburn had related the occurrence in the Blue Room, Mr. Thurston spoke emphatically, exhorting the Ministers to stand firm, and by no means to resign, and his views were supported by all who were present. Presently John Richardson, in the uniform of an officer of the Queen's staff, came over with a message from the Queen, requesting the three Ministers to return to the palace. They were advised, however, not to go, as they constituted a majority of the executive branch of the Government and might have to assume a grave responsibility to prevent the overthrow of the existing Constitution. Besides, Mr. Colburn declared that their lives would be in danger if they went back to the Palace. Accordingly they sent back by Mr. Richardson a message to Mr. Parker to come over at once to the Attorney-General's office, which he did, and the whole situation was again discussed.

"In reply to their request for advice, Mr. Thurston proposed to them that they should declare the Queen to be in revolution and the throne vacant, and with their consent drew up a form of proclamation to that effect, which he says was approved of by two of them. He also advised, that as they did not

know but that the Queen might take immediate forcible action against them, they should sign a letter asking the support of the American Minister, and deliver it to some third party, not to be used unless circumstances rendered it necessary. The Ministers approved of the suggestion, and he immediately drafted the following letter:

*Officials Will
Seek American
Help in Crisis*

“‘HIS EXCELLENCY JNO. L. STEVENS, AMERICAN MINISTER RESIDENT, AND CAPT. G. C. WILTSE, COMMANDER OF U. S. S. BOSTON.

“‘*Gentlemen*:—On behalf of the Hawaiian Cabinet, you are hereby informed that certain persons, without authority of law, have prepared and caused to be promulgated a document purporting to be a new Constitution, subversive of the rights of the people, and contrary to the law and Constitution of the land. That such illegal action is taken in the name of Her Majesty Liliuokalani, and is proposed to be supported by force. That the Cabinet maintain that such action is revolutionary and treasonable, and they hereby request the assistance of the United States troops to maintain order and support the Government.’

“Mr. Colburn states that he did not sign this letter, but gave it over to Mr. Peterson.

“Messrs. Thurston and Smith then left the building to go down town, but were overtaken at Richards street by a messenger from the Cabinet, requesting Mr. Thurston to return, which he did. He was then asked by the Cabinet ‘to ascertain what support they could expect from citizens, and in their behalf to call for armed volunteers to resist the Queen.’ He immediately went to Mr. W. O. Smith’s office, where he drafted a declaration stating what the Queen was attempting to do, and pledging the armed support of the signers to the Cabinet against the Queen, after which he proceeded, with the help of others, to comply with their request. This document was signed by over eighty persons, including Mr. Paul Neumann, within an hour.

*Eighty Persons
Sign Document
Within an Hour*

“Leading citizens of all parties crowded into Mr. W. O. Smith’s office and discussed the course to be pursued.

*Only One Mind
in Assemblage:
Uphold Liberty*

“There was but one mind among all those gathered together. An unanimity of sentiment prevailed such as has not been witnessed here for years, and it was agreed, without a dissenting voice, that it was the duty of every good citizen, without distinction of party, to support the law and the liberties of the people, and to resist the usurpation of the Queen.’

“Unfortunately this paper, as well as the minutes of the meeting held that afternoon, have been lost. Mr. Smith then returned to the Government building to inform the Cabinet of the sentiment of the people.

“Meanwhile Mr. Hassinger had been sent around to the Diplomatic representatives, requesting them to meet the Cabinet again in the Foreign office. They came without delay, and were in consultation with them for perhaps half an hour. According to Mr. Colburn, they strongly advised the Cabinet to return to the Palace and tell the Queen that she must abandon her project at once.

“At length, about 2:30 P. M., the four Ministers revisited the Palace, not without fear that they might be put under arrest, even if they suffered no bodily harm.

“Just after they had left the Government building they met Mr. W. O. Smith, who delivered to them his message concerning the feeling of the citizens down town.

“POSTPONEMENT OF THE COUP D’ETAT.

“The second conference in the Blue Room was a stormy and protracted one. For hours the result trembled in the balance. The Queen could not wholly renounce her cherished scheme, but finally consented with bitter reluctance to a temporary postponement of it. All this time the company assembled in the Throne Room were patiently waiting to hear the Queen’s decision, while in front of the Government building a crowd of spectators stood watching the Palace with intense anxiety. Revolution seemed imminent.

“At length about 4 P. M. the Queen returned to the Throne Room, fresh from her contest with the Cab-

*Crowd Anxious
at Imminence
of Revolution*

inet, with anger and defiance in her looks and bearing, but controlling herself by a supreme effort of will. Ascending the dais, she made an address in Hawaiian, of which the following is a fair translation:—

“PRINCES, NOBLES AND REPRESENTATIVES:

“I have listened to the thousands of voices of my people that have come to me, and I am prepared to grant their request. The present Constitution is full of defects, as the Chief-Justice here will testify, as questions regarding it have so often come before him for settlement. It is so faulty that I think a new one should be granted. I have prepared one in which the rights of all have been regarded—a Constitution suited to the wishes of the people. I was ready and expected to proclaim the new Constitution to-day, as a suitable occasion for it, and thus satisfy the wishes of my dear people. But, with deep regret, I say that I have met with obstacles that prevent it. Return to your homes peaceably and quietly, and continue to look toward me, and I will look toward you. Keep me ever in your love. I am obliged to postpone the granting of the Constitution for a few days. I must confer with my Cabinet, and when after you return home you may see it, receive it graciously. You have my love, and with sorrow I now dismiss you.’

*Queen Regrets
Must Postpone
Plan a While*

“Representative White replied, thanking the Queen, and assuring her of the love of the people, and that they would wait patiently until their desires should be fulfilled, to which the Queen responded with thanks and left the Throne Room.

“Representative Kaunamano then began in a loud voice an inflammatory harangue which was suppressed. He demanded the lives of the members of the Cabinet who had opposed the wishes of Her Majesty, and declared that he thirsted for bloodshed.

“A few moments later the Queen went out upon the upper balcony of the Palace and addressed the crowd, who were almost exclusively natives. She told them that on account of the perfidy of her Ministers she was unable to give them the Constitution which she had promised them, but that she would take the earliest op-

portunity of procuring it for them. The crowd then gave three cheers.

“The newspaper *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, issued on the morning of the 16th, gave the text of this latter speech, of which the following is a literal translation:—

“‘O ye people who love the chief, I hereby say to you that I am now ready to proclaim the new Constitution for my Kingdom, thinking that it would be successful; but behold, obstacles have arisen. Therefore, I say unto you, loving people, go with good hope and do not be disturbed or troubled in your minds, because within the next few days now coming I will proclaim the new Constitution.

“‘The Executive officers of the law (the Cabinet), knew the errors in the new Constitution, but they said nothing. Therefore I hope that the thing which you, my people, so much desire, will be accomplished; it is also my strong desire.’

“Representative White then proceeded to the front steps of the Palace and began an address. He told the crowd that the Cabinet had betrayed them, and that instead of going home peaceably they should go into the Palace and kill and bury them. Attempts were made to stop him which he resisted, saying he would never close his mouth until the new Constitution was granted. Finally he yielded to the expostulations of Col. Jas. H. Boyd and others, threw up his hands and said that he was ‘*pau*’,—done—for the present. After this the audience dispersed and the Hui Kalaiaina filed out, appearing very much dejected. A few minutes later Messrs. Parker and Cornwell came over to the Government building together, looking as though they had passed through a very severe ordeal. As they entered the building they were complimented by several persons for the stand which they had made.

“Mr. Thurston, who stood by, however, said, ‘Must we continue to live in this way, with this peril hanging over our heads, uncertain whether we may not wake up any morning and find our liberties gone.’ Meanwhile a *luau*, or banquet, had been prepared in the basement of the Palace, to which the Queen and about forty guests sat down.”

“*Luau*” Follows
All the Storm;
Queen at Feast

Mr. Alexander (page 36) gives the principal differences between the constitution of 1887 and Liliuokalani's proposed constitution. His authority is a copy of the Liliuokalani document, certified to by Ministers Parker, Peterson, and Cornwell, as the one that she wished them to sign, which is quoted in full on pages 581 to 590, *Blount's Report*. A condensation of these changes follows. 1. The cabinet was to be appointed and hold office at the Queen's pleasure, except that the Legislature, while in session, might have voted it out. 2. The Queen, at will, would have appointed members of the house of nobles, instead of their being elected by property holders. 3. One article would have restricted the vote to male subjects, disfranchising all voters of American and European nationalities who had not been naturalized, and giving the native population control over the election of representatives. (The constitution of 1887 gave the franchise to Americans and Europeans who took oath to support the Monarchy, without renouncing their allegiance to their home governments.) 4. Judges of the supreme court were to be appointed for six years only, instead of for life, and the provision that their compensation should not be reduced during their terms of office was stricken out. This would have destroyed the independence of the supreme court. 5. A provision in the constitution of 1887, that when the constitution required any act to be done by the sovereign, it should mean done by and with the advice and consent of the cabinet, was stricken out. This gave the sovereign supreme

*Constitutions
Are Compared
by Alexander*

*One Provision
Disfranchises
White Voters*

*Would Change
Monarchy to
Absolute One*

control and changed the Monarchy from a limited one to an absolute. [See Appendix B for the full texts of the constitution of 1887 and the proposed constitution of 1893.—*Editor.*]

Rear Admiral Albert S. Barker, United States Navy, wrote an autobiography under the title of *Everyday Life in the Navy*,* which was published in 1928. He relates that he sailed from the Atlantic to Honolulu as a captain in command of the U. S. S. *Philadelphia* in 1893, arriving at Honolulu on September 13, when he came under the command of Rear Admiral J. S. Skerrett, U. S. N. Admiral Barker reports that a rumor early was circulated in Honolulu that the *Philadelphia* had come to restore Liliuokalani. Shortly afterward, the U. S. S. *Boston*, which had been the flagship at Honolulu, left for San Francisco. A ball having been tendered Admiral Skerrett and the officers of the *Boston*, invitations to which had been accepted, considerable discussion ensued in the Honolulu papers as to whether the royalists should attend. One view was that, since the ball would be given at the Palace by the Provisional Government authorities, no royalist could attend "with decency or propriety." The ball was held, however, although threats to dynamite it were made. The American troops were held on board the *Philadelphia*, prepared to land immediately for the protection of American life or property,

* Excerpts from *Everyday Life in the Navy*, by Albert S. Barker, copyright in 1928 by Richard G. Badger, are used by permission of Chapman & Grimes, present owners of the rights.

if any disturbance occurred, but the ball was a success, and passed off quietly.

Admiral Barker notes the arrival of Albert S. Willis, United States minister, and his attendance at Central Union Church, "which pleased me very much, as I knew it gave him a good idea of the people who were active in the cause of annexation." (Page 217.)

*Central Union
Affords Willis
Idea of People*

About that time, out of a clear sky, Admiral Skerrett received orders from the Navy Department at Washington, directing him and his staff to take the first mail steamer to San Francisco, where they would transfer to the *Boston* to be sent to the Asiatic station. Admiral Skerrett regarded the order as a disgrace to him. A royalist paper in Honolulu published an article at the time, criticizing Admiral Skerrett, and stating that he was being transferred to the Asiatic station because of his sympathy with the Provisional Government. With considerable detail, Admiral Barker describes a round of entertainments at Honolulu, in which both members of the Provisional Government and of the royalist party participated. He says: "It was odd to see the leading Annexationists and Royalists, both men and women, coming to the ship in the same boats, pleasantly conversing, when they did not know how soon they might be trying to take each other's lives.

*There Is Sound
of Revelry and
Capital Gathers*

"One would not have supposed that they were ready to cut each other's throats, or that the state of affairs was at all alarming." (Page 216.)

On pages 217 and 218, Admiral Barker says

that Rear Admiral John Irwin and his staff arrived from the China station with cipher instructions to take command at Honolulu. When Admiral Skerrett departed, he left with Admiral Barker a copy of his instructions from the Navy Department. They surprised Admiral Barker, to say the least. He continues:

"I saw at once that the State Department did not understand the situation at all, as the instructions given, which since have been printed, but which were then strictly confidential, were such as never should have issued from Washington.

*Admiral Goes
Under Control
of a Civilian*

"The Admiral was directed to obey the orders of Commissioner Blount, a civilian, in regard to the disposition and use of the naval force, thus going directly against not only the long established custom of the service, but also against the published regulations which make the Senior Naval Officer responsible for his own acts. If this was constitutional, then a civilian could be ordered by the President to command our fleets in time of war—even on a foreign station—and without confirmation by the Senate!

"Up to this time—for until the Admiral left the ship he supposed I was to be the Senior Officer, temporarily, at least—he had said nothing to me of his orders, and but little of the affairs at the Islands—which I had thought strange.

"Now he remarked that I had doubtless thought it odd that he had said so little about the situation at Honolulu; but he had purposely refrained, that I might form my own opinion of the situation, and because the orders were of so peculiar a nature. He had let me go on in regard to official and personal matters without interfering or directing more than was absolutely necessary. He had been directed to treat both parties with absolute impartiality, although our Government, both *de jure* and *de facto*, had recognized this Provisional Government. He was to treat the ex-Queen and her party exactly as he did President Dole and his cabinet!

*Orders Issued
to Treat Queen
and Dole Alike*

"Admirals Irwin and Skerrett conferred together that night and arranged that the transfer of command should take place on the following morning!

"Shortly after this function was completed, we went on board the *China* to bid goodbye to Admiral Skerrett. He was a broken-hearted man, for he felt that his detachment was virtually a disgrace, but he thought that he had done his duty, as indeed he had.

*Skerrett Feels
Broken-hearted
at Detachment*

"Possibly he had written too much or too plainly to please those in Washington who wished to restore the Queen and overthrow a government which they had recognized.

"The *China* sailed during the forenoon, and Mr. Willis presented his credentials to the Provisional Government on the same day."—pp. 217-218.

Admiral Barker details the pros and cons of the royalist and Provisional Government parties, and the difficulties the Navy was under, in view of the lack of official instructions as to the course to be followed. He says that a private American citizen, popularly believed to be a spy of the Washington government, was then living at the principal hotel. Though avowedly a royalist, apparently he also was intimate with President Dole and Admiral Skerrett. The gentleman sought to ingratiate himself with Admiral Irwin by denouncing President Cleveland and his policy toward the Provisional Government, for which Admiral Irwin reprimanded him.

Of Minister Willis, Admiral Barker records on pages 220 to 222:

"He told me that before coming he had read everything he could find about the Islands and had conversed with people who had been there; yet in reality he had formed no true idea of the beauty of the Islands nor of the character of the people in power.

*Royalist Plan:
to Get Palace
For the Queen*

“It now became known that the plan of the Royalists was to get possession of the Executive Building and to place the Queen therein. If successful in this, they believed that our troops would support them and the Queen. The Provisional Government, knowing this had doubled its own guards and the ‘Minute Men’ or Citizen Volunteers had orders to be ready to assemble at a moment’s notice.

“In view of all these alarming reports, our men were kept on board and preparations made to land instantly should occasion require it.

“At this time, the keeping our men in readiness perhaps encouraged the Royalists more than it did the Annexationists, as the former were positive that we were there to help them; but in truth our men were kept on board in readiness to put down *any* rioting or insubordination and thus to protect American lives and property.

“Just at this time, Theodore” [Theophilus H.] “Davies, one of the most prominent of the Royalists, left Honolulu for the other Islands. Many said it was to be away to avoid the coming strife. Whatever the cause, it was afterwards learned that he had been fully persuaded that the Queen would be restored by aid of the Philadelphia, and had said this to natives and others on the other Islands.

“This Mr. Davies was a British subject, the wealthiest man, perhaps, on the Islands. It was said that he had a scheme to have his son marry Princess Kiulani” [Kaiulani], “who was next in succession to Queen Liliuokalani.

“The excitement on shore became stronger with each succeeding rumor. Judge then what it must have been when the Alameda from New Zealand brought the news which had been received at New Zealand by cable, that President Cleveland was writing a message favoring the restoration of the Queen.

“Admiral Irwin therefore suggested to Minister Willis that it might be well to give some official utterances which would allay the excitement, which was interfering with all business and all peaceful avocations.

"Mr. Willis himself thought well of this, and accordingly he gave out the following to a reporter of the Star:

"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 from the United States Government on the Hawaiian situation. Since my arrival here contingencies have arisen which neither the United States Government nor I expected when I left Washington.

*No Change Will
Take Place For
Several Weeks*

"I have thought best in the exercise of the discretion allowed me, to submit these matters to Washington before proceeding further in carrying out my original instructions. I forwarded my despatches to Washington by today's steamer and until I receive an answer to them, no change will take place in the present situation, nor will any be allowed."

"Question by the reporter: 'What do you mean by the expression, "Nor will any be allowed"?'"

"I mean just this—that until the time comes for me to carry out my instructions, the peace and good will of the 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 strongly and say that even if the Provisional Government should discharge the whole of its troops today, no lawlessness would be allowed for one moment under the present conditions of affairs."

"This was plain talk and it reassured people. The excitement subsided, though people said to themselves and to one another:

*Talk of Willis
Is Reassuring
to the People*

"From this interview, the United States has certainly assumed a protectorate over the Islands.' It showed also, that in the mind of Minister Willis, he had authority over the U. S. naval forces at the Islands."

Also on page 222, Admiral Barker says that the steamer *Warrimoo* arrived from Vancouver on November 24, bringing a newspaper which stated that President Cleveland intended to restore the Queen; the admiral continues: "Admiral Irwin

was much troubled when he heard this, as he was the Senior Naval Officer and upon him would fall the disgrace of carrying out such a program. He told me privately that he had not felt so deeply, so thoroughly sad, since the bombardment of Fort Sumter."

On the 14th, says the admiral (page 225), the United States revenue cutter *Corwin* arrived with a dispatch to Minister Willis, which took about seven hours to decipher; meanwhile a rumor spread that the restoration of the Queen was about to take place. Thousands of persons gathered to see the restoration executed. Captain Eustace Rooke, of the British warship *Champion*, and Captain Heihachiro Togo, of the Japanese cruiser *Naniwa*, arranged to land troops as soon as Admiral Irwin notified them that a landing was advisable; and the Barker book quotes Captain Rooke as follows (pages 225 and 226):

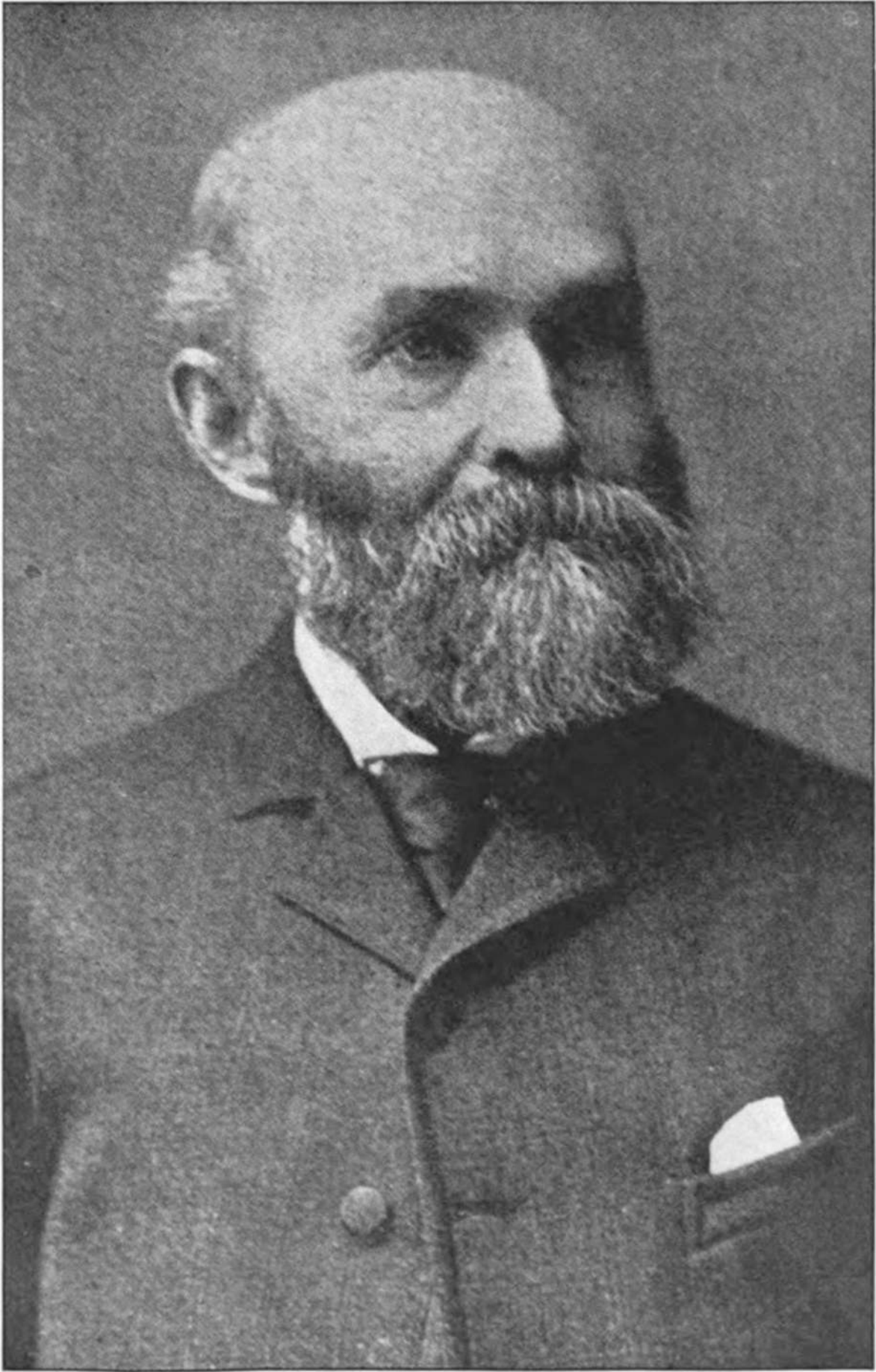
" . . . He was positive that we were to restore the Queen and to use force against the Provisional Government's troops in so doing if necessary.

"He told me that some of his men would guard the British Legation while perhaps one hundred others might do 'patrol duty'. He also said the English church would be defended as the people would assemble there in case of a row.

"He said, 'You will have all you want to do in driving out the Provisional Government from the Palace grounds, and while you are doing that, English and Japanese forces will look out for the work of guarding the city.'

"Captain Rooke later told some ladies at the hotel that there was sure to be fighting and they had better pack up their things and be ready to go at a moment's notice!

*Japanese and
British Will
Be on Guard*



Minister Willis, under President Cleveland's instructions, tried, but failed, to restore the deposed Liliuokalani

Albert S. Willis

There were many rumors afloat and people were wrought up to a high pitch of fear, for it was friend against friend; yes, and brother against brother."

The admiral says (page 227) that he received no instructions from Admiral Irwin, and that he issued instructions to his own officers as to their course in case a landing party were sent ashore. On the same day, the admiral continues, Minister Willis made demand on President Dole to retire from the government, handing it over to the Queen (pages 228 and 229).

"The Minister did not threaten to use force to make them comply with his demands, but he as solemnly asked them to step down as if his next step would be to put them out.

"The Provisional Government took its time in making formal answer to the Minister's demand.

"President Dole was not a man to be hurried or frightened, and before his answer was finished the steamer Alameda arrived from San Francisco, bringing the news that Congress had the matter in hand, and that the excitement in the United States was almost as great as in the Hawaiian Islands. Practically no one in the United States defended the action of President Cleveland.

"The Annexationists were jubilant and the Royalists depressed. There was no longer any danger that force would be used and leave was again granted to the enlisted men to go on shore.

"Commander Nelson and I took our Christmas dinner on shore at the Hawaiian Hotel, guests of Admiral Irwin. It was a sad Christmas, however, as we all felt deeply the disgraceful state of affairs.

"Still more or less excitement and uncertainty on shore continued until the twenty-seventh, when a steamer from Vancouver arrived with papers having President Cleveland's message to Congress on the Hawaiian question, so that all knew that the matter had been turned over to Congress or the Senate, and there was great relief.

"On the twenty-sixth of January the Warrimoo arrived from Vancouver bringing a paper having Minister

*Dole Not Man
to Be Hurried
or Frightened*

*Relief Great
When Congress
Gets Question*

Willis's No. 3 despatch printed in its columns. It caused intense excitement, as, for the first time, the people at the Islands knew that the Queen had insisted upon *beheading* the leaders of the revolution should she be restored! And that the circumstances causing the delay of which Mr. Willis had spoken were just *these!*

"The strangest thing and the most humiliating is that President Cleveland and Secretary of State Gresham should have insisted upon restoring the Queen after they knew how bloodthirsty she was! and after the Provisional Government had been recognized by the United States.

"The situation had been bravely and wisely handled by Minister Willis, for he was in a difficult position.

"During the whole period of excitement the leading people of Honolulu had not ceased to meet together at dinners, on excursions, at picnics, parties, receptions and teas, and these were continued notwithstanding wide differences of opinion in politics. Lines were drawn a little closer perhaps but the naval officers as a rule tried to keep up a good social feeling, while distributing calls and other attentions as equally as possible among Royalists and Annexationists.

"The report of the U. S. Senate Committee of which Senator Morgan was chairman, which had been eagerly awaited, was brought by steamer, the 'Oceanic,' on the sixth of March. It wisely and truthfully exonerated Minister Stevens and Captain Wiltze" [Wiltse] "of having had anything to do with conspiring to overthrow the Queen's government, and the report favored annexation."

President Dole is thus characterized on page 231:

"I used occasionally to drive out with President Dole up the valleys, or out on the plains, and these drives were very enjoyable, as Mr. Dole's personality was very attractive and his ideas on most subjects sound—according to my own judgment, of course! Also his information in regard to Hawaiian subjects was extensive.

"He could speak the native language fluently and for this reason, in connection with his sterling character, he was held in veneration by the natives.

*Barker States
Willis Handled
Situation Well*

*Judge Is Held
in Veneration
by the Natives*

"On these drives Mr. Dole would tell me how things were getting on in the Provisional Government, what difficulties they had to encounter, and what differences of opinion there were on matters of some moment.

"On one of these occasions he related instances of devotion and patriotism on the part of quiet, undemonstrative men which in the time of trial had sustained him greatly and made him confident of ultimate success."

I consider Admiral Barker's contribution to Hawaiian history as of the utmost importance, since it tends to corroborate the statements of President Dole in his controversy with Minister Willis concerning the "attitude" of the United States government toward restoration. [See the Dole memoirs, pages 128 to 157, for Mr. Willis' "attitude."—*Editor.*]

From page 220 of Admiral Barker's book, I quote Minister Willis' opinion of President Dole and the other ministers of the Provisional Government: "Minister Willis, from the first, was favorably impressed with the President and his cabinet, and was heard to say to the Consul General, who had accompanied him on his call at Government House:

"These gentlemen are not filibusters; they would do honor to any government.'" Samuel Parker, who had been prime minister of the Monarchy, gave an interview to the *New York Press*, of August 5, 1894; regarding President Dole, he said: "He is a man against whom nothing can be brought. He is upright, able, thoroughly honest and conscientious." (United States, Minister to Washington, July-August, 1894, Archives of Hawaii.)

*Dole Cabinet
Is Honorable
to Any Nation*

CHAPTER XXI

MR. CLEVELAND, MR. WILLIS, THE QUEEN

On September 27, 1893, President Cleveland appointed Albert S. Willis, of Kentucky, minister to Hawaii. He arrived in Honolulu on November 4, and presented his credentials from President Cleveland to his "great and good friend" Sanford B. Dole, president of the Provisional Government, on November 7. Mr. Willis brought instructions from President Cleveland to demand of President Dole that the Provisional Government restore Liliuokalani to the throne, but President Cleveland did not notify me, as Hawaiian minister at Washington, or President Dole, or the Provisional Government, of those instructions. After his arrival in Honolulu, Minister Willis entered privately into negotiations with Liliuokalani, looking toward her restoration. In a private interview at his office on November 13, 1893, Minister Willis informed Liliuokalani of his instructions from President Cleveland to tender her restoration, on the condition that she extend amnesty to those who had been instrumental in the abrogation of the Monarchy. A dispatch from Minister Willis to Secretary of State Gresham, dated November 16, 1893, concerning the interview, is as follows:

*Instructions
Kept Secret
by Cleveland*

“LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
“Honolulu, November 16, 1893.

“No. 3.]

“SIR: In the forenoon of Monday the 13th instant, by prearrangement, the Queen, accompanied by the royal chamberlain, Mr. [James W.] Robertson, called at the Legation. No one was present at the half-hour interview which followed, her chamberlain having been taken to another room and Consul-General Mills, who had invited her to come, remaining in the front of the house to prevent interruption.

“After a formal greeting, the Queen was informed that the President of the United States had important communications to make to her and she was asked whether she was willing to receive them alone and in confidence, assuring her that this was for her own interest and safety. She answered in the affirmative.

“I then made known to her the President’s sincere regret that, through the unauthorized intervention of the United States, she had been obliged to surrender her sovereignty, and his hope that, with her consent and cooperation, the wrong done to her and to her people might be redressed. To this, she bowed her acknowledgments.

“I then said to her, ‘The President expects and believes that when reinstated you will show forgiveness and magnanimity; that you will wish to be the Queen of all the people, both native and foreign born; that you will make haste to secure their love and loyalty and to establish peace, friendship, and good government.’ To this she made no reply. After waiting a moment, I continued: ‘The President not only tenders you his sympathy but wishes to help you. Before fully making known to you his purposes, I desire to know whether you are willing to answer certain questions which it is my duty to ask?’ She answered, ‘I am willing.’ I then asked her, ‘Should you be restored to the throne, would you grant full amnesty as to life and property to all those persons who have been or who are now in the Provisional Government, or who have been instrumental in the overthrow of your government.’ She hesitated a moment and then slowly and calmly answered: ‘There are certain laws of my Government by which I shall abide. My decision would be, as the law directs, that such persons

*Queen Reticent
at Suggestion
of Magnanimity*

*Heads Off and
Their Property
Will Be Seized*

should be beheaded and their property confiscated to the Government.' I then said, repeating very distinctly her words, 'It is your feeling that these people should be beheaded and their property confiscated?' She replied, 'It is.' I then said to her, 'Do you fully understand the meaning of every word which I have said to you, and of every word which you have said to me, and, if so, do you still have the same opinion?' Her answer was, 'I have understood and mean all I have said, but I might leave the decision of this to my ministers.' To this I replied, 'Suppose it was necessary to make a decision before you appointed any ministers, and that you were asked to issue a royal proclamation of general amnesty, would you do it?' She answered, 'I have no legal right to do that, and I would not do it.' Pausing a moment she continued, 'These people were the cause of the revolution and constitution of 1887. There will never be any peace while they are here. They must be sent out of the country, or punished, and their property confiscated.' I then said, 'I have no further communication to make to you now, and will have none until I hear from my Government, which will probably be three or four weeks.'

"Nothing was said for several minutes, when I asked her whether she was willing to give me the names of four of her most trusted friends, as I might, within a day or two, consider it my duty to hold a consultation with them in her presence. She assented, and gave the names: J. O. Carter, John Richardson, Joseph Nawahi, and E. C. Macfarlane.

"I then inquired whether she had any fears for her safety at her present residence, Washington Square. She replied that she did have some fears, that while she had trusty friends that guarded her house every night, they were armed only with clubs, and that men shabbily dressed had been often seen prowling about the adjoining premises—a schoolhouse with large yard. I informed her that I was authorized by the President to offer her protection either on one of our war ships or at the legation and desired her to accept the offer at once. She declined, saying she believed it was best for her at present to remain at her own residence. I then said to her that at any moment, night or day, this offer of our Government was open to her acceptance.

* * * *

*Haven Offered
on Man-of-war
or at Legation*

"From these and other facts which have been developed I feel satisfied that there will be a concerted movement in the event of restoration for the overthrow of that constitution" [1887] "which would mean the overthrow of constitutional and limited government and the absolute dominion of the Queen.

*Absolutism Is
Certain Result
of Restoration*

"The law referred to by the Queen is Chapter VI, section 9 of the Penal Code, as follows:

"Whoever shall commit the crime of treason shall suffer the punishment of death and all his property shall be confiscated to the Government."

"There are, under this law, no degrees of treason. Plotting alone carries with it the death sentence.

"I need hardly add, in conclusion, that the tension of feeling is so great that the promptest action is necessary to prevent disastrous consequences.

"I send a cipher telegram asking that Mr. Blount's report be withheld for the present, and I send with it a telegram, not in cipher as follows:

"Views of the first party so extreme as to require further instructions."

"I am, etc.

"ALBERT S. WILLIS."

—*Morgan's Report*, pp. 2087-2089.

Shortly thereafter, a statement was made in Honolulu to the effect that the persons whom Liliuokalani proposed to behead were Sanford B. Dole, William O. Smith, William R. Castle, Charles L. Carter, and Lorrin A. Thurston. All five men were "missionary" sons or grandsons. The decapitated bodies of the five, piled in a heap, would have made a noble monument to Liliuokalani, and to the sense of justice of Messrs. Blount, Willis, Gresham, and Cleveland. The dispatch from Mr. Willis, published soon after its receipt in Washington, setting forth the demand of Liliuokalani for decapitation of the leaders who had deposed her, spread consternation in the administration,

*Smith, Castle,
Dole, Thurston,
Carter to Ax*

*Feeling Tense
Both in Hawaii
and the States*

and created the greatest indignation throughout the Union. The intensity of the feeling in Honolulu is indicated in dispatches from Admiral Irwin, naval commander in Honolulu, to the secretary of the navy.

"PACIFIC STATION,
"OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF,
U. S. NAVAL FORCE,
"U. S. FLAGSHIP PHILADELPHIA,
"*Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, December 4, 1893.*

"SIR: I have the honor to submit the following report regarding the political situation in Honolulu. The Provisional Government is in undisturbed control of the government of all the islands. They have fortified the palace grounds, and assert that they will defend themselves at all hazards against an attack, no matter from what source it may emanate; they have fortified the palace, and have 1,000 men under arms and 500 in reserve. The reserve is also armed, the men acting as minute men and ready for instantaneous call to arms.

"The feeling of both parties is intensely bitter, but I do not anticipate any collision. I have endeavored to ascertain what force the Royalists have at their command, but have not succeeded. They are naturally secretive at present. I have no reason to think that they have any organized force, as they have had no opportunity for drill. I have received no instructions other than those given my predecessor. In order to give you an idea of the feeling existing in Honolulu, I forward files of newspapers giving the views of both parties.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"JOHN IRWIN,
"Rear Admiral U. S. Navy,
"Commanding U. S. Naval Force, Pacific Station.

"The SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
"Navy Department, Washington, D. C."

—*Morgan's Report*, p. 2141.

*Palace Grounds
to Be Defended
by Government*

MEMOIRS OF LORRIN A. THURSTON

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

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

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

"The newspapers assume that I, as the military representative of the U.S. Government, intend to use force to restore the Queen. . . .

* * * *

"The commanding officers of the Japanese cruiser *Naniwa Kan* and the British cruiser *Champion* called on me to arrange for landing a force to protect the lives and property of their countrymen in case there should be any serious riot. They offered to cooperate with me and to place their landing parties where, in my opinion, they would do the most good.

* * * *

"Foreign influence, inimical to the interests of the United States, is secretly at work here, as it is wherever we have any trade interests, and that influence will account for many of the misstatements in the papers.

*Influence of
Foreigners Is
at Work Here*

* * * *

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"JOHN IRWIN,
"Rear Admiral, U. S. Navy,
"Commanding U. S. Naval Force, Pacific Station.

"The SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
"Navy Department, Washington, D. C."
—*Morgan's Report*, pp. 2084-2085.

Despite his minimizing efforts in his dispatch to the secretary of the navy, Admiral Irwin was not certain that the intention was not to restore Liliuo-

*Admiral Irwin
Feels Disgrace
of the Program*

kalani forcibly. That is evidenced by the statement of Admiral Barker, on page 222, *Everyday Life in the Navy*: "Admiral Irwin was much troubled when he heard" of President Cleveland's intention to restore Liliuokalani, "as he was the Senior Naval Officer and upon him would fall the disgrace of carrying out such a program. He told me privately that he had not felt so deeply, so thoroughly sad, since the bombardment of Fort Sumter." Admiral Irwin also attempted to minimize the grounds for apprehension at the proposed landing of American troops to assist in restoring the Queen, but he admitted that fear existed. In confirmation of the impression that prevailed among the American naval authorities, as well as those of Great Britain and Japan, there is the statement on pages 225 and 226 of Admiral Barker's autobiography, that both the British and Japanese commanders understood that the United States planned to restore Liliuokalani by force; and Admiral Barker quotes the assurance given him by Captain Eustace Rooke, of Her Britannic Majesty's Ship *Champion*, that Captain Rooke appreciated the fact that the American admiral would have his hands full in driving the Provisional Government from the Palace, and therefore the British and Japanese forces would guard the city and protect the civilian population.

The attempt to restore Liliuokalani aroused condemnation in almost every newspaper in the United States. Perhaps the popular feeling was expressed more especially and to the point in an editorial in

The Sun, New York, a Democratic paper, of November 12, 1893, entitled "The Policy of Infamy." A copy follows.

*Cleveland Aim
Infamous, Says
Great Journal*

"The announcement of the CLEVELAND policy respecting Hawaii has come. It is not the American policy. It is not the policy of the United States Government, or of the people of this republic. It is not yet, thank God! the policy of the Democratic party. It is neither more nor less than the personal determination of an executive officer, charged with temporary power, to use that power to enforce a personal conclusion, and to commit this country to his personal conclusion, regardless of consequences in infamy or blood.

"Stripped of every special plea and specious pretext surrounding the essential fact, what is the purpose which Mr. CLEVELAND now declares, through the so-called report of his too subservient Secretary of State? To crush the life out of a young republic, already recognized by us as an independent and responsible Government; to employ the armed power as well as the moral influence of the United States to thrust back upon a civilized people, American in their instincts and habits and aspirations, a barbarous monarchy, in the person of a vile and ridiculous person whom they have driven from the throne; to undo the work of a revolution which made Hawaii a republic, by means of a counter revolution by *coup d'état* planned in the White House at Washington and secretly but deliberately ordered by a President of the United States!

"That is the CLEVELAND policy. The American policy was settled long ago. It has never varied. It was never better defined than by JAMES BUCHANAN, a Democratic Secretary of State, when he sped to the new-born republic of 1848 in France this assurance of America's sympathy for every people struggling out of the forms and traditions of monarchy: *'It was with one universal burst of enthusiasm that the American people hailed the late glorious revolution in France in favor of liberty and republican government. In this feeling the President strongly sympathizes. Warm aspirations for the success of the new republic are breathed from every*

*Buchanan Sent
Best of Wishes
to the French*

heart. Liberty and order will make France happy and prosperous. Her destinies, under Providence, are now in the hands of the French people. Let them by their wisdom, firmness, and moderation refute the slanders of their enemies, and convince the world that they are capable of self-government. That is the American policy.

“The date of the revolution overthrowing monarchy in France in 1848 was Feb. 24, and news came slowly then across the Atlantic. The date of BUCHANAN’S spirited message to the new republic was March 31. POLK and BUCHANAN did not wait to ascertain whether the new republic represented a numerical majority of all of the people then inhabiting France. They did not inquire whether a numerical majority would have preferred the continuation of monarchy. They did not ask whether American citizens residing in France had borne a part in the revolutionary movement, or even whether the official representatives of the United States Government had manifested sympathy with the Frenchmen who overthrew LOUIS PHILIPPE. President POLK and his Secretary of State sent out no commissioner with authority paramount and instructions to investigate Minister RUSH’S attitude toward the revolutionists, and to make a case, if possible, to warrant American intervention in behalf of the friendly King who had just been dethroned. They sent to the young republic the *Godspeed* as above printed, and knew that behind them in that message of sympathy and joy was every true American heart; just as every true American heart would have been behind GROVER CLEVELAND and his Administration if a similar message had gone from Washington to Honolulu in March of this year 1893.

*Unique Effort
of a President
for a Monarch*

“Never before now has an American Executive undertaken to stamp out republicanism and to set up monarchy in any part of the world. Never before, we believe, has an American President issued orders for the assassination of a free and successful Government. Never before has any officer of this Government undertaken, upon his sole responsibility and without consulting Congress or the people, to decide the destiny of a foreign country in diplomatic relations with ourselves. Never before has a President invited or commanded his Cabinet advisers to

assist him in the odious business of setting up again a rotten and broken throne.

"Was there no American spirit in the Cabinet when this policy of infamy was decreed? WALTER Q. GRESHAM would have done well to tear his commission into pieces and fling the pieces in the face of his master, rather than to sign his name to the document which carried to the nation yesterday the announcement of the nation's shame.

*Letter Carries
Tale of Shame
to the Nation*

"So cunningly and so secretly has the way been prepared at Washington for the restoration of the wretched LILIUOKALANI at Honolulu, if possible, before public sentiment could assert itself in the United States, and so adroitly have the promoters of the *coup d'état* timed the publication of their instructions in order to cover Minister WILLIS's movements under his secret instructions, that the astounded people of the United States do not yet know what has happened in Hawaii. Have the hopes of the woman who called herself Queen, of her interested British friends, of the mercenary SPRECKELS, of the dull and prejudiced BLOUNT who went out to make a lawyer's case against the Hawaiian Government, been crowned already by the success of the counter-revolution ordered by the President of the United States? Has LILIUOKALANI been marched back to her throne under escort of American bayonets, and to the music of 'Hail, Columbia'? Or are the intelligent, respectable, and patriotic citizens of Hawaii fighting to-day against American troops and dying in the streets in a struggle to preserve the Government they have established, and the blessings of liberty and order which they thought they had obtained for themselves and their children?"

["The Policy of Infamy" was written by Edward P. Mitchell, an editorial writer on the staff of *The Sun* in 1893, subsequently editor of the paper, and author of *Memoirs of An Editor* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924). Mr. Mitchell was a warm friend of Francis M. Hatch, minister of foreign affairs of the Provisional Government and of the Republic of Hawaii, and afterward

minister to Washington; likewise was Mr. Mitchell a warm friend of Harold M. Sewall, American minister to Hawaii at annexation. This information is supplied by Harold M. Anderson, of the staff of *The Sun* in 1936.—*Editor.*]

*"Herald" and
"Post" Alone
in Approving*

The foregoing illustrates the numerous interviews and editorials published by the hundreds all over the United States. With the exception of the article in the *New York Herald* above quoted [pages 384 and 385.—*Editor.*], and one of similar character in *The Evening Post*, New York, I saw no other that was not antagonistic to the conclusions of Mr. Blount's report. Press comments on it, on the letter of Secretary Gresham, and on the action of Minister Willis were a furious repudiation of the Cleveland-Gresham-Blount-Willis policies—a repudiation before which the administration quailed; and Mr. Cleveland referred the whole case to the "wide discretion of the Congress," as hereinafter set forth.

In her private diary, under date of December 16, 1893, Liliuokalani wrote that Minister Willis read to her the record made by him on her previous refusal, on November 13, 1893, to accept the condition of amnesty imposed by President Cleveland, and of his report to the President. She further wrote that the record and report read by Minister Willis were correct. Following is a copy of the entry in her diary:

*Diary Records
That the Queen
Is Determined*

December 16, 1893: "Willis asked if I still adhered to what I said at a former meeting, I said I did—that after the President had asked clemency to these offenders? I said, yes—I feared the lives of myself and people would

be endangered—and that if any clemency were shown it must be in the sparing of their lives:—but they must not be permitted to stay—they and their children:—for I felt that if they remained, they would still continue to be a disturbing element- . . .”—Liliuokalani's diary, Archives of Hawaii.

No record was made by Minister Willis of any reply by Liliuokalani, other than his report of her demand that she be permitted to behead the leaders of the revolution; nor did he make any further report to President Cleveland. If Minister Willis read any record to Liliuokalani of an interview between them regarding restoration, it was a record of the interview in which she demanded beheading; and she records in her diary that he did read the report to her, and that it was correct. In so detailed an account of his interview with the Queen, it seems scarcely credible that Mr. Willis should have misinterpreted her demand for beheading, especially when he incorporated the word "beheaded" in the dispatch that he sent soon thereafter to Washington. In *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, purported to have been written by Liliuokalani, but actually written by Julius A. Palmer, junior, the statement is made, on page 248, that the Queen "found to my horror, when the newspapers came to Honolulu from the United States, that the President and the American people had been told that I was about to behead them all!"—the leaders of the revolution. Her book continues that her reply had made no reference to "beheading", that she had told Mr. Willis that she would leave the question to the law of Hawaii and her cabinet. As a matter of fact, the acts of those

*Book Asserts
Beheading Was
Not Mentioned*

who had dethroned the Queen and abrogated the Monarchy were treason under the law of Hawaii; and the penalty for treason was death and confiscation of property. The Queen's book makes the further statement that "beheading" was unknown to Hawaiian law or custom, and therefore it was impossible that she should have used such a word. I understand that the method of execution known to the ancient Hawaiians was to bash in the skull of the victim with a stone. As between beheading and bashing in the skull, I venture to suggest that there is not much choice, so that the difference between the versions of Minister Willis and Liliuokalani is one of words alone and not of substance.

Liliuokalani conferred with Joseph O. Carter, her adviser in Honolulu; he disapproved her reply to Minister Willis; she informed Mr. Willis that she would accept the conditions imposed by President Cleveland; thereupon the minister, on December 20, first informed President Dole of President Cleveland's instructions, to call upon the Provisional Government to relinquish authority to Liliuokalani, and made formal demand upon him so to do. President Dole asked for time to consider; Minister Willis assented, and President Dole gave his answer, of refusal to comply, on December 23. Thereupon Mr. Willis asked what President Dole meant by the word "attitude" in his communication. Mr. Dole set forth the facts from which he had drawn his conclusions. [For the Willis-Dole correspondence, see Chapter VII of the Dole memoirs, "Attempt to Restore Liliuokalani," es-

*What Are Odds
Between Bashed
Head and None?*

pecially pages 106 to 126, the Willis demand and the Dole refusal.—*Editor.*]

When the newspapers of the United States published the claim advanced by Secretary of State Gresham that President Cleveland had a right to arbitrate between Liliuokalani and the Provisional Government, I, as minister of the Provisional Government at Washington, filed with Secretary Gresham an official repudiation of such right, enumerating my reasons, on December 5, 1893. My letter follows.

*America Lacks
Right to Act
as Arbitrator*

"HAWAIIAN LEGATION,
"Washington, December 5, 1893.

"SIR: In confirmation of the claims presented to you by myself during several recent interviews, concerning suggested action by the United States Government towards the Provisional Government of Hawaii, as outlined in your communication to the President recently published, and affirmed in the President's message sent yesterday to Congress, I have the honor to hereby submit to you the claims of the Government which I represent in and concerning the premises.

"If I correctly apprehend the propositions advanced by the Government of the United States they are:

"First. That the Hawaiian monarchy was subverted by the action of the United States representatives and forces.

"Second. That but for such action the monarchy would not have been subverted nor the Provisional Government created.

"Third. That such conclusions are based upon the report made by the Hon. James H. Blount.

"Fourth. That in view of such action by those representing the Government of the United States, it is proposed that the latter Government shall restore the status existing prior to such subversion of the monarchy.

"In opposition to such proposed action I hereby, on

behalf of the Government I represent, submit the following claims and reasons:

“First. The Provisional Government of Hawaii is a duly organized and fully recognized independent Government, holding diplomatic relations with nearly all the nations of the world.

“It has accredited its diplomatic representatives to the United States Government, which has received them in the manner customary in dealing with the representatives of friendly independent nations.

“The United States Government has, in turn, accredited its representatives to the Provisional Government of Hawaii, and they have in like manner been formally received by it.

“There is nothing lacking to constitute the present Government of Hawaii a full, free, and independent sovereignty, subject to all the obligations and entitled to all the rights, privileges, and courtesies accorded by the United States Government to the most favored nations with whom it is in treaty relations.

“Second. It is submitted that the Government of the United States has acquired no jurisdiction over the independent sovereign state of Hawaii. There being two distinct sovereignties, jurisdiction by the United States can only be obtained in three ways, viz: (1) by conquest; (2) by treaty; (3) by voluntary submission to the decision of the United States Government in the nature of arbitration.

“There is no claim made that the sovereignty of Hawaii is subordinate to that of the United States by reason of conquest, nor has it been surrendered by treaty.

“There is a suggestion, however, in the communication by yourself to the President above referred to, that authority by voluntary submission in the nature of a power to arbitrate has been conferred upon the Government of the United States. I refer to that portion wherein you state that, ‘The Government of Hawaii surrendered its authority under a threat of war, until such time as the Government of the United States, upon the facts being presented to it, should reinstate the Constitutional Sovereign; and the Provisional Government

*Islands Have
Privileges of
Other Nations*

was created "to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon."

"I submit that no such authority has been conferred, and in support of such contention present the following reasons: (1) If the parties in Hawaii contending for the control of the Government had intended to submit their differences to the arbitration of the United States, a formal statement to such differences and the points to be settled would have been drawn up and signed in the usual form of an agreement for arbitration.

"No such action has been taken. (2) An arbitration is essentially a judicial proceeding, the elemental features of which, under the principles and forms of procedure in use both in the United States and Hawaii, are, first, notice of the charges made or points at issue; second, opportunity to hear and cross-examine evidence produced by the opposing party; third, opportunity to produce evidence in support of claims made and to meet that of the opposing party; fourth, a full and fair hearing accorded to both parties in open court.

*Full and Fair
Hearing Owed
Both Parties*

"In no particular have these particulars, fundamental to the just and equitable decision of the simplest judicial issue, been observed in this admittedly complicated question.

"The Government of Hawaii, acting under its international right, has made a formal proposition to, by treaty, change the political relation existing between the two countries.

"The authority of the Hawaiian Government to make such a proposition was not questioned, and a treaty for the accomplishment of such purpose was duly signed by the representatives of the executives of the two countries.

"Pending the final ratification of such treaty, by desire of the Government of the United States, negotiations were suspended over nine months ago, and an investigation was instituted by the Government of the United States by a special commissioner.

"During all such time the Hawaiian Government has peaceably administered its own affairs and faithfully carried out all its treaty obligations with all foreign powers.

"Up to the present time the Hawaiian Government has received no information that such investigation was for any purpose other than to determine the policy of the Government of the United States concerning such proposition of the Government of Hawaii.

"It has not been a party to such investigation, which has been *ex parte* and conducted in secret.

"It has been accorded no opportunity to meet the evidence produced nor to present evidence or argument in its own behalf.

"The names of the witnesses and the character of the evidence upon which it is proposed to be subverted were unknown to it until published simultaneously with the announcement of the conclusion of the investigating commissioner.

"It has received no notice that it was on trial for its life, and has not even been informed that it was charged with having taken action for which it was responsible to the United States or whereby it had brought itself within the jurisdiction of such Government.

"The proclamation issued by the Provisional Government of Hawaii defining its objects and causes does, indeed, state as quoted in your communication above referred to, that it was created 'to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.' But I submit that neither legally, logically, nor grammatically does such phrase indicate that because annexation has not yet been consummated the Provisional Government is therefore and thereby terminated.

"On the contrary, I submit that its meaning is clearly and distinctly the exact opposite of that suggested.

"The Provisional Government was formed with a fixed, definite purpose in view, viz, annexation to the United States. If the date of the consummation of such object had been known it could have been in the place of the phrase actually used. As such date was not and could not be known, an appropriate phrase was used signifying that the Government should continue to exist until the object *was* accomplished. A government was established not absolutely but conditionally. If the wording of the proclamation had been 'to exist until the

*Witnesses and
Evidence Were
Kept a Secret*

Government of the United States refuses to agree to annexation,' a refusal would then have constituted a condition, the happening of which, in and of itself, would have terminated the Provisional Government.

"There was, however, but one condition named in the proclamation, the happening of which should terminate the existence of the Government thereby created, viz, 'Union with the United States of America.' There is no other terminating condition. Unless and until that condition happens the Government continues in existence. If the happening of the condition is postponed for one, two, or ten years, or for an indefinite period, the Government continues to exist for a like period. The fact that annexation has not yet taken place does not negative the possibility of its happening in the future. So long as the terminating condition has not happened, but may happen, so long does the Government continue to exist, unless changed or terminated by its own act or the act of the people of Hawaii.

*Annexation Is
Still Possible
in the Future*

"I further submit that if the reasoning last above set forth is incorrect, and the failure to have yet secured annexation does logically terminate the existence of the Provisional Government, such fact does not confer jurisdiction upon the United States to construe such instrument, but that the construction and interpretation of the wording of such proclamation is purely a matter of domestic concern to be settled by the parties in interest in Hawaii in such manner as the Government and laws of that country may provide.

"Third. While neither admitting nor questioning the correctness of the allegations of fact reported by Mr. Blount, I purposely omit discussion or criticism thereof, for the reasons, first, that the Hawaiian Government has not been a party to such investigation, and therefore can not be bound by same; and, second, if it be true that the representatives of the United States exceeded their powers, as alleged, such fact does not vest any jurisdiction in the Government of the United States to now infringe upon Hawaiian sovereignty.

"It is an axiom of law that no man may take advantage of his own wrong. The fact that the United States minister, with or without the authority of his Govern-

*Would America
Take Advantage
of Own Wrong?*

*First Trespass
Cannot Excuse
Deliberate One*

ment, may have trespassed upon the international rights of Hawaii, does not thereby confer jurisdiction upon the Government of the United States to now again, and deliberately, trespass upon such rights.

“If the United States minister or naval officers have exceeded their authority or violated their instructions they are responsible to their Government therefor. The Hawaiian Government had no control over them. It is not responsible for what they did, and is not and can not be held answerable to the Government of the United States for their acts, nor to have forfeited any of its attributes of independent sovereignty by reason of their actions whether the same were right or wrong, authorized or unauthorized.

“In like manner, if the allegation is true, that the ex-Queen abdicated under the belief that the Provisional Government would submit the question to the United States Government, such fact does not vest in the Government of the United States any jurisdiction over the subject-matter. If the ex-Queen was warranted in such belief and an agreement was made between her and the Provisional Government, which I do not admit, the Government of the United States was no party to such agreement, and neither the making, nor the failure to carry it out, if made, confers any jurisdiction upon the Government of the United States to construe such agreement, nor in any manner to intervene between the contending parties in Hawaii, nor control or direct which of such parties shall at any given time exercise the functions of government in Hawaii.

“Fourth. If after consideration of the reasons hereinbefore advanced it is maintained by you that they do not establish the claims advanced, and that the Government of the United States has jurisdiction, notwithstanding the independent sovereignty of Hawaii, to decide upon the form, and who shall carry on the Government of Hawaii, I then submit that neither international law nor the usage of nations authorize the Government of the United States to enforce, against the will of the parties, the conclusions to which it may come.

“It is not suggested in the report of Mr. Blount that any such power was agreed upon, either between the ex-Queen and the Provisional Government or otherwise.

*United States
Barred From
Use of Force*

“Even if a formal submission to the United States Government had been made, and full hearing had thereon, and a decision announced, such fact would not vest in the United States any power to carry out such decision or to compel either party to abide thereby.

“Unless the method of enforcement of such decision is agreed upon by the parties, the carrying out of the decision rendered is purely a matter of good faith as between the parties in interest, with no power in the arbitrating Government to compel the recognition by either party of the decision rendered.

“I beg also to re-affirm in this connection my firm conviction, based upon an intimate acquaintance with all the persons and conditions involved, that the restoration of the ex-Queen, regardless of the method by which the same may be accomplished, will, unless she is maintained by the troops of some foreign power, be speedily followed by the forcible overthrow of the monarchy, involving the probable loss of life and destruction of property.

*Monarchy Will
Fall Again If
It Is Restored*

“Such action will be taken, as in the past, by the intelligent, law-abiding, property-owning portion of the community, for the same reasons that the same persons took similar action last January, viz: that the long and bitter experience under the monarchy has convinced them that so long as the monarchy exists no material improvement in the methods of conducting the Government can be expected and that a further continuance of the misrule of the past years is intolerable.

“It is unnecessary for me to state that such a condition of affairs will be disastrous in the extreme to every material interest in the islands, and to all trade and commerce connected therewith, the greater portion of which is owned and carried on by American citizens and capital.

“Allow me to reiterate that neither this statement nor any act done by the Provisional Government or by myself is with any spirit of hostility to the people or Government of the United States. On the contrary, so far from being in any manner hostile, the Provisional Government and its supporters have demonstrated by their acts that they are not only friendly in the ordinary acceptance of the word, but that they have such faith in the Government of the United States that they have

taken up arms and risked their lives and property to place themselves, almost unreservedly and unconditionally, under the jurisdiction and control of that Government, asking only in return that they may share in the freedom of its flag and the stability and equality of its Government.

"All that I seek by this statement is to convey to you a plain frank statement of what the Provisional Government of Hawaii conceives to be its rights under international law in and concerning the premises, and to indicate to you, as it is my duty to do, what in my opinion the conditions are and will be if action on certain suggested lines is taken.

"I have, &c.

"L. A. THURSTON."

—*Morgan's Report*, pp. 1245-1250.

After publication in the United States of the fact that Minister Willis had demanded of President Dole the restoration of Queen Liliuokalani, I applied to Secretary Gresham for confirmation, but got no satisfaction. Then I returned home to Honolulu, leaving San Francisco on December 19, 1893, and arriving at Honolulu in the middle of the negotiations between President Dole and Minister Willis. When Minister Willis asked President Dole his meaning of the word "attitude" in a communication to Minister Willis, President Dole asked me to assist him in drafting a reply, which I did. The reply contains twenty-eight specifications that illustrate the meaning of the word. After the delivery of the reply to Minister Willis on December 23, I took a copy and returned to Washington, arriving there on January 20, 1894. Apparently there was not time before the sailing of the steamer for Minister Willis to send a copy to the State Department.

*Thurston Helps
President Dole
Draft a Reply*



SENATOR MORGAN, OF ALABAMA.

He Says That Hawaii Should Be Annexed to the United States.

—*Constitution*, Atlanta, July 18, 1897, from one of Mr. Thurston's scrapbooks, Archives of Hawaii.

Soon after my arrival in Washington, I called on Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama, chairman of the foreign relations committee of the Senate, who could not have taken more interest in Hawaii if it had been a part of his own state. At all times, day or night, the Hawaiian legation had access to him, either at his senatorial office or at his residence. I showed him a copy of the letter giving the specifications of the meaning of the word "attitude"; he immediately said that he wanted it

*Senator Morgan
Has an "Aloha"
For the Islands*

for use in the Senate. When he learned from me that no copy of the letter, except the one I had, was available in Washington, he said: "You send a copy of that letter to Secretary Gresham, and I will pull it out of him by resolution of the Senate." Accordingly I had a copy made, and sent it to the secretary, with a note saying that I had seen in the papers that he had no copy, and that I was forwarding him one. By return messenger, I received a note acknowledging receipt, but stating, in effect, that the secretary preferred to receive copies of the diplomatic correspondence in Honolulu from the American minister at Honolulu, and that he returned to me, unopened, the copy of the letter that I had sent. I immediately informed Senator Morgan of Secretary Gresham's reply.

In the evening of the same day, a representative of *The World*, New York, called on me and said: "I understand that you have a copy of the letter of President Dole, giving specifications of the meaning of the word 'attitude.'" I admitted that I had a copy; the representative continued: "I would like to get a copy of that letter for publication in *The World*." I replied that the letter was a part of the diplomatic correspondence between President Dole and the United States minister at Honolulu, and that I was not at liberty to give it out for publication. Then *The World* representative said: "If you will let me have that letter, Mr. Thurston, I will pay you \$2,500 in cash for it. In order that it will not be traced to you, I will publish it under a San Francisco date line." I reiterated that I was not at liberty to give him a copy.

*"You Send Copy
to Gresham, and
I Will Get It"*

*Newspaper Man
Offers \$2,500
For the Letter*

Senator William P. Frye, of Maine, also took a deep interest in our affairs, and we of the Hawaiian legation were under great obligation to him for constant attention and advice. One morning I received a card of General Lew. Wallace, who had served in the Union Army during the Civil War. I started toward the door to meet him; it opened, and a tall, gray-haired man advanced. "Mr. Thurston?" he asked. "You don't know me," he continued, "and I don't know you, except as I have read of you in the newspapers. I want to say something to you, however. When I read in the paper of what the President of the United States was attempting to do to an American colony in Honolulu, I could not stand it any longer, and I determined to come around and say to you that, if you wished it, you have only to give the word, and I am available and ready to go to Honolulu to help you in defending yourselves against the United States forces." Such a strong expression of sentiment rather overwhelmed me. While thanking the general for his offer, I said that I did not think it would be necessary for us to call upon him. [Though a distinguished soldier, who served at Fort Donelson and Shiloh, and before Washington in Early's attack, General Wallace is known better as the author of *Ben-Hur*.—*Editor*.]

*Union General
Ready to Fight
Against States*

Three other incidents, occurring about the same time, show the intense interest excited in the United States by the proposal to restore Liliuokalani. I received a telegram from a Texan, who said, in substance: "I have seen in the papers what Presi-

*Former Colonel
of Confederate
Army Available*

dent Cleveland is proposing to do to you people in Honolulu. I wish to say that I am an ex-colonel of the Confederate Army, and if you wish my assistance, I can leave for Honolulu on a week's notice with one thousand Confederate soldiers to help in your defense. Answer if you want me." I replied, thanking him, but saying that I did not think his assistance would be necessary. A meeting of the Loyal Legion, an organization composed of officers of the Union Army in the Civil War, was held in Washington, and I was invited to speak at the dinner. In beginning my address, I said that I knew of no special reason why I should have been asked to speak, "unless, perchance, the American flag should some day float over Honolulu." Practically all those present, some six or seven hundred men, rose to their feet and cheered. It was a most extraordinary scene.

Senator Morgan said to me about that time: "Thurston, I have a suggestion to make to you. If you will take one thousand Confederate soldiers to Hawaii, and give each one of them a small piece of land on which to make a farm, and a rifle, you can do what you please out there." I thanked him for the suggestion, but said: "We don't do things that way in Hawaii. We let the people vote as they please, so long as they are loyal to the government." "What do you mean?" he demanded. "Do you mean to insinuate that we don't let the people vote as they please in Alabama?" I replied that I had heard intimations that Negroes in Alabama were not permitted to vote as they pleased. "It's a damned lie!" ejaculated the senator, thumping the

*What! Negroes
May Not Vote
as They Wish?*

table with his fist. "There isn't a nigger in Alabama that can't vote just as he thinks is right." I made no answer, merely looking the senator straight in the eye; he returned the scrutiny for a moment, as though waiting for me to reply. When I did not, he continued with a quizzical expression and tone: "But he knows damned well what is right!"

*"But He Knows
Damned Well
What Is Right"*

QUEEN LILL'S VERSION.

After the coup is over,
After old Dole's undone,
There will be heaps of poi,
Purchased with Spreckels's mon.;
Cleveland will never fail me,
Willis will see me through,
I shall be wearing my crownlet,
After the coup.

"After the Ball": the parody is from an unidentified American newspaper

CHAPTER XXII

HAWAII BECOMES A BONE OF CONTENTION

In a special message, dated December 18, 1893, President Cleveland commended the Hawaiian question to "the extended powers and wide discretion of the Congress," and Senator Morgan, on December 21, introduced a resolution directing the foreign relations committee to investigate "... 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 . . ." Many witnesses were examined at hearings of the committee, and it reported on February 26, 1894.

Mr. Blount was called before the committee in his own behalf, and was questioned by Senator George Gray, of Delaware, who acted for the administration, substantially as follows: "Mr. Blount, did you ever hear of this annexation question before it came to a head here in Washington?" Mr. Blount replied that he had; in response to Senator Gray's further inquiries, he said that he had heard of annexation in 1892, prior to the overthrow of the Monarchy. Senator Gray asked: "From whom did you hear of it?" Mr. Blount replied: "From L. A. Thurston." Senator Gray: "From this same L. A. Thurston who is now here in Washington representing the Hawaiian government?" Mr. Blount: "Yes." "Where did you meet him?"

*Mr. Blount Had
Some Inkling
of Annexation*

inquired Senator Gray. "At the Capitol," Mr. Blount answered. "What did he say to you?" asked Senator Gray. Mr. Blount studied the floor before answering, and then said, in substance: "With the exception that, as I recall, he impressed me as being a rather bumptious young man, I really do not remember what he said." No further information on the subject could be elicited from Mr. Blount.

*Studies Floor:
Cannot Recall
Thurston Words*

After our one meeting, I never saw him again, nor did I hear from him as to whether he really had forgotten what I said, or whether—since I had spoken to him in confidence—his sense of Southern chivalry made him treat my statement confidentially. I have always been inclined to believe that the latter was the fact, and that he "lied like a gentleman." His silence was of great moment to us of the Provisional Government; if he had divulged, at that stage, our preliminary contemplation in 1892 of overthrowing the Monarchy, the fact would have scored in favor of the royalists and the Cleveland administration. As it is, the revelation now, with the explanation, can make no difference to either side.

Senator Morgan wrote the principal report of the Senate foreign relations committee. It completely negatived the recommendation of Secretary Gresham and President Cleveland that the Queen and the Monarchy be restored, and found that "the only substantial irregularity that existed in the conduct of any officer of the United States" was Mr. Stevens' action in declaring a protectorate and raising the American flag. Although it caused

*Morgan Report
Opposes Idea
of Restoration*

*Stevens Showed
Too Much Zeal
For Annexation*

no "actual harm," it was not justified as a precedent. A brief minority report was filed by the Republican members of the committee, who approved Senator Morgan's "essential findings," however; while the Democratic minority members dissented from the main report as to the course of Mr. Stevens, holding that he had shown "inopportune zeal" for annexation. Two Democratic members warmly supported the annexation of Hawaii, but thought that annexation at that time was not warranted by the circumstances. [For the Morgan report, see also Chapter VIII of the Dole memoirs, "Hawaiian Case Referred to Congress," especially pages 158 to 161.—*Editor.*] After the report of the Senate committee, the Cleveland administration rested on its laurels; there was no action concerning Hawaii. On March 2, 1894, I sent an official dispatch to Foreign Minister Hatch in Honolulu, analyzing the Morgan report and also describing conditions in Washington. Here follows a condensation of the dispatch.

"Since my last dispatch the happenings at Washington relating to Hawaii have been the presentation on the 26th of February, by the Senate Investigating Committee of their Report" . . . [*Morgan's Report*].

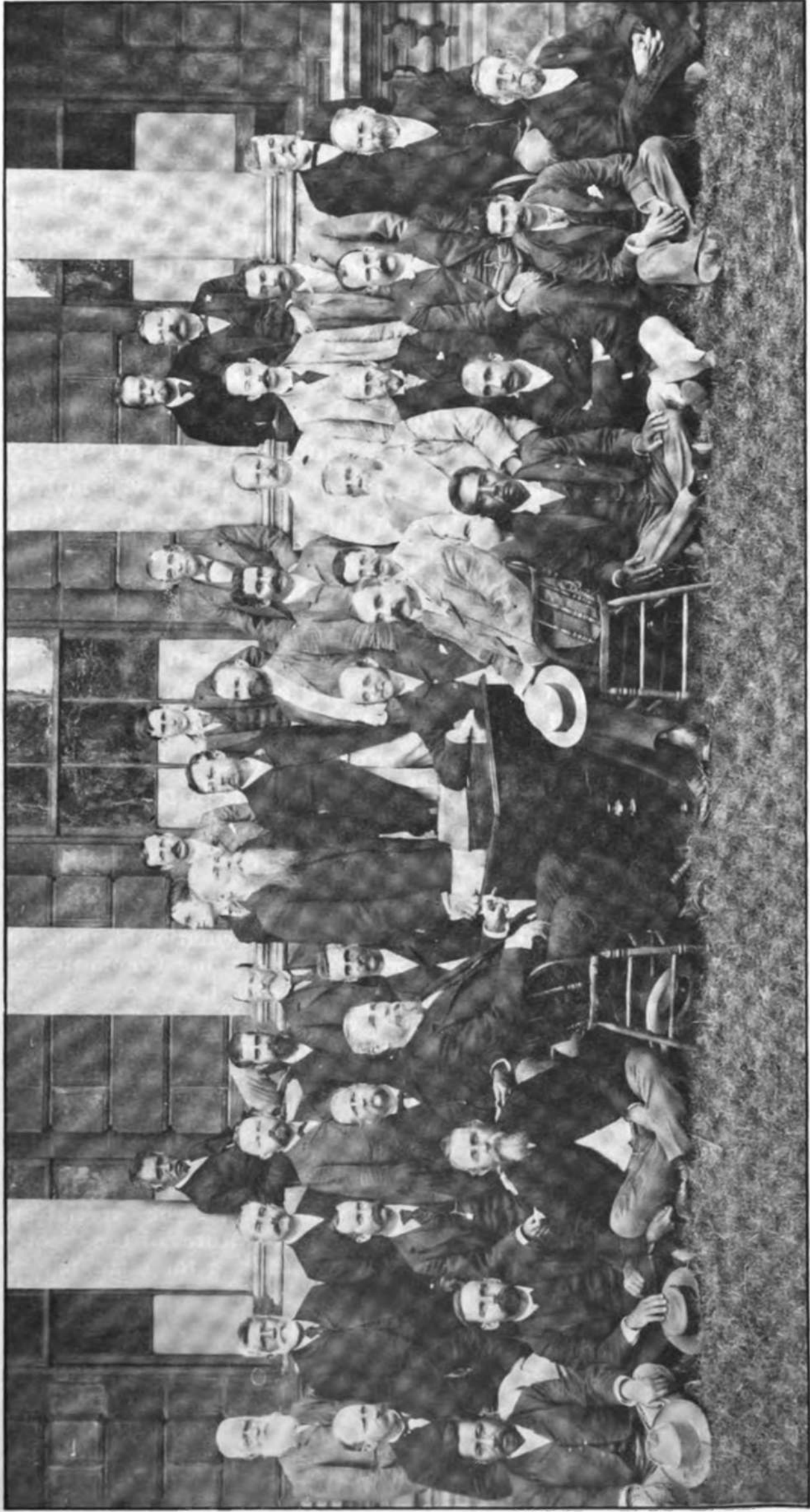
"Second, a speech by Senator Frye analysing such report; and, third, the presentation in the House of Representatives of a resolution by Representative Boutelle of Maine, to the effect that it is the sense of the House that Mr. Willis should be recalled.

* * * *

"You have probably received a telegraphic summary of the report already. I would direct your special attention, however, to these salient features of the report:

"1. Mr. Morgan is the author of the main report.

*Gentlemen From
Maine Speak on
Island Problem*



Delegates to the convention that framed the constitution of the Republic of Hawaii

The tone of the main report is one of pouring oil upon the troubled waters, he finding that the citizens were justified in the revolution and establishment of the Provisional Government; that the Queen inaugurated the revolution and by her act abdicated the throne; that Mr. Blount did the best he could, but did not get at the facts; that President Cleveland had the authority to commission Mr. Blount as he did; that acting upon the partial evidence before him, the President did what he thought was right and no fault can therefore be found with him; that Mr. Willis acted upon the orders of the President and therefore no fault can be found with him; that there was ample ground for landing troops at the time of the revolution, and Capt. Wiltse and Mr. Stevens were therefore justified in doing so; that there was no conspiracy on the part of Capt. Wiltse or Mr. Stevens and the Committee of Safety or any one else; that the overthrow of the Queen was not due to the presence of American troops.

"The only person or proceeding which he censures is the Queen; Stephens for hoisting the American flag, and the Queen's Cabinet to whom he refers in the following language:

" 'These men, whose conduct cannot be characterized as anything less than perfidious, hastened to give to the President of the United States false and misleading statements of the facts leading up to, attending, and succeeding this revolution. To do this they made deceptive and misleading statements to Mr. Blount. Upon them must rest the odium of having encouraged the Queen in her revolutionary intentions; of having then abandoned her in a moment of apparent danger; of having thrown themselves upon the mercy of the people and then of making an attempt through falsehood and misrepresentation to regain power in the government of Hawaii, which the people would naturally forever deny them.'

*Late Ministers
Are Excoriated
by the Senator*

"2. The four republican members of the Committee, Sherman, Frye, Dolph and Davis, in a supplementary report say, that:

" 'We are in entire accord with the essential findings in the exceedingly able report submitted by the chairman

of the Committee on Foreign Relations,' but they dissent from him in four particulars: viz:—

“(1) That the granting of paramount authority to Blount was illegal;

“(2) That the placing of the navy at Honolulu under the control of Mr. Blount was illegal;

“(3) That the order given by Blount to haul down the flag was illegal;

“(4) That the status of the Provisional Government and the Queen was settled by President Harrison, and President Cleveland had no right to re-open the question, and therefore the request by President Cleveland to surrender to the monarchy was illegal;

“3. The other four democratic members, Butler of South Carolina, Turpie of Indiana, Daniel of Virginia, and Gray of Maryland, append a short supplementary report, in which they exculpate Wiltse from blame and condemn Stevens. They do not specifically dissent from any other findings.

“4. Butler and Turpie add a supplement to the effect that they are ‘heartily in favor of the acquisition of those Islands by the Government of the United States; and in a proper case and on an appropriate occasion I should earnestly advocate the same, but I am unwilling to take advantage of internal dissensions in those Islands, for which I believe we are in some measure responsible, to consummate at this time so desirable an object.’

“So far as the sentiment of the Committee upon the subject of restoration is concerned the meat of the matter is contained in the paragraph in Mr. Morgan’s report which says:

“‘When a crown falls, in any kingdom of the western hemisphere it is pulverized; and when a sceptre departs, it departs forever; and American opinion cannot sustain any American ruler in the attempt to restore them, no matter how virtuous and sincere the reasons may be that seem to justify him.’

“As none of the other eight members dissent from this expression of sentiment and it is in accord with all the speeches made in both the House and Senate, by both Democrats and Republicans, it may be taken as the defi-

*When Scepter
Goes, It Goes
For All Time*

nite crystallization of the sentiment of Congress upon the subject.

“. . . The Hawaiian question is being treated by the Senate somewhat as a dog treats a bone; he gnaws on it a while, then takes it off in a corner of the yard and buries it; after awhile he goes over and digs it up and gnaws it over again; buries it again, and so keeps on indefinitely, even after all the meat is gnawed off.

“The end has practically been reached already, and there is no likelihood of any change in conditions here until there are radical changes in Hawaii.

“I have the honor to remain,
“Your obedient servant,

“L. A. THURSTON”

—United States, Minister to Washington, March, 1894, Archives of Hawaii.

Under date of March 3, 1894, Foreign Minister Hatch wrote to me, requesting that I return to Honolulu and assist in changing the form of government to a republic and in drafting a constitution, as follows:

“Honolulu, H. I., March 3, 1894.

“A bill for calling a constitutional convention has been prepared. It provides for a convention made up of the Councils and eighteen elected delegates.

“We should like to have you here to assist in the work of organizing a permanent form of government. If, in your judgment, after the Hawaiian question is disposed of in Congress, your presence in Washington is not essential you are at liberty to return to Honolulu. If you do so you will consider this as a leave of absence. . . .”

—United States, Minister to Washington, March, 1894, Archives of Hawaii.

In the middle of April, 1894, when nothing of moment was occurring in Washington, I returned to Honolulu, where I assisted President Dole in drafting a constitution for the Republic of Hawaii, and advised the government in connection with the

*But Dogs Like
Bones, Even if
Meat Is Gone*

*Thurston Helps
Dole to Draft
a Constitution*

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

The Constitutional Convention, convened in Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Hawaiian Islands, on the 20th day of May, A. D. 1894, pursuant to the provisions of Act 69 of the Acts of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, entitled "An Act to Provide for a Constitutional Convention," approved the 16th day of March, A. D. 1894, and pursuant to the Proclamation of the President summoning said Convention to assemble, having framed and adopted the Constitution herein before set forth; now it is hereby declared, enacted and proclaimed by the Executive and Advisory Council of the Provisional Government and by the elected Delegates, constituting said Constitutional Convention, that on and after the Fourth day of July, A. D. 1894, the said Constitution shall be the Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii and the Supreme Law of the Hawaiian Islands.

Done in Convention by unanimous consent this third day of July, A. D. One thousand eight hundred and ninety four, in witness whereof we have herewith subscribed our names.

Bayard B. Dole
President of the Provisional
Government

William Chauncey Wilder
Vice President

Francis Mark Hatch
Minister of Foreign Affairs

James Anderson King
Minister of the Interior

Samuel Mills Damon
Minister of Finance

*Signatures to the constitution, Republic of Hawaii,
Archives of Hawaii*

MEMOIRS OF LORRIN A. THURSTON

William Owen Smith
Attorney General
William Persenden Allen
Eristel Bolte.
Lucil ~~Proctor~~
John Emmeluth
John ~~Emce~~
John A. McCallister
Josh P. Henderson
James Francis Morgan
John ~~Nath~~
David Brown Smith
Edward Davis Tenney
Henry Waterhouse
Alexander Young
Lemuel Clark Allen
Henry Furim Baldwin
Charles Leat Carter
Augustus Fremont
William Turner
Jesse Kekahuna Joseph
David Keli Kahaulelio
John William Kahu
John Kauhane
Alber. Kuka'ilimoku Kamehameha
Frederick S. Lyman
William Sawett Payne
William Hyde Rice
Alexander George Manson Robertson.
John Mark Urey.

Signatures to the constitution of the Republic, continued

Albert Spencer Wilcox
George Norton Wilcox
Attest.
Charles I. Rodgers
Secretary of Convention

Signatures to the constitution of the Republic, concluded

*A Coincidence:
Fourth of July
Is a Birthday*

constitutional convention, which was held in May, June, and early July. The constitution was proclaimed on July 4, 1894, and the transition from the Provisional Government to the Republic of Hawaii took place on that date without incident. [A summary of the constitution of the Republic appears in Chapter IX of the Dole memoirs, "Organization of Republic of Hawaii," pages 163 to 168.—*Editor.*]

During the entire year of 1894, the Hawaiian question was of continuous interest in the United States. The following discussion in the House of Representatives (*Congressional Record*, Volume 26, Part 8, Fifty-third Congress, second session, University of Hawaii Library) on July 30 and August 9 is typical.

*Record Proves
Men of Maine
Are Persistent*

"RECOGNITION OF REPUBLIC OF HAWAII.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. Mr. Speaker, I send up to the desk a resolution for which I desire to ask present consideration.

"The SPEAKER. The regular order has been de-

manded." [The speaker was Charles F. Crisp.—*Editor.*]

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I think this involves a matter of privilege.

"The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the resolution.

"The Clerk read as follows:

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:*

"1. That the United States of America congratulates the people of the Hawaiian Islands on their just and peaceful assumption of the powers, duties, and responsibilities of self-government as indicated by their recent adoption of a republican form of government.

"2. That the Republic of Hawaii is entitled to exercise and enjoy international comity and the benefits of all rights, privileges, and advantages under existing treaties that were concluded between the United States of America and the late Kingdom of Hawaii.

"3. That the Republic of Hawaii is hereby recognized by the United States of America as a free, sovereign, and independent republic, and the President of the United States shall give proper notice of the recognition to the President of the Republic of Hawaii.'

"Mr. DOCKERY. I make the point that this resolution should go the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri makes the point that this is not a privileged resolution.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I desire to state that this resolution, with the exception of a single word, is a verbatim copy of a resolution introduced by the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. McCREARY), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The resolution is his production, with the exception that a single word has been substituted, the word 'Hawaii'.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. What resolution does the gentleman from Maine refer to?

"Mr. BOUTELLE. It is the text of the resolution introduced by the gentleman from Kentucky himself, on the 27th day of January, 1890, asking the House to pass a resolution recognizing the Republic of Brazil.

*Single Word
of Kentuckian
Changed Here*

“It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that under the peculiar circumstances in which we find ourselves as related to the Government and people of Hawaii, this resolution should involve a question of privilege. I believe from all that has gone before, from information embodied in executive communications to this body and to the Senate, and from the resolutions adopted by the Senate and in this House, that the general public understanding is, and has been, that for some time past the question of our relations to the Hawaiian people and their Government has been referred to the action of Congress. So far as I am informed the position most recently assumed by the Executive Department is that of deference to the initiative of the House of Representatives and the Senate in regard to this important subject.

“Mr. Speaker, it is a matter of common knowledge that the people of Hawaii established and proclaimed a republican form of government on the 4th day of July, instant; that in doing so this great act of the assumption of republican sovereignty was accompanied by every possible manifestation of regard for and sympathy with the people and Government of the United States, and that from the beginning a most earnest desire has been manifested for the most intimate and cordial relations between the two Governments.

*Uniform Policy
of Encouraging
Free Republics*

“I understand further, Mr. Speaker, that it has been the uniform policy of the United States to be prompt and earnest in encouraging and recognizing all movements tending towards the establishment of free republican governments, in whatever parts of the world they may be. I understand this to have been the settled policy of the United States from the foundation of this Republic. I need not enforce upon the mind of the House the fact, it seems to me, that the establishment of a republic in the Hawaiian Islands is an event that under all the circumstances appeals to the sympathy of the people of the United States with the most peculiar and extraordinary strength.

“I desire, however, to call attention to the fact that during last winter, at the time that the provisional government of Hawaii celebrated the anniversary of the deposition of monarchical rule in that country, there was a

most remarkable and to my mind a lamentable neglect of international courtesy on the part of the representatives of the Government of the United States, neither our minister nor our naval representative at that point manifesting the customary cordial sympathy and interest in an event which could not have been otherwise than most important, and of the deepest interest to the people and Government of the United States. And the very fact that our representatives on that occasion failed to manifest any sympathy on the part of this Government with the tentative and successful movement of that people for a freer form of government, seems to me to add to the force of our present obligation to welcome the new republic to a place amongst the national republican systems of the world.

“We have been informed through the public press that there is on the way from Hawaii to Washington a delegation claiming to be representative of the defunct monarchy, who were originally reported to propose making certain claims before this Government for restoration of the throne; but the latest public report we have is that even these adherents of the deposed Queen have so far recognized the logic of events and the manifest destiny of that people, that they have changed their purpose from demanding further recognition of the Queen and her government to a purpose to appeal to the President and the Government of the United States in behalf of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to this Government. While I confidently hope to see that result accomplished in the future, in view of these facts and reasons, Mr. Speaker, for the adoption of the resolution I have presented, and as it is known to everybody, and to none more fully than our own people, that the Hawaiian Government has been proclaimed as a republic; that it has joined the great galaxy of the free-governing nations of the world; that its new government has been inaugurated under American auspices, and that this whole movement is but the culmination of beneficent American influence in the direction of the great interests which this country must necessarily feel in American control of that commanding outpost of the Pacific Ocean, so valuable to our future prosperity, it is a matter of high and grave

*Sorry Neglect
by Diplomatic
and Naval Men*

*Movement Is
Culmination
of Influence*

*House Should
Voice Feeling
of the People*

import that the House of Representatives of the United States, voicing the universal sentiment of the American people—for there is no dissent, so far as I am able to ascertain, from one end of the country to the other—should promptly express the sympathy of all the people by adopting this resolution so admirably constructed by the gentleman from Kentucky to suit the case of Brazil a few years ago, and use the same form now to welcome the government of the Republic at Hawaii, by a full recognition on the part of the great representative republican government of the world, the United States of America.

“The SPEAKER. The Chair does not think the resolution presents a question of privilege. It will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

“Mr. BOUTELLE. The Chair does not regard the resolution as presenting a question of privilege?”

“The SPEAKER. The Chair does not.

“Mr. BOUTELLE. Then I trust it will meet with prompt and favorable action at the hands of its distinguished author, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who prepared the resolution of which it is a copy.

“Mr. McCREARY. Has the gentleman from Maine any reason to doubt that the committee will act promptly and report to the House on any matter presented to it?”

“Mr. BOUTELLE. Well, Mr. Speaker, in answer to that amiable inquiry, I will say simply that I do not want to throw any possible shadow over my fervent hopes for the immediate future by alluding to any of the deferred hopes concerning the action of the committee in the past.

“The SPEAKER. This matter has passed from the consideration of the House. The morning hour begins at seven minutes past 1 o'clock.”—p. 8003.

* * * *

“PERSONAL PRIVILEGE.”

“Mr. BOUTELLE. I rise to a personal statement, Mr. Speaker.

“The SPEAKER. The Chair did not hear the statement of the gentleman.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I rise to a question of personal privilege.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman states that he rises to a question of personal privilege.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. On the 30th day of July, Mr. Speaker, I introduced publicly in the House and asked the immediate consideration of a series of resolutions embodying a cordial recognition of the Republic of Hawaii. They were decided by the Speaker not to be privileged resolutions, and were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. At a meeting of that committee, held subsequently, it was reported in the public press that those resolutions were considered.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker—

"The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I fail to find a question of personal privilege in the gentleman's statement.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I am endeavoring to enable the Speaker to find a question of privilege in my statement, which is very much more important than that the gentleman from Kentucky should ascertain it. In order to convince him I might be compelled to take more of the time of the House than I would care to occupy. (Laughter.)

"In the public reports of the proceedings alleged to have taken place before that committee, which were unusually detailed, although, of course, I am unable to state with what accuracy they were given, the gentleman from California, my esteemed friend Mr. GEARY, was reported to have said—and I read from the Washington Star—that—

" 'Mr. GEARY furnished the most interesting passages of the discussion today, as he did at the first meeting. He informed his Democratic colleagues frankly that Mr. BOUTELLE had introduced the resolution hoping and expecting that the Democrats would reject it. For one he did not propose to help to fulfill Mr. BOUTELLE's desire and furnish the Republicans with campaign material.'

"Now, Mr. Speaker, I have no idea that the gentle-

*Resolution Is
Made Partisan
Issue by Geary*

man from California used that language. I do not believe that he imputed to me any lack of faith in my action as a Representative upon this floor. That report has gone to the public, nevertheless; and I desire here and now absolutely to repudiate and denounce any imputation, from any source, or in any language or degree, that I introduced those resolutions with any other motive than that of absolute good faith; that from the beginning until now I have had any desire or have used any influence to accomplish any other purpose than a prompt and cordial passage of those resolutions by the House of Representatives as expressive of the practically universal sentiment of the American people on this subject.

“And in confirmation of that statement, Mr. Speaker, I desire to say that I have conversed and pleaded with numerous Democratic members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs not to delay or obstruct the passage of these resolutions; that instead of seeking to obtain any Republican advantage through the failure of Democrats to rise to their plain duty in this case, I have urged upon those gentlemen repeatedly the importance, from a national and patriotic point of view, of a prompt and favorable consideration and report of those resolutions.

“Among those members I may cite the chairman of the committee himself; and the gentleman must certainly confirm my statement, that I have not only once, but repeatedly, urged upon him my belief that this question had reached a point when partisanship should be laid aside, that the mistakes of the past should be ignored, and that the dignity and traditions of the House of Representatives, and the honor of our country among the nations of the world should be vindicated by extending a cordial welcome to the new Republic.

“Now, Mr. Speaker, I take up a leading Democratic paper, the *New York World*, this morning, and the information that it conspicuously proclaims seems to demonstrate that instead of my acting in a partisan manner, instead of my attempting to use this great subject for the purpose of making political capital, this paper states that the Executive Administration of the United States Government has been so using it for the purpose of discrediting the action of a Republican Representative upon this

*Important from
Patriotic and
National View*

floor—myself—and of anticipating and preventing a proper and independent expression of the House of Representatives upon an important public matter.

“A special dispatch in this morning’s New York World, headed ‘Recognition for Hawaii’, states that—

“‘The Republic of Hawaii has been formally recognized by the United States, through the President and Secretary of State,’ etc.

“And then it goes on to say:

“‘Secretary Gresham visited the Capitol today and informed Senator GRAY of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Chairman McCREARY, of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, that the President had formally recognized the Hawaiian Republic. No official announcement of the action taken was given out for publication to-day, and for this reason neither Senator GRAY nor Mr. McCREARY would discuss the subject.

“‘So far as the House was concerned, secrecy was observed for the purpose of springing a surprise on the Republicans to-morrow.’

Recognition Is Kept a Secret from the House

“Then, a little further on, it proceeds to say:

“‘The Boutelle resolution will be considered again at to-morrow’s meeting of the committee, when Chairman McCreary expects to surprise the Republicans by announcing that no object could be served by reporting the resolution, as the Government has already recognized the Hawaiian Republic.’

“This, Mr. Speaker, in spite of the oft-repeated official assurances given this House by the Executive that the disposition of the Hawaiian matter had been transferred to Congress and that in dealing with it the Executive Department of the Government desired to take into its confidence in the fullest manner the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States. Mr. Speaker, I am willing this administration and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs shall take to themselves all of the credit, all of the honor, and all of the glory they may be able to obtain by ‘getting ahead’ of Mr. Boutelle and ‘springing this surprise upon the House of Representatives.’

“But, Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of

this House, and the attention of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to the fact that this subject cannot rest here; that if the Secretary of State of the great American Republic, instead of dealing with this grave international matter in the broad, open, and dignified manner befitting its importance, sees fit to sneak up into the lobby of the House and privately inform the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs that certain great international transactions have occurred, but which were to be kept secret from the House 'for the purpose of springing a surprise on the Republicans' next day—

"Mr. OUTHWAITE. I call the gentleman to order.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I desire, Mr. Speaker, to say that the duty rests upon this House as imperatively—

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine will suspend. The gentleman from Ohio calls the gentleman to order.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. Oh, I did not know that the gentleman from Ohio had appeared!

"Mr. OUTHWAITE. The gentleman from Maine rose ostensibly to a question of privilege. To that no objection could be made. He has taken the opportunity to use disrespectful language of a member of the Cabinet, and I submit that that is not in order.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine will please confine himself to his personal explanation.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to proceed absolutely in order, and if the Speaker will rule that my remark transgresses in the slightest degree the parliamentary privileges of this floor I will withdraw it. I ask for a ruling by the Chair.

"The SPEAKER. The Chair rules that the gentleman rose to a question of personal privilege, and under the guise of that has discussed another subject. He has no right to go beyond the question of personal privilege.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I will keep directly to the question.

"The SPEAKER. That is all the Chair desires.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. Mr. Speaker, it is a question not only of my own personal privilege, but of the priv-

*Boutelle Says
Gresham Sneaks
into the Lobby*

ilege of this House which is thus raised, and when we are informed by a public newspaper which is regarded as a semiofficial organ of the Administration, that it has been deliberately determined to take such a furtive course in regard to a great public matter as to elude and evade an expression of the sentiment of the House of Representatives; to take advantage of the House; to prevent the House from exercising those functions of sympathy which it never has failed to exercise on such occasions, it seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that we have presented a question of very high and important privilege.

*Administration
Furtive; Evades
Representatives*

"I desire to say to the Foreign Affairs Committee, concerning which it is rumored—I have no right to know what has transpired in the committee—concerning which it is rumored that by a majority and partisan vote it has substantially taken the ground that the Executive Department having recognized the Republic of Hawaii, it is therefore unnecessary for this House to have anything to say about it—I desire to inform that committee that if they adhere to that course they will traverse the un-deviating precedents and traditions of this Republic and of this body, and we shall have, for the first time in the history of the United States, the advent of a new republic among the galaxy of free nations without an expression of cordial welcome and congratulation from the Congress of the greatest Republic of all, the United States of America. (Applause on the Republican side.)

"Mr. Speaker, the mere formal performance of a duty on the part of the Executive which ought to have been performed long ago, long before the emissaries of a defunct monarchy were allowed to find a side-door entrance to the anterooms of power—the fact that the Administration has performed this duty reluctantly, haltingly, grudgingly, and secretively—for to-day this great body, representing the people and expected to speak for the people, is officially unaware of the great public transaction, notification of which has been peddled out to some partisan members of this body. I say, the fact that the Administration has in such a manner, at this late day, performed that duty, does not relieve us from our responsibility or our duty.

*Cleveland Does
Duty Haltingly
and Grudgingly*

"Mr. Speaker, it would be gross disrespect to a great

commercial product of several States in this Union for me to denounce the course pursued by the Administration in this whole transaction as 'peanut politics.' (Laughter.) The outrage upon every principle of public honor that has characterized the so-called 'Hawaiian policy' from the beginning has been carried fittingly to the end, and while, in the outset, every principle of international probity, every idea of national dignity, every sentiment of public honesty, and every impulse of American manhood have been trampled under foot by this Administration, we have to-day another attempt to violate the unbroken precedents and traditions of the House of Representatives of the United States.

"In the name of the people, in the name of the people's representatives, in the name of popular government, in the name of freedom for mankind, in the name of that sentiment which recognizes struggles for liberty wherever they exist or succeed, I ask this House to repudiate this mass of tergiversation, to come back to the bedrock of the first principles of the Republic in its better days, and to join heartily in doing what ought to have been done long ago, namely, to express our cordial congratulations to the Republic of Hawaii. (Applause on the Republican side.)

"And, Mr. Speaker, with that view and to place the responsibility exactly where it may belong—

"Mr. COOMBS. I call the gentleman to order.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York calls the gentleman from Maine to order.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I will proceed in order.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman has gone away beyond the question of personal privilege.

"Mr. BOUTELLE (holding up paper). Mr. Speaker, to place the responsibility where it may belong, I ask unanimous consent for the passage of the resolutions of congratulation—

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine has been called to order.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. Let any man, be he whom he may, take the responsibility of objecting—

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine will

*Every Impulse
of Manhood Is
Trampled Upon*

come to order. He has transgressed the rules of the House. He has gone beyond the question to which he referred—

“Mr. BOUTELLE. I arise to a question of order.

“The SPEAKER (a messenger from the Senate having appeared at the bar of the House). The House will receive a message from the Senate.

“Mr. BOUTELLE. I rise to a question of order.

“Mr. OUTHWAITE. The gentleman has been called to order.

“The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine will be seated.

“Mr. BOUTELLE. I ask unanimous consent for the passage of this resolution—

“The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine will be seated. The rules of the House cannot be continuously and persistently disregarded by the gentleman from Maine.

*Rules of House
Being Violated
by Maine Man*

“Mr. BOUTELLE. Will the Chair kindly inform me in what particular I have violated the rules?

“The SPEAKER. The gentleman rose, as he stated, to a question of personal privilege in regard to some matter referring to himself in the public prints, but he has discussed a question entirely foreign to that; and the gentleman must know from his long experience here that he has violated the rules of the House.

“Mr. BOUTELLE. I desire to say that I immediately informed the Speaker that my question of personal privilege involved also a question of the privilege of this House.

“The SPEAKER. That is another question.

“Mr. BOUTELLE. That is exactly what I stated.

“The SPEAKER. The gentleman was recognized to present a question of personal privilege, and he read from a public print something that he said reflected upon his motives, and the Chair thought that was a question of personal privilege. But the gentleman has gone away beyond that—

“Mr. BOUTELLE. Does the Speaker rule that

what I have stated does not constitute a question of the privileges of the House?

"The SPEAKER. The Chair rules that when a gentleman is called to order, he is not in order in continuing to occupy the floor and to address the Chair.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I insist upon a ruling on the question of the privileges of the House which I have presented.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine will take his seat.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I ask a ruling on the question of privilege.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine will conform to the rules of the House.

• • • •

"QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker—

"The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I rise to a question of privilege.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky states that he rises to a question of privilege. The House will be in order.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Maine (Mr. BOUTELLE), who never loses an opportunity to parade before this House his views on Hawaiian affairs, has referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and I desire to respond to him briefly.

"The Committee on Foreign Affairs has used all proper dispatch, and has in accordance with every precedent taken proper action with regard to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Maine on the 30th day of last month.

"The gentleman from Maine, before any information had been officially communicated to the House of Representatives that the Republic of Hawaii had been established and proclaimed, offered in this House resolutions recognizing that Republic and congratulating the people

*McCreary Says
Boutelle Ever
Parades Views*

on their self-government, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Those resolutions, the gentleman from Maine (Mr. BOUTELLE) said, were in a form similar to resolutions offered by me when Brazil threw off the monarchy and proclaimed the republic.

"I did offer resolutions similar to those; but the Republicans in this House at that time refused to allow them to be considered; and when they were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs that committee, then having a majority of Republican members, refused to consider them. After a while, however, in accordance with the precedents, the President of the United States, Mr. Harrison, recognized the Republic of Brazil.

"The Committee on Foreign Affairs have given proper consideration to the resolutions offered by the gentleman from Maine (Mr. BOUTELLE). There is no necessity for demagogy. There is no necessity for any criticism of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. That committee has acted with more promptness and courtesy than was extended when resolutions were offered with regard to the recognition of the Republic of Brazil in 1890.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. Will the gentleman allow me?

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I decline to be interrupted.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. Does the gentleman desire to answer a question just there in that connection?

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Unless the gentleman has a question directly in point—

"Mr. BOUTELLE. Oh, a very brief question. I simply want to ask if the committee is favorable or otherwise to the resolution?

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I will state, Mr. Speaker, that the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in connection with this matter have done their full duty. When similar resolutions recognizing the Republic of Brazil were offered by myself and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs they were not only not considered by the committee, but they were referred to a subcommittee, which never reported. It was then claimed that as the President had recognized the Republic of Brazil pending the consideration of the resolutions it was not necessary to adopt them.

*Resolutions on
Brazil Ignored
by Republicans*

"Mr. BOUTELLE. Does not the gentleman know—

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I decline to be interrupted. I desire to say to him and to this House that we followed the precedents of the past. It has been an unbroken rule for many years in the United States when a monarchical form of government has been overthrown and a republican form of government established in any foreign country for the President of the United States in a reasonable time to recognize the republic.

"Mr. FITHIAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of order. I make the point of order that the gentleman from Kentucky is not stating any question of privilege. We have had about enough of this Hawaiian matter, and I think we had better put a stop to it right here and now.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I am answering the statement of the gentleman from Maine, in which he criticised the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

"Mr. FITHIAN. Well, we have had enough of Hawaii; let us put an end to it now.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I will finish in a moment.

"Mr. FITHIAN. I insist upon the point of order.

"The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Kentucky that the discussion of the Hawaiian question does not constitute a question of privilege. Neither does the question of the action of the Committee on Foreign Affairs constitute a question of privilege. The gentleman from Maine read an extract from a newspaper and stated that it imputed to him improper motives, and thereupon proceeded to discuss the Hawaiian question—

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. But, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Maine charged improper motives on the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I charged absolute inaction, and charge it now.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. To that charge I wish to respond.

"The SPEAKER. What does the gentleman under-

*"We Have Had
About Enough
of the Islands"*

stand as constituting a question of privilege; the term 'inaction' of the committee?

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. The gentleman charged improper motives to the committee in not reporting a resolution in one week which is not privileged, and which, I think, if reported would have been discourteous and an infringement of the rights of the President.

*Report Would
Infringe Upon
the President*

"The SPEAKER. But this is no question of privilege. There is no reflection on the gentleman. If there was, it would authorize him to rise to a question of privilege. But the mere inaction of the committee, if that is the charge of the gentleman from Maine, cannot constitute a question of privilege.

"Of course the Chair would recognize the gentleman if the question, in the judgment of the Chair, involved one of privilege; but the mere question of the action of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, or the inaction of the committee, or any other committee, in relation to the measures brought before it, the Chair does not think constitutes a question of privilege. If that were so, why, of course, we might discuss everything that was discussed before any of the committees of the House.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. But the gentleman from Maine has, as I have said, charged improper motives on the part of the committee, and that makes a question of privilege. A charge of improper conduct on the part of a committee, or of any member of the House, constitutes a question of privilege; for one of the rules of the House declares that questions of privilege are those affecting the rights, reputation, or conduct of members individually in their representative capacity.

"Now, Mr. Speaker, in answer to the gentleman—

"Mr. FITHIAN. Mr. Speaker, is there not a regular order for to-day?

"The SPEAKER. There is.

"Mr. FITHIAN. Then let us have it.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman demands the regular order.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, the

Committee on Foreign Affairs has followed an unbroken precedent—

“The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman state his question of privilege?”

“Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I understand the gentleman from Maine to say that the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which I am a member, was prompted by improper motives in making no report on his resolution. Now, any question affecting the conduct of any member of the House, or the action or the integrity of a committee of the House, is a question of privilege, and to that question I wish to address myself.

“The SPEAKER. What does the gentleman understand by ‘improper’ motives? There must be something reflecting either upon the committee or the gentleman himself, to warrant the assertion that he presents a question of privilege.

“Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. The manner of the gentleman from Maine and the words used by him indicate it.

“Mr. BOUTELLE. I withdraw the ‘manner.’ (Laughter.)

“Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I desire to close the discussion which, if not in order now I think it was not in order when it first began, with a few words.

“Mr. BOUTELLE. The gentleman from Kentucky has manner enough for both of us.

“Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I wish only to say in conclusion that the committee followed the unbroken line of precedents in their action in regard to the resolution of the gentleman from Maine. It has been the custom of the House for many years, and was the custom when the Republican party had control of the House, for the recognition of a republican form of government, established on the ruins of a monarchical system, to be first made by the President of the United States.

“When the empire of France was overthrown and the republic proclaimed the President of the United States recognized the republic. When the republic of Brazil was declared it was recognized in due time by the Presi-

*Chief Executive
Always First
to Take Action*

dent of the United States. When the Argentine Republic and the republics of Chili and Peru and Mexico and Guatemala were severally proclaimed, they were in a few months recognized by the President of the United States. In some instances, afterwards Congress passed congratulatory resolutions. The gentleman from Maine desired that there should be a recognition of the Hawaiian Republic by the Congress of the United States before the President had time to take any action upon the subject.

*Boutelle Tries
to Anticipate
Mr. Cleveland*

"Mr. FITHIAN. I renew my point of order. I am getting tired of hearing this entire discussion.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman makes the point that no question of privilege is presented.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I can only state in conclusion—

"Mr. FITHIAN. I demand the regular order.

"Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky (continuing). That the committee has followed the unbroken line of precedents.

"The SPEAKER. The regular order is the call of committees for reports.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. My inquiry is whether it would be in order at this stage to ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of these resolutions?

"The SPEAKER. The regular order has just been demanded.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Foreign Affairs be discharged from the further consideration of the resolutions, and that they be considered now in the House.

"The SPEAKER. The demand for the regular order cuts off all requests for unanimous consent.

"Mr. BOUTELLE. When will it be in order?

"The SPEAKER. When the regular order is demanded, it is never in order, of course, to ask unanimous

consent. The regular order is the call of committees for reports."—pp. 8336 - 8339.

Beginning in September, 1878, a considerable Portuguese emigration to Hawaii had developed from the Azores Islands and Madeira, but afterward was suspended. In connection with the emigration, a treaty had been negotiated between Portugal and Hawaii. Shortly prior to 1894, Portugal had abrogated all its treaties, because the treaty with Great Britain gave that country all the rights granted by Portugal to the most favored nation. A desire to resume immigration led the Republic to send me as minister to Portugal to attempt the negotiation of a treaty, pending some renewed action at Washington on Hawaiian affairs. Early in September, 1894, I left Honolulu and went to Washington.

Thurston Sent to Get Treaty with Portugal

While I was there, the subject of a naval station at Pearl Harbor arose; I sent a dispatch to the Hawaiian government, which so well summarizes the situation that I incorporate it here.

"Washington, D. C., Oct. 10, 1894.

"Personal.

"My dear Hatch:

"I had quite a long talk with Admiral Walker yesterday concerning Pearl river. He introduced the subject himself and went over the situation quite fully. Among other things he said, 'I hope very much that our government will take up Pearl river and do something there. If they do it will settle what you want. Nothing can be accomplished until after the election is over and matters have settled down once more, when I hope that something may be done.'" [Admiral Walker was Rear Ad-

Pearl Harbor Is Discussed with Admiral

miral John Grimes Walker, who served twice as chief of the bureau of navigation.—*Editor.*]

"I noticed that an editorial in the Honolulu 'Star' published since I came away, advocated the acquiring title by the Hawaiian Government of lands at Pearl River. I mentioned this suggestion to him, and he immediately replied 'That is a capital idea. The Hawaiian Government can undoubtedly obtain possession of those lands cheaper now than the American Government can after an appropriation has been made for the improvement of the harbor. If we can go to Congress and say to them all we want is sufficient money to open up the harbor, and we can get all necessary land for naval station purposes from the Hawaiian Government for a fixed sum which we will then know, it will make a much stronger argument than if we have to go before them with the proposition for money to open up the harbor, and a further contingent appropriation of unknown amount for the purchase of land belonging to private owners.'

"It seems to me this is a lead worth following up. I questioned Admiral Walker further as to what land they would probably want. He said that he did not think they would want Ford's Island under any circumstances, as they would want connection with the main land so that a branch of the railroad could be run directly into the dock-yard, and if it were located on Ford's Island, it would necessitate the additional expense of a bridge to the mainland. He said that what they would want would be the 'Brown peninsula.'

"The clause in the Constitution authorizes eminent domain legislation for the purpose of taking possession of these lands, and I would suggest that a bill authorizing the condemnation of all lands at Pearl River necessary for such purpose be passed by the next legislature. This will be more particularly necessary in view of the recent developments concerning John Ii's will, which, as I understand it, vests only a life estate in Mrs. Brown and the reversion in her heirs.

"I would suggest that the condemnation should also include the land at the point on each side of the entrance to the harbor, and that before the intention to do this

*Ford's Island
Is Not Wanted
in Any Event*

thing is made public an endeavor be made to get all of the parties in interest to give the government an option with a sufficiently long term for decision to enable it to get the necessary legislative authority, both financial and otherwise. I should imagine that perhaps this could be done best through some private party without letting it be known that the government is interested in the matter. How would it do to get Dillingham or Cecil Brown for instance, to get such an option. It would be worth while to do it if favorable terms could be obtained, even if a forfeit had to be put up.

"I think this whole matter is one deserving of the most earnest and active consideration. I do not know of any direction in which we can at present do better work toward annexation than by facilitating the expenditure of United States money in Pearl River. In this connection I would suggest that later, say upon my return, when the U. S. administration will have more time to devote to the subject-matter, you write specifically to me to inform the United States Government that the Hawaiian Government will do everything in its power to facilitate the opening of Pearl Harbor, specifically offering them the free use of the dredge, they keeping it in repair, and, I should say, the further offer to furnish at expense of the Hawaiian Government the necessary land for a naval station, although some of my economical friends in Honolulu may not think this last suggestion necessary.

"I do not think we should leave a stone unturned to work for annexation, and just at present an indirect advance through Pearl Harbor is the only open road I see.

"Sincerely yours,

"L. A. THURSTON."

—United States, Minister to Washington, September-October, 1894, Archives of Hawaii.

On October 17, 1894, I left Washington for Lisbon via London, Paris, and Madrid, presented my credentials as minister, and was received by King Carlos of Portugal late in the month.

*Naval Station
Is an Advance
to Annexation*

Portuguese politics then were complicated and tense. A strong Republican party in the Cortes and an exceedingly active spirit tended to make the country a republic. When I was in Lisbon, an incident occurred that presaged the subsequent overturn of the Portuguese throne. A Republican member of the Cortes was making an address one day, but he was ordered by the speaker to desist, on the ground that his remarks were treasonable. The member refused to obey; and the speaker directed the sergeant at arms to remove the offender from the chamber. Thereupon the member retreated to a corner of the room, where he was joined by the other Republican members. They piled up desks as a barricade, behind which they stood, and defied the speaker to remove them. To overawe the Republicans, the government had stationed a company of the regular army in the lobby; now the speaker ordered the troops into the legislative hall to remove the barricaded men. The troops filed into the chamber with fixed bayonets, and the officer in charge commanded the legislators to surrender, but they defied the soldiers as well as the speaker. The situation was tense; the speaker weakened, ordered the troops to retire, and adjourned the meeting of the chamber for several days.

I began negotiations with the minister of foreign affairs, and submitted a draft of a treaty. Among other provisions, it permitted Hawaii to engage in commerce with Portuguese colonies. The minister informed me that Portugal did not permit direct commercial transactions with any colony, but

*Fall of Throne
Foreshadowed
by an Incident*

*Regular Army,
Speaker Defied
by Legislators*

*Treaty Is Not
Needed to Get
the Immigrants*

that we could have immigrants from the mother country or any colony, whether we did or did not have a treaty. A day or two later, when I tried to forward action by the government, the minister said to me: "You doubtless are aware of the course of events in the Cortes. While there is no objection, that I know of, to the negotiation of a treaty, the intensity of the feeling generated by the events in the Cortes is such that I cannot assure you of an early consideration of the treaty, and I do not know when it can be taken up." That condition continued until the end of 1894.

*Deity Created
the "Gallegos"
for Portuguese*

Meanwhile I had made arrangements with a firm in Oporto, a city on the Atlantic, about 150 miles north of Lisbon, for the assembling and emigration of persons from Northern Portugal, who were said to be industrious and fit for labor on the Hawaiian plantations. The people of the adjacent Spanish section were known as *Gallegos*, an exceedingly industrious class. A Portuguese saying went thus: when God created a Portuguese, He also created a *Gallego* to wait on him. Certainly the *Gallegos* appeared to be doing most of the work about Lisbon. H. F. Glade, of H. Hackfeld & Co., Honolulu, arranged for a steamer to call at Oporto to take the emigrants, and about fourteen hundred were assembled at Oporto on the day set for the arrival of the vessel, but she was ten days late. By that time, the agents of emigration to Brazil had filled the minds of the recruits with tales derogatory to Hawaii: that they were going to a place ten thousand miles or so from home; that they would there be delivered into slavery; that

opportunity was offered to make a much shorter voyage to Brazil, a Portuguese country, where conditions were better known and more favorable, and whence they could easily get home again if they did not like the country.

When the chartered steamer did arrive, the shipload of emigrants had melted away, except about 140 men, with some women and children, so that the *per capita* cost of transportation would have been very high. To remedy the situation, the steamer called at one of the Western Islands, off the coast of Africa, where some fifty to sixty young men "stowed away," without passports or the permission of the authorities. On the arrival of the steamer at Honolulu, the Portuguese consul complained of the irregularity, charging that the Hawaiian government, through the steamship authorities, had deliberately violated the comity of nations in countenancing an infraction of Portuguese law. Although the infraction was manifest, the Hawaiian government disclaimed any participation in it or countenancing it; and the complaint was dropped.

*Half Hundred
Men Contrive
to Stow Away*

In my enforced leisure at Lisbon, a number of interesting facts came to my attention. Foremost was the state of the city, which had been damaged by the great earthquake of 1755, when a large portion was wrecked and some thirty thousand persons were killed. Many patent evidences of the effects of the earthquake remained, among which were several cathedrals that had never been restored, their shattered ruins still standing.

*Economic Sight
Found Wanting
in Government*

My attention was especially drawn to the lack of economic vision of the Portuguese government. It was said to have run up a bonded debt of scores of millions of dollars, the proceeds of which had been squandered on various projects. One was a magnificent palace, designed to be of enormous proportions; after the completion of two stories, however, construction had been discontinued because of lack of funds. A temporary roof was placed over the two completed parts, and the royal family lived there. A similar shortsightedness was apparent in an expenditure for wharves. The city is situated on the Tagus River, some miles from the Atlantic, but there was no wharf at which deep-sea ships could lie, the sole pier having been destroyed in the great earthquake, when it sank with thousands of persons. Instead of building piers as loan money was available, the government started the improvement of several miles of water front at once, with a massive granite wall facing the river. Then the money gave out, the work had to be suspended, and all transportation of freight to and from ships anchored in the river still was being done by small lighters.

The improvement of the city was begun in the same lavish manner. A swath several miles long and some four hundred feet wide, called the Avenida, had been condemned through the heart of Lisbon, making two wide driveways separated and bordered on both sides by areas of parked land planted in trees. Handsome buildings, four or five stories high, lined the avenue; the ground rose steeply behind them, and it also was built up with

handsome structures. A most striking feature was the color: in every direction, the buildings were painted in delicate pastel shades: pale greens, pinks, yellows, and blues, which gave a beautiful rainbow effect.

Another phase of finance attracted my attention: the body of the King's grandfather had been pickled and mummified, and was exhibited to the tourist and the curious for twenty-five cents a view.

*Grandfather of
King Embalmed
and Exhibited*

A unique problem confronted the street railway company. It had a single-track system, which connected the main parts of the city. I was informed that the owners of the franchise were in desperate straits, because hundreds of free lance cars had been built; whenever traffic was heavy, those cars appeared on the company's rails. If one encountered a car bound in the opposite direction, it turned into the street for the other car to pass, and then took to the track again. Having no overhead to meet, the independents offered a destructive competition to the regular cars, but the franchise failed to provide against the contingency, and the authorities professed themselves unable to find a remedy.

A popular sport was the bullfight, which was held in an immense arena, the seats rising sharply on all sides about seventy-five feet or so, and seating thousands. But the teeth of the sport were drawn, since the bulls, before being released in the ring, had sleeves placed on their horns, with wooden blocks over the points, so they could not gore. The sleeves were tied at the bases of the horns in hard

*Wooden Blocks
Over the Horns
Prevent Goring*

knots. Aside from the inability of the bulls to gore the horses bearing the bullfighters, the fight was the same as the bloodier fight across the border in Spain.

*Animal Dashes
from Dark Pen
into Sunshine*

I attended one fight on a Sunday. The entire city seemed to have turned out, the arena being massed with people. To see the bull enter the ring was magnificent. A double door was suddenly raised before him, whereupon he dashed into the brilliant sunshine from a darkened pen. Bewildered by the sudden sight of the multitude, he charged across the arena in a tremendous burst, scattering the fighters, who took refuge behind barricades erected along the edge of the arena. The toreadors then prodded the poor beast with spears and lances, until he was a mass of gore. If they did not succeed in killing him with a thrust in the back of the head before a given time had elapsed, he was finished by a crowd of men, admitted when he was weakened by exertion and loss of blood, who rushed upon him and overpowered him, throwing him to the ground and cutting his throat. Although the first part of the game was spectacular, the end was merely bloody, disgusting slaughter. The people, however, were carried away, and yelled themselves hoarse.

*Throngs Shout
Selves Hoarse
at Bloody End*

In a railroad trip through the country, I noticed great piles and windrows of cork, in slabs about six feet long, several feet wide, and six or eight inches thick, stacked along the track. The bark is taken from the oak trees once in several years. Only half of the circumference of the tree is stripped at a time, the rest of the bark being left

to sustain the tree. The first cutting is cork of the best quality; thereafter the tree is allowed to recuperate, and a second bark forms on the denuded portions, producing cork of the second rate. Cork and port wine appeared to be the principal products of the country. The wine was stored in great vats along the railroad between Lisbon and Oporto.

One afternoon, while listening to a good band playing in the Avenida, I sat on a bench at the edge of the parking. Presently a policeman came, and spoke to me in Portuguese, which I did not understand, and I paid no attention to him. He came a little closer and spoke a little more loudly, until he stooped over me, fairly yelling in an effort to make me understand. Finally a man stepped from the crowd, and said to me in English that the charge for using that seat was two and a half cents; I paid the charge, convincing the policeman that I was not deaf—only stupid. Portuguese currency nearly gave me nervous prostration. At my arrival in Lisbon, I was informed that the hotel rate was 4,000 reis a day. It sounded like a staggering amount, until I was relieved by an interpreter, who told me that 1,000 reis was the equivalent of an American dollar.

I remember that there were only two elevators in the city, one of which was in the Hotel Avenida, where I stayed. It was operated by a great plunger that descended into the earth, and the elevator moved so slowly that I could start from the ground floor with it and beat it to the fourth floor, where my room was. Such a sight was the elevator that

*Lisbon Boasts
Two Elevators
in Whole City*

a crowd stood by the door at all hours of the day, watching it.

The city was kept fairly clean by swarms of street sweepers. When I said to my interpreter that the United States had street-sweeping machines to save labor, he exclaimed: "Mercy on us! Here they are not looking for things to save labor. They are looking for additional jobs to give more men work."

*Labor-Saving
Machines Not
Sought There*

An annoyance in Lisbon was lottery tickets, authorized by the government, which were sold everywhere and apparently by everybody. I was pestered by peddlers, who offered whole tickets and halves, quarters, and even smaller fractions. A large part of the population seemed to make a living from ticket commissions.

The distribution of milk was informal and highly unhygienic. No milkmen delivered bottled milk, but cows were taken about the streets singly, stopping before the doors of customers. There the milkman milked his cow and delivered the desired quantity. Turkeys were driven in flocks through the city; a buyer pointed out his choice; and the man in charge, who had a bamboo stick with a noose on the end, lassoed the designated bird.

In going about Lisbon, I observed that the streets were hemmed on each side by stone walls eight or ten feet high, which extended into the country. I asked my interpreter, an Englishman, who also was general factotum for the American minister, why the walls had been built. He thought before he replied: "Why, I never noticed them." Said I: "They are not only in front of

buildings, but out in the country as well." He thought again, and then suggested: "I presume they are to keep boys from stealing fruit." "But I have looked over the walls," I pointed out, "and there isn't a thing growing behind them—just open field." "Well," he admitted, "I never thought of it before, and I really don't know what they are for."

On a certain day each week, the King, who reminded me of young Paul Isenberg of Honolulu—somewhat stout and very blond—accompanied by the Queen and their two handsome sons, drove up the Avenida in a fine open carriage with two footmen sitting in front, while the people lined the street respectfully. In 1908, while enjoying one of those rides, King Carlos and the crown prince were assassinated. Portugal has become a republic since that time, though subject to frequent revolutions.

*King and Son
Assassinated
While Driving*

Incompetent methods of finance were evident also at Oporto, the only other commercial port of the country. Oporto is situated on the Douro River, which is of considerable depth, but its mouth is blocked by a sand bar. Several miles up the coast, a port had been established by the construction of a massive sea wall of great cut granite blocks, which reclaimed a large area of unprotected shore. The interior of the area had been dredged to considerable depth, and freight to and from the city was being transhipped through it. Originally the intention had been, after the breakwater was completed, to connect the protected area and Oporto with a canal through the flats from the breakwater to the river, a distance of several miles.

Funds having been exhausted, no canal had been dug, and transportation was still by truck.

I also visited Cintra, a beautiful town some twenty miles from Lisbon. It is the site of an old palace and of a massive fortification crowning a hill, which was occupied in the time of the Saracens. The fortification had been rehabilitated, and was said to be in practically the same condition as when used. Although the season was winter when I visited Cintra, and the mercury was just above freezing, the hotel, one of the best in the town, was unheated—it lacked heating appliances; and the joints around the doors and windows were so loose that the wintry winds blew the window curtains halfway across the room, even with the windows closed. One of the traditions of the hotel was that the poet Byron, when he was the rage, had occupied one of the rooms, and had scratched his name on the window glass with his diamond ring. His writing always proved a tourist attraction. A large portion of the country around Cintra had come into the possession of a wealthy Englishman, who had made it a beautiful garden, importing trees and plants from all over the world.

*Thurston Goes
Without Action
On the Treaty*

I had to return to Washington to be prepared for any development at the convening of Congress, and left Lisbon without action having been taken on the proposed treaty; as a matter of fact, no action was ever taken. I arrived in Washington early in January, 1895. There, on the 17th, the anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, a daughter, Margaret, was born to Mrs. Thurston and me.

CHAPTER XXIII

INSURRECTION AND THURSTON'S RECALL

Late 1894 and early 1895 were critical to the Republic of Hawaii. After President Dole had refused the demand of Minister Willis that the Queen be restored, American public sentiment against the Cleveland-Gresham policy threw consternation into the administration, and annexation became quiescent. But the attempt at restoration by President Cleveland was a virtual invitation to the royalists in Hawaii to seek restoration by force. Consequently a conspiracy was formed by Liliuokalani, several whites, and a few native Hawaiians. Many natives supported the movement, without being active in the details. The plan involved raising a considerable sum for the purchase of arms in the United States and taking them secretly to Hawaii, where the conspirators, on a set day, would attack the Dole government, forcibly overturn it, and restore the Queen. With a number of foreigners and natives, she contributed to the fund.

*Queen, Whites,
and Hawaiians
in Conspiracy*

Notwithstanding the efforts of the conspirators to maintain secrecy, Honolulu was so small, and the relations between persons were so close, that much information filtered out. During the last six months of 1894, the community was kept in apprehension by rumors. Under Edward G. Hitchcock, of Hilo, the Republic had organized

an efficient police department, which had close touch with the plot; and the Republic ascertained that the schooner *Wahlberg* cleared from San Francisco in November, 1894, with a cargo of rifles and ammunition, bound for Honolulu. She stood off the coast of windward Oahu for some time.

Bombs were made of dynamite, incased in cast iron and cement, and stored at the residence of Liliuokalani, where a small supply of rifles and ammunition also was put. It was intended to have the *Wahlberg* cargo delivered in Honolulu by an island steamer. Since that arrangement leaked out, and since a close watch was kept on Honolulu harbor, the conspirators changed their plans, and decided to land the arms at Kahala, beyond Diamond Head, and to make a march on the city at night. Finally the date of the action was set for January 6, 1895; and the insurrection began. A force of police, assisted by a few volunteers, met the insurrectionists; a skirmish occurred, in which Charles L. Carter, a prominent revolutionist and a member of the annexation commission of 1893, was fatally wounded. Within three or four days, the insurrectionists were routed; practically all surrendered or were captured. It is difficult now to conceive the intensity of feeling then.

*Break Begins;
It Ends Soon;
Carter Killed*

According to information obtained by the Dole government, the principal conspirators were Robert W. Wilcox, Charles T. Gulick, W. H. Rickard, Major W. T. Seward, Samuel Nowlein, and Liliuokalani. Mr. Wilcox, the chronic revolutionist of 1889 and thereafter, had received some training

at an Italian military academy. Mr. Gulick was island-born, and had been minister of the interior under the Monarchy. Mr. Rickard was a naturalized Hawaiian citizen of English birth, formerly the manager of Honokaa Plantation on the Island of Hawaii, had achieved something of a fortune in sugar, and was a member of the Legislature in 1890. Major Seward served as an officer of the Union Army in the Civil War; for some years, he had been the private secretary of John A. Cummins, a part-Hawaiian of means and minister of foreign affairs under the Monarchy in 1890 and 1891. Samuel Nowlein, a part-Hawaiian, had commanded the Royal Guard.

*Sugar Manager,
Former Officer
Are Implicated*

After the outbreak occurred at Diamond Head, martial law was proclaimed, the right of the writ of habeas corpus was suspended, and a military commission was appointed to try the insurrectionists. On January 16, 1895, two policemen went to the residence of Liliuokalani and arrested her. Although there were thirty-five guards on the grounds, under command of Samuel Nowlein, they offered no resistance. She was taken to the government headquarters at Iolani Palace, where she was imprisoned for several months in the two large rooms at the south corner of the second floor. That was the only imprisonment to which she was ever subjected.

*Queen Is Held
in the Palace
as a Prisoner*

A search of her premises disclosed that a monarchical constitution had been drafted and that monarchical commissions had been signed for the following persons: Robert W. Wilcox, minister of

foreign affairs; Samuel Nowlein, minister of the interior; Charles T. Gulick, minister of finance; Clarence W. Ashford, attorney-general; Archibald S. Cleghorn, governor of Oahu; Joseph Nawahi, governor of Hawaii; David Kawanakoa, governor of Maui; Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, governor of Kauai; Antone Rosa and Volney V. Ashford, justices of the supreme court. (See the pamphlet, *The Rebellion of 1895*, second edition, page 10, Archives of Hawaii.) Likewise the search disclosed twenty-one giant powder bombs, thirty-four rifles, eleven revolvers, five swords, thirty-eight belts filled with rifle cartridges, eight belts filled with pistol cartridges, and about a thousand rounds of loose ammunition.

*Giant Powder
Bombs Found
at Residence*

On January 24, 1895, Liliuokalani voluntarily tendered the government a renunciation of her claim to the throne, and signed a formal abdication. They were drafted by Alfred S. Hartwell, a leading member of the Hawaiian bar and a former justice of the supreme court. Six men, all friends and supporters of Liliuokalani when she was queen, witnessed the document. Its text follows.

*Here Is Text
of Abdication
by the Queen*

"Island of Oahu
"Honolulu
"January 24th. 1895

"To the Honorable
"Sanford Ballard Dole
"President of the Republic of Hawaii.

"Sir:

"After full and free consultation with my personal friends, and with my legal advisers, both before and since my detention by military order in the Executive Building, and acting in conformity with their advice, and also

Liliuokalani's
Renunciation of the Throne

in the Hawaiian Islands or elsewhere, from all and every manner of allegiance, or official obligation or duty to me and my heirs and successors forever, and I hereby declare to all such persons in the Hawaiian Islands that I consider them as bound in duty and honor henceforth to support and sustain the Government of the Republic of Hawaii.

Second,

For myself, my heirs and successors, I do hereby and without any mental reservation or modification, and fully, finally, unequivocally, irrevocably and forever abdicate, renounce and release unto the Government of the Republic of Hawaii, and its legitimate successors forever, all claims or pretensions whatsoever to the late throne of Hawaii, or to the late Monarchy of Hawaii, or to any past, or to the existing, or to any future Government of Hawaii, or under or by reason of any present, or formerly existing constitution, statute, law, position, right or claim of any and every kind, name, and nature whatsoever, and whether the same consist of pecuniary or property considerations, or of personal status, hereby forever renouncing, disowning and disclaiming

A page from Liliuokalani's renunciation of the throne, drafted by Alfred S. Hartwell, and witnessed by six of her friends

upon my own free volition, and in pursuance of my unalterable belief and understanding of my duty to the People of Hawaii, and to their highest and best interests, and also for the sake of those misguided Hawaiians and others who have recently engaged in rebellion against the Republic, and in an attempt to restore me to the position of Queen which I held prior to the 17th. day of January A. D. 1893, and without any claim that I shall become entitled by reason of anything that I may now say or do, to any other or different treatment or consideration at the hands of the Government than I otherwise could and might legally receive, I now desire to express and make known, and do hereby express and make known to yourself as the only lawful and recognized head of the Government, and to all people of the Hawaiian Islands, whether or not they have yet become citizens of the Republic, or are or have been adherents of the late Monarchy, and also to all diplomatic and other foreign representatives in the Hawaiian Islands, to all of whom I respectfully request you to cause this statement and action of mine to be made known as soon as may be, as follows, namely:

“First,

“In order to avoid any possibility of doubt or misunderstanding on the subject, although I do not think that any doubt or misunderstanding is either proper or possible, I hereby do fully and unequivocally admit and declare that the Government of the Republic of Hawaii is the only lawful Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and that the late Hawaiian Monarchy is finally and forever ended, and no longer of any legal or actual validity, force, or effect whatsoever; and I do hereby forever absolve all persons whomsoever, whether in the Hawaiian Islands or elsewhere, from all and every manner of allegiance, or official obligation or duty to me and my heirs and successors forever, and I hereby declare to all such persons in the Hawaiian Islands that I consider them as bound in duty and honor henceforth to support and sustain the Government of the Republic of Hawaii.

“Second,

“For myself, my heirs and successors, I do hereby and without any mental reservation or modification, and fully, finally, unequivocally, irrevocably and forever ab-

*Island Throne
Forever “Pau,”
Says Document*

dicare, renounce and release unto the Government of the Republic of Hawaii, and its legitimate successors forever, all claims or pretensions whatsoever to the late throne of Hawaii, or to the late Monarchy of Hawaii, or to any past, or to the existing, or to any future Government of Hawaii, or under or by reason of any present, or formerly existing Constitution, Statute, law, position, right or claim of any and every kind, name, and nature whatsoever, and whether the same consists of pecuniary or property considerations, or of personal status, hereby forever renouncing, disowning and disclaiming all rights, claims, demands, privileges, honors, emoluments, titles and prerogatives whatsoever, under or by virtue of any former or the existing Government, Constitution, Statute, law or custom of the Hawaiian Islands whatsoever, save and excepting only such rights and privileges as belong to me in common with all private citizens of, or residents in the Republic of Hawaii.

“Third,

“I do hereby respectfully implore for such misguided Hawaiians and others as have been concerned in the late rebellion against the Republic of Hawaii, such degree of Executive clemency as the Government may deem to be consistent with its duty to the community, and such as a due regard for its violated laws may permit.

“Fourth,

“It is my sincere desire henceforth to live in absolute privacy and retirement from all publicity, or even appearance of being concerned in the public affairs of the Hawaiian Islands, further than to express as I now do, and shall always continue to do, my most sincere hope for the welfare and prosperity of Hawaii and its people, under and subject to the Government of the Republic of Hawaii.

“Fifth,

“I hereby offer and present my duly certified oath of allegiance to the Republic of Hawaii.

“Sixth,

“I have caused the foregoing statement to be prepared and drawn, and have signed the same, without having received the slightest suggestion from the President of Hawaii, or from any member or official of the Govern-

*Public Affairs
Do Not Concern
Unseated Ruler*

MEMOIRS OF LORRIN A. THURSTON

ment of Hawaii, concerning the same or any part thereof, or concerning any action or course of my own in the premises.

“Relying upon the magnanimity of the Government of the Republic, and upon its protection,

“I have the honor to be, Mr. President,

“very respectfully

“your obedient servant

“LILIUOKALANI DOMINIS.”

“On this 24th day of January A. D. 1895 the foregoing was in our presence read over and considered carefully and deliberately by Liliuokalani Dominis, and she, the said Liliuokalani Dominis, thereupon in our presence declared that the same was a correct, exact and full statement of her wishes and acts in the premises, which statement she declared to us that she desired to sign and acknowledge in our presence as her own free act and deed, and she thereupon signed the same in our presence, and declared the same to be her free act and deed, in witness whereof we have at the request of Liliuokalani Dominis and in her presence, hereunto subscribed our names as attesting witnesses, at the Executive Building in Honolulu, on the Island of Oahu, this 24th day of January A. D. 1895.

“WM. G. IRWIN

“H. A. WIDEMANN

“SAMUEL PARKER

“J. KALUA KAHOOKANO.

“CHAS. B. WILSON

“PAUL NEUMANN

“Honolulu }
“Island of Oahu } ss.

“On this 24th day of January A. D. 1895 personally appeared before me Liliuokalani Dominis, known to me to be the person described in and who executed the foregoing instrument, who acknowledged to me that she executed the same freely and voluntarily and for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

“W. L. STANLEY

“Notary Public.

[Notarial seal.]

*Renunciation Is
Read Carefully
by Liliuokalani*

"Honolulu, Island of Oahu } ss.
 "Hawaiian Islands. }

"I, Liliuokalani Dominis, do solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God, that I will support the Constitution, Laws and Government of the Republic of Hawaii, and will not, either directly or indirectly, encourage or assist in the restoration or establishment of a Monarchical form of Government in the Hawaiian Islands.

"LILIUOKALANI DOMINIS

"Subscribed and sworn to this 24th day of January
 A. D. 1895 before me,

"W. L. STANLEY

[Notarial seal.]

"Notary Public."

—Miscellaneous Local, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

In Liliuokalani's *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, on pages 273-277, there is a purported repudiation of the abdication, which speaks with denunciation and contempt of those whom she charges with having forced her to sign the document. The undisputed facts of Liliuokalani's connection with the insurrection—the discovery of the monarchical commissions and the arms and ammunition at her residence—prove the inaccuracy of her book. There is positively no doubt that the insurrection had her full knowledge and approval.

*Rebellion Had
 Her Approval,
 Says Thurston*

A military commission was appointed to try the accused. The members were: Colonel William Austin Whiting, First Regiment, National Guard of Hawaii; Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Fisher, First Regiment; Captain C. W. Ziegler, Company F; Captain J. M. Camara, junior, Company C; Captain J. W. Pratt, adjutant; Captain W. C. Wilder, junior, Company D; First Lieutenant J. W. Jones, Company D; Captain William A. Kinney, aide-de-camp on the general staff, judge advocate. (*The Rebellion of 1895*, page 16, Archives of Hawaii.)

The feeling in the community, as to whether the sentences of the commission should be carried out, or whether amnesty should be extended, was intense. It was felt—not in a spirit of revenge, but as a prevention of recurrence of armed attack—that examples should be made of the leaders. Evidence of the feeling appears in the fact that the officers and men of three volunteer military companies of the Dole government petitioned the president to show no clemency, but to let the sentences be executed. The petitions were signed by forty-nine officers and men of Company B, by sixty-three officers and men of Company D, and by fifty-four officers and men of the First Company of Sharpshooters. Here follows the petition of Company B.

*No Clemency:
Thus Petition
of Volunteers*

“To Sanford B. Dole,
“President of the Republic of Hawaii.

“Dear Sir,—

“We, the undersigned members of Company B., 1st Regiment N.G.H., hereby express our entire confidence in your wisdom and good judgment under the trying circumstances of the present situation.

“It has been brought to our notice that appeals have been made to you for the exercise of executive clemency in the case of the rebel leaders, and other prisoners on trial before the Court Martial now in session.

“We desire you to understand that we are in hearty accord with you in your determination to preserve the Republic from a possible renewal of the rebellion, by dealing out strict justice.

“After calm consideration of the situation and what is involved, we believe that it will be for the best interest of the Republic that no exercise of the Executive Clemency be made, but that the sentences of the Court Martial should be carried into speedy execution.

“Honolulu, H. I., January 24th, 1895.”—Documents re. Filibusters and Schooner Wahlberg, January-May, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

Now I quote letters: from Foreign Minister Francis M. Hatch and Attorney-General William O. Smith to me, from me to Minister Hatch, from Minister Smith to me, and an interesting side light on the attitude of the royalists in a letter to me from John F. Colburn, minister of the interior in the last monarchical cabinet, who had sought my advice on January 14, 1893, when Liliuokalani proposed to promulgate a new constitution.

"Personal.

"Honolulu, H. I., Jan. 30 1895.

"My dear Thurston.

"On arrival I found the insurrection had been put down but the town was still in a state of intense excitement. The feeling is that we have had a very narrow escape from a desperate encounter. If the attempt had not been discovered and the fighting forced before they were ready there is no saying how much loss of life there would have been. The resort to dynamite has caused the greatest indignation. If Wilcox and Nowlein had got into town at two in the morning as they planned it would have been pandemonium. Thirty six dynamite bombs had been prepared. 19 of these were iron, made at White's foundry in Honolulu, and 17 cement. 21 bombs were found in Washington Place together with some 20 rifles. It was intended as they approached to destroy the houses of the leaders of the govt. party, without regard to women & children, and to surround the Executive building and starve out the garrison. Point out to friends in Congress the helplessness of American residents if that mob had once got a start. It was not war. No sort of control could have been kept by the leaders over the rabble if they had been able to make any start. W. O." [Smith] "has read to me what he has written to you, I wont attempt to go over the same ground.

"The most serious feature of the situation is the attitude of Willis and Hawes." [The American and British ministers respectively.] "They are in constant attend-

ance at the trials. Neumann is undoubtedly in close consultation with them. Kinney says Neumann is evidently posted by them from time to time, presents their arguments and talks at them when he addresses the Court. Curiously they have not protested against the existence of the Commission, but are vigorously against execution of sentence. There is the most intense feeling amongst the better classes of the community that some capital sentences should be imposed and carried out. The feeling does not seem to be that of revenge but is the cool judgment of those who went to the front that some examples are necessary to prevent a recurrence in the future of similar attempts. The police and loyal natives are most strongly of this opinion. I cannot at present make up my mind that they are not right. It is easy for a person who was not in the fight to advocate clemency, but notwithstanding a strong leaning that way my judgment is that an example should be made. It is difficult to give you an adequate idea of the intensity of the feeling on that subject here, especially amongst the wives and mothers.

*Loyal Natives
Believe Some
Deserve Noose*

• • •

“Use your own discretion as to protest to Gresham. The arms came from Cal. The Custom House records in S. F. show that the Sch. ‘H. C. Walberg’ cleared Nov. 23 for a cruise in N. & S. Pacific. This is the vessel Davies boarded.” [Captain William Davies, of the steamer *Waimanalo*.—*Editor*.] “Give the point to our friends in Congress so that they can draw from Gresham the fact of his failure to take any action.

• • •

“Sincerely yours

“F. M. HATCH ”

—United States, Minister to Washington, January-February, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

In a letter to me dated January 30, 1895, Mr. Smith gave the sentences of the military commission, to date, as follows: Robert W. Wilcox, Samuel Nowlein, and H. F. Bertelmann, to be hanged at such time and place as the commander in

*Execution and
Prison Terms
Are Sentences*

chief should direct. Carl Widemann, imprisonment for life and a fine of \$10,000. W. H. C. Greig, imprisonment for twenty years and a fine of \$10,000. Louis Marshall, imprisonment for twenty years and a fine of \$10,000. W. C. Lane, imprisonment for five years and a fine of \$5,000. J. C. Lane, imprisonment for five years and a fine of \$5,000. C. T. Gulick, to be hanged. W. H. Rickard, to be hanged. W. T. Seward, to be hanged. T. B. Walker, life imprisonment and a fine of \$5,000. Solomon Kauai, imprisonment for eight years and a fine of \$5,000. Apelehama, imprisonment for seven years and a fine of \$5,000. Lot Lane, imprisonment for five years and a fine of \$5,000. Thomas Poole, imprisonment for ten years and a fine of \$5,000. J. Kalaukoa, not guilty. Robert Palau, imprisonment for ten years and a fine of \$5,000. Bipikane, imprisonment for ten years and a fine of \$5,000. Kilionia, imprisonment for five years and a fine of \$5,000. Joe Clark, imprisonment for ten years and a fine of \$5,000. D. Kanuha, not guilty. W. Widdifield, imprisonment for five years and a fine of \$5,000. Joela Kiakahi, imprisonment for eight years and a fine of \$5,000. The letter continues:

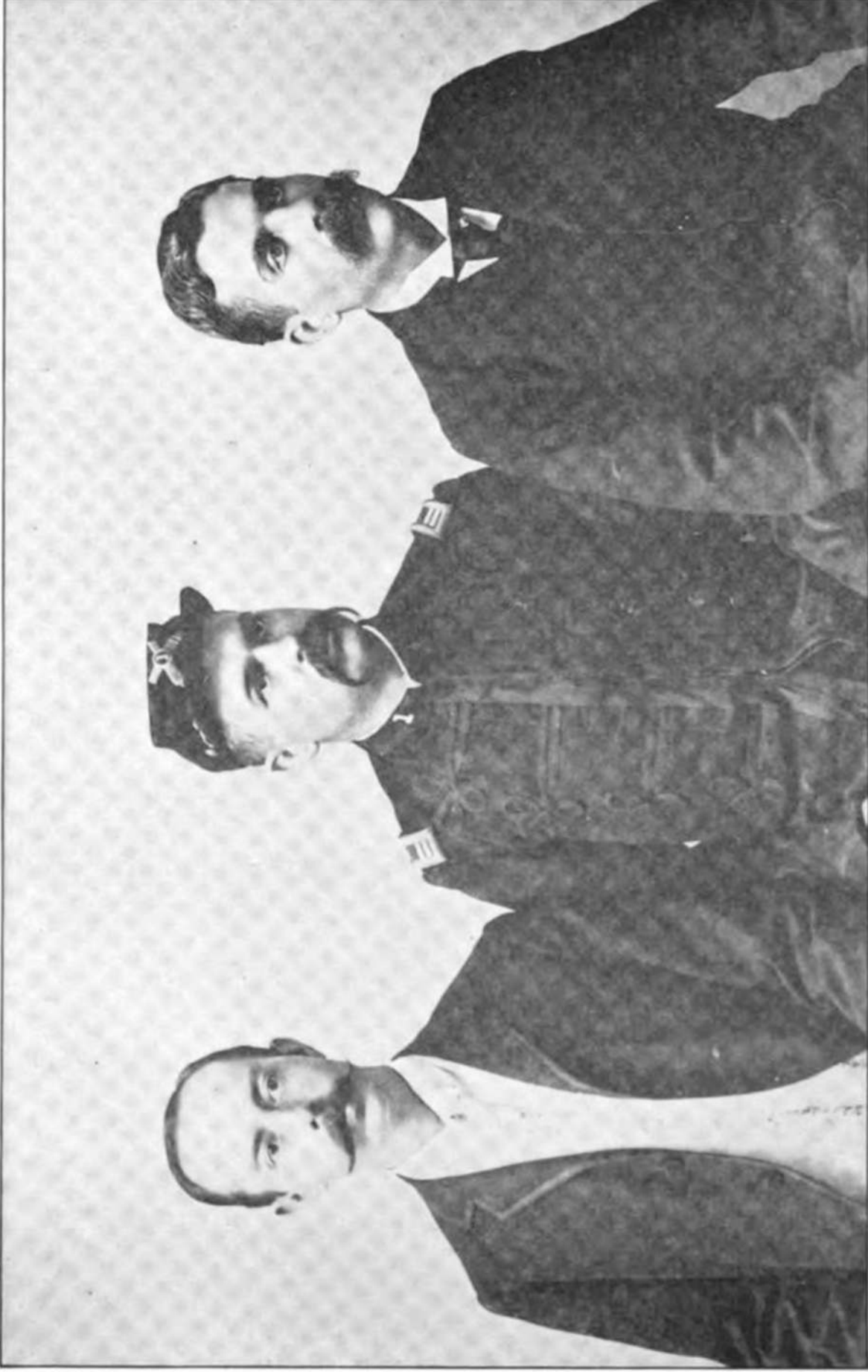
“J. F. Bowler has been tried for misprision of treason—no judgment yet.

“V. V. Ashford’s trial is pending.

“Liliuokalani’s trial comes next, to be followed by C. W. Ashford.

“Both Ashford’s are for misprision.

“The sentences are subject to the approval of the Comd. in chief. We are all giving serious consideration to the matter.



These men, with others, prepared the cases against the 1895 insurrectionists. Left to right: Alexander G. M. Robertson, Captain William A. Kinney, Alfred W. Carter. Most of the accused persons were found guilty

"Mr. Willis is protesting most 'solemnly' against any capital punishment for any one.

"We recognized the weight of views pro. & con. Remember Kossuth, Maximillian, Jeff Davis &c &c.

"Still very many of our best men feel it imperative for our future safety that some examples should be made.

"While we are 'masters of the situation' the danger is not over.

"The work of preparing evidence &c is very great. Kinney has thrown his whole force into it—& with Robertson, Alf. Carter, (also Castle & Cecil Brown) works on an average of 20 hours daily.

"With so many prisoners, witnesses, special officers, patrol duty, searching for arms, & incidental work—we have had little rest.

"I have slept at house 2 nights in three weeks. As also have several others. We have got what sleep we could at the Station House, lying down in our clothes.

"If Gresham did not take active steps to prevent the shipping of arms from S. F. after the notice we gave, we shall claim indemnity—the U. S. should pay the whole expense of suppressing the rebellion.

"There are large quantities of arms still out—also bombs. We are gradually capturing & finding arms.

"Mr. Hawes urges that no capital punishment be inflicted upon any British subject until after he has had opportunity to communicate with and receive reply from his govt. He is a diplomat. Willis is determined to protect the Royalists. He dont seem to see the inconsistency in view of Cleveland's instructions not to protect those participating!

"As we analyze the facts, & evidence, the guilt goes back to Cleveland who has held out to the Hawaiians that the monarchy is the rightful govt. here, and (practically) should be restored.

"Cleveland & Liliuokalani are the most guilty. Sometimes it seems horribly wrong to think of executing Kanakas and not Liliuokalani & Grover. Damn him!

*U. S. Minister
Willis Against
Death Penalty*

*"Damn Grover!"
President and
Queen Guiltiest*

* * *

"I think we will take our own course in regard to the sentences. We will act in no spirit of revenge, but take that course which, in our best judgment, will be most likely to prevent the recurrence of any more attempts.

"If annexation were only assured the way would be much more clear. After annexation, no more revolutions.

"There were more than 1000 Kanakas & others ready to join the attacking parties. Kanakas & half whites all over town were armed. There would have been savage butchery had we not prevented it. The staunch natives who stood by the govt. are most earnest for capital punishment. They know they would have recd. no quarter —& they fear that somehow—thro. U. S. aid, or some way, Liliuokalani will be restored & they punished. The native police were the bravest of the brave. It seems unaccountable so few were killed. Lantana, stone walls, algeroba trees and shrubs protected them.

"The Am. League & Schutzen Club are in their proper place. No one, and no organization, civil or otherwise, can claim merit above any other. The springing to defense was spontaneous, universal, & grand.

"The 'Philadelphia' arrived last eve. I told one of the officers we would be ready to protect them if they should feel uneasy!

"We must have annexation.

"Aloha nui

"WILLIAM O. SMITH
"Attorney General"

—Documents re. Filibusters and Schooner Wahlberg, January-May, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

"Hawaiian Legation,
"Washington, D. C., January 31, 1895.

"F. M. Hatch,
"Minister of Foreign Affairs,
"Honolulu, H. I.

"Sir:

"This last week the New York 'Evening Post' made the charge that we were stranded financially by reason of the refusal on the part of the royalists to pay their taxes, and were placing Hawaiian bonds in large amounts at 25 cents on the dollar, both for the purpose of getting money for the use of the Treasury, and for influencing

annexation sentiment in this country; the theory being that they were being placed where they would do the most good at 25 cents on the dollar, and in case of annexation would become worth par. The information was stated to have been conveyed by a responsible resident of Hawaii in a letter, which was stated to be in the possession of a Senator, which letter was to be produced in due time to the confusion of the Hawaiian advocates in Congress. I paid no attention to the statement at first, as it was so preposterous, but several other papers took the matter up, and finally Senator Mills quoted it upon the floor of the Senate, and stated he thought an investigation into it ought to be made. I thereupon drew up a statement, replying to the charge, which was furnished to the Associated and United Press, and which was very generally printed. Nothing further has been heard from the matter, and I do not imagine there will be. I do not think the matter has done us any harm. I enclose herewith copy of the charge, and my reply.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your obedient servant,

"L. A. THURSTON"

—United States, Minister to Washington, January-February, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

"Honolulu, H. I., Feb. 17 1895

"Hon. L. A. Thurston

"Washington D. C.

"My Dear Sir

• • •

"We are pursuing our course as fairly and justly as we can. Cleveland cannot bluff us any more now than in Dec. 1893.

"No final decision as to capital punishment has been arrived at. We did not propose to act hastily. And now, if in our deliberate judgment it appears to be our duty to so punish, it will be done. I doubt if it will be necessary. Three times my judgment has swung—for executions—and against them.

"The quiet and firm way in which our trials, and in-

*Mr. Cleveland
Cannot Bluff
the Republic*

*Fifteen Freed
on Promise to
Leave Country*

vestigations, have been carried on—with resistless force—has had deep effect.

“15 prominent agitators have agreed to leave the country not to return. After signing a document to that effect, and admitting their guilt. They have been released and are closing up their affairs. Among them are: Fred Harrison, F. H. Redward, A. P. Peterson, C. Creighton, F. Wundenberg, Jim Brown & others.

“We have prepared an Act to cover the cases—should they attempt to return—and have preserved the evidence against them.

“V. V. Ashford is desperately angry over his conviction. He received the lightest sentence of any—1 year & \$1000. C. W. A.” [C. W. Ashford—*Editor*] “has not yet been tried—& now his wife is trying to get him to ask to be allowed to depart.

“We recognize the force of objections to jurisdiction of Military Com., & all that—and have looked up all the cases and authorities, U. S. & English, we could find. But in a great measure the existing conditions must govern. Such means are justifiable as will protect the state. In our case the jury system, as it exists here, must be taken into consideration. . . .

* * *

“Sincerely yours
“WILLIAM O. SMITH.”

—Documents re. Filibusters and Schooner Wahlberg,
January-May, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

“Honolulu Jany 30, 1895.

“S. S. ‘Australia’
“Hon L. A. Thurston.
“Washington D. C.

“Friend Thurston.

“As you well know, the best thing that has happened for Hawaii is the foolish and ill-advised move that was made by Royalists on the 6th of Jany. Revolutionary talk every now and again is over, and I think the main issue brought to a head. Annexation or not.

*Foolish Move
Ends the Talk
of Revolution*

"Speaking and writing for myself I am in for annexation and will use my best endeavors as far as I am able to bring it about as soon as possible, the sooner the better. You may seem a little surprised at my expression now, but I think you have had reason to know in our former intimacy, that annexation were always my sentiments, but, owing to the change of circumstances I was forced to stand by what I considered a principle and sacrificed a good deal. You will know that accepting the Commission that I did, that of being a Crown Minister I considered it my bounden duty to advocate the cause of Restoration just as long as there were hopes.

*Colburn to Use
Best Endeavors
For Annexation*

"The last two years has been one of continual worry, anxiety and expense, neglecting my own personal interests and advocating what I must admit now was a lost cause.

"Liliuokalani has abdicated and my hands are untied. Annexation now is the goal for me. You will find more of us Sam'l Parker for one, he tells me that he is exactly of the same opinion as I am and you must admit that Parker has influence on Maui and Hawaii. I Regret that Rosa has been arrested and confined. I do not believe he was a party to the uprising directly or indirectly. I regret his arrest, as Tony is in for annexing and with his popularity amongst the Hawaiians his assistance could have been of material weight, however I trust that the Govt will not be able to make out a case against him and he can join us in what I believe will be for the best interests of all. Annexation.

"Aloha.

"Yours very truly.

"JOHN F. COLBURN"

—United States, Minister to Washington, January-February, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

President Dole reviewed the sentences of the military commission; he decided against the death penalties, and none was executed. An amusing summary of the modification of the military sentences was given by an American newspaper cor-

respondent, who wrote that "the defendant was found guilty, and sentenced to death for a few days." I quote from *The Rebellion of 1895*, second edition, page 60.

*President Dole
Devotes Weeks
to Close Study*

"President Dole, as the reviewing authority, worked upon the cases from the court as few men can work. It was at this task that his splendid judicial mind, his deep love of justice and his native wisdom, as well as his experience upon the bench, stood him in good stead. The President pored days and nights for weeks over the proceedings of the Commission. He read with the greatest care all the evidence and considered the findings from every standpoint. At times Mr. Dole called his cabinet officers into consultation, and in several instances cases were laid before the Advisory Council. Mr. Dole also freely granted hearings to the wives, families, friends and counsel of prisoners whose weal or woe were in his keeping. His task was a trying and tremendous one. Through it all he was the same calm, unpretending, firm and patient gentleman who enjoys the confidence and commands the admiration of all who know him."

During the incubation of the insurrection, the situation in Washington was somewhat complicated. The shipment of the arms and ammunition from the United States to Hawaii became known to the Dole government in November or December, 1894, and complaint was made to Secretary Gresham against the schooner *Wahlberg* and Captain Martin, her commander. Both the vessel and the captain were detained at San Diego upon her return from delivery of her cargo, but they were released, and no prosecution took place. Immediately after the suppression of the insurrection, Captain William Davies, of the steamer *Waimanalo*, which landed the arms, was arrested; he gave the

*No Prosecution
of Arms Runner
by the States*

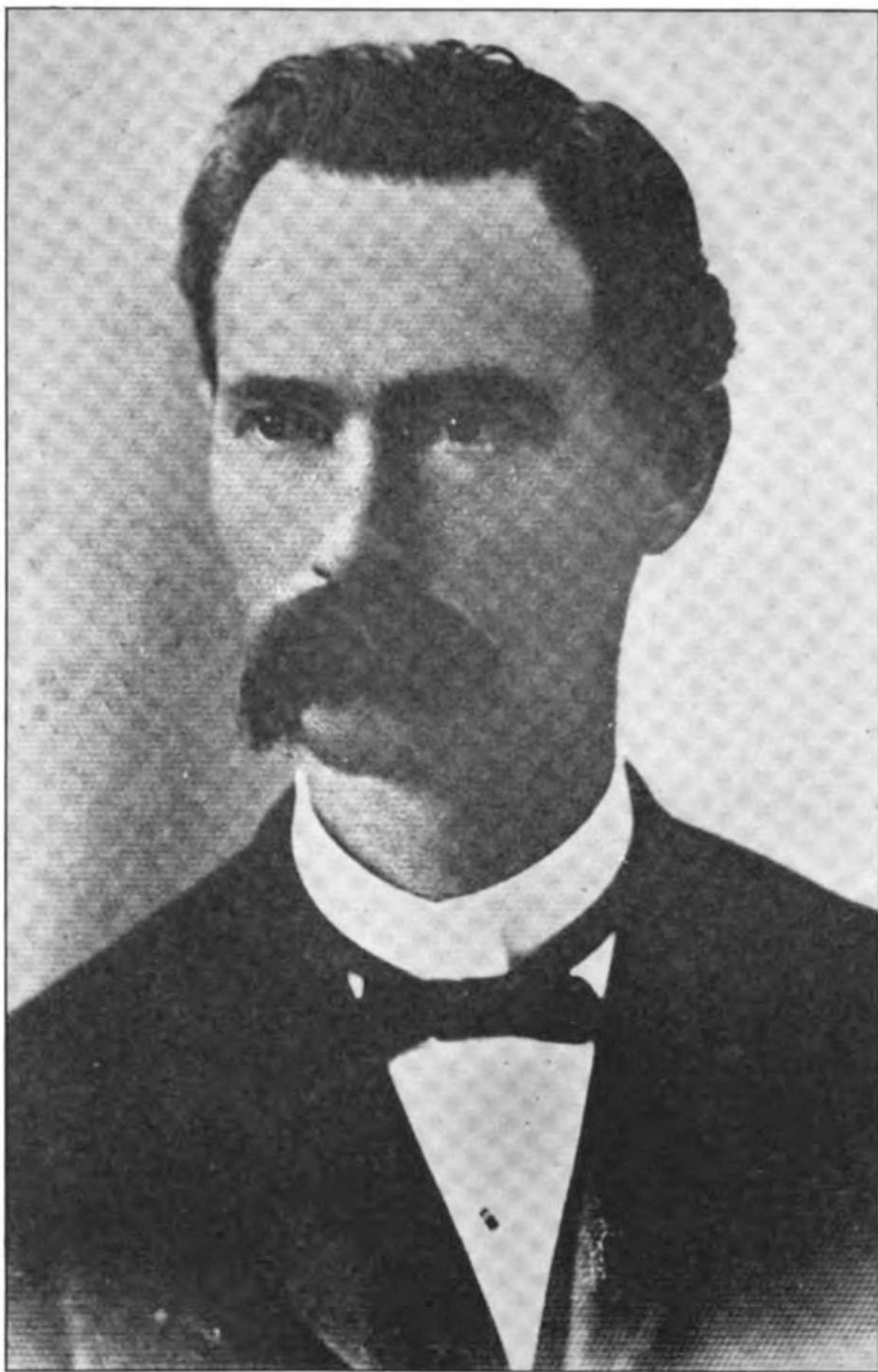
following statement to Attorney-General W. O. Smith. [The copy is verbatim.—*Editor.*]

"I am master of the Steamer Waimanalo. . . . I am running her for myself. I bought her. . . . Last week Thursday I landed arms and ammunition from the steamer Waimanalo at Waikiki. I was engaged to go and get them ten days before by W. H. Rickard. He talked with me only once in the office of J. S. Walker, there was no one present but us. I was to receive ten thousand dollars, one thousand in cash to bring those arms ashore. I was to go off Waimanalo. There had been a schooner lying off there with them for a week. . . . I found out afterwards that she left San Francisco. . . . This conversation took place not long before I landed the arms it was Christmas week. Before Christmas. . . . I left Honolulu to go and get the arms on a Friday. I started for Kaneohe, the 28th day of December. The instructions Rickard gave me was to go about twenty-five miles off Waimanalo North North East there" [Where?—*Editor.*] "there was a schooner, I would take off the things on board and come back to Rabbit Island. By things I mean the arms and ammunition. . . . I knew it was rifles. . . . George Townsend went too, he was sent by Rickard. I know this because Townsend told me so, he did not tell me who or what he was. . . . I left Kaneohe and put to sea on Sunday night or maybe Saturday afternoon. From Kaneohe I went to Waimanalo and then stood off to sea North North East until Tuesday. Tuesday at twelve oclock we sighted the schooner, she was plainly in sight. She had a boat in the water and we sent a boat off to meet her. George Townsend and my men and the men on the schooner brought the arms on board they made two trips. The captain of the schooner came aboard. . . . She was from San Francisco. The captain said he was twenty-five days out. I met him on Tuesday the first day of January on New Years day. The arms given me were carbines. I dont know how many, they were delivered to Townsend not to me. Yes I was chartered to go and get them but Townsend was acting for Rickard and I kept no account of them. There was supposed to be 300. There was

*Arms Are Put
Aboard Steamer
From Schooner*

seven or eight gunny sacks full of ammunition. I dont know how many cartridges there were. There was nothing else landed except the arms and ammunition. I dont know where the schooner was going to after that, he said something about wanting ballast and Townsend told him to go to the leeward side of Lanai and he could get ballast there. The schooner was about seventy-five tons burden. Townsend told me that she was towed out of San Francisco and the arms put on board of her by a tug. . . . I got the arms on board about noon. Went then to Rabbit Island off Waimanalo; got there about nine o'clock in the evening and sent a boat ashore. Townsend and two of my men went in the boat. He came back, he was away about two hours. He came back and he brought another man back with him. He did not tell me what he went ashore there for but Rickard told me that it was to send word to Honolulu. He came back and we stood off to sea again stood off to the North about twenty-four hours and came back to Diamond Head. A boat came off to me from the shore, some natives and Rickard was in it, there were six or seven men in the boat. W. H. Rickard came aboard and stayed aboard, the boat returned to land. A letter was sent back by Rickard addressed to C. T. Gulick. After the boat left us I stood of South Westerly about twenty-five miles and then came back to Waikiki, back to the same place. I was under Rickard's instructions. Two boats came off, I think they must be Bertlemann's boats there are no other whale boats out there. We were expecting to land the arms at Kaakaako. Rickard went ashore and sent word back by the same boat he went ashore in not to land them there, to land them some place else or throw them overboard. While he was ashore Wilcox came aboard in a canoe and consulted with Townsend. Wilcox said 'No you dont throw them overboard.' They gave no reason for the delay, I think they were not ready, that is all. I talked with Wilcox and he said they wanted to be too smart, he meant Rickard. After Wilcox and Townsend consulted the native boys took the arms ashore in the boats, the guns and ammunition. They were landed about one oclock. Then I came on to Honolulu at night. I came in about half past four in the morning. Rickard did not give me any promise in writing for the

*Wilcox Refuses
to Let Rifles
Be Jettisoned*



Mr. Rickard, former manager of Honokaa Plantation, was prominent in the insurrection of 1895 against the Republic

W. H. Rickard.

ten thousand dollars. He gave me this promise when we were alone. He paid me twenty dollars, that is all I received. That is the only conversation I had on the subject either with him or any other person. . . . The captain" [of the schooner Wahlberg] "was a German. His name was Martin, Captain Martin. He was a big tall man, stooped a little in the shoulders. Florid complexion. . . . I heard the signals were showing a blue light off the island and answering with a red light. Townsend said he was there when they saw the signal and answered with a red light. This was at Rabbit Island. Townsend said he had been on the lookout for her for ten days. . . ."—Documents re. Filibusters and Schooner Wahlberg, January-May, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

Mail accounts of the insurrection reached me in Washington on the morning of February 12, 1895. Immediately the Cleveland administration minimized the outbreak, calling it a tempest in a teapot. Charles L. Carter, who was killed, had been one of my closest friends; the outcome of the affair was still uncertain; and the circumstances were of the greatest interest in Washington. Newspaper correspondents beset me for news; to one of them, who bantered me about "the little fracas" in Honolulu, I replied, with some feeling, that the affair was far more serious than "a little fracas," and referred to some letters which I had received that day, showing the state of things. I did not intend that the newspaper man should publish these letters; in fact, he did not.

*Administration
Calls Outbreak
Teapot Tempest*

Afterward, however, when I called on Secretary Gresham, he virtually accused me of having given out information antagonistic to the United States government. At no time did he inform me that he

*Gresham Asks
That Thurston
Be Sent Home*

took issue with my statements concerning the insurrection, but several American newspapers, supporters of the administration, soon began to publish stories that the secretary had requested my recall, on the ground that I was *persona non grata*. Although I sought verification or denial at the State Department, I could get neither. Still the stories continued to be published, until it became manifest that they must have some foundation; and the situation grew so tense that my position as minister was no longer tenable. Accordingly I informed the State Department that Frank P. Hastings would serve as *charge d'affaires*; Mr. Gresham accepted my appointment of Mr. Hastings, and I returned to Honolulu.

There I received an official inquiry: "Why have you come home?" When I explained, both President Dole and Foreign Minister Hatch said that they had received no request for my recall; and we awaited developments. I detailed to Mr. Dole the situation in Washington: that Mr. Gresham's attitude toward me apparently was one of aggressive personal hostility, that on every possible occasion he attempted to pick a quarrel with me; I could not reply to charges when none were made. No developments having occurred, I tendered my resignation on April 15, 1895, as follows:

"Honolulu, April 15, 1895

"Sir:

"I have the honor to inform you that I have received no information from the United States State Department concerning the request by Secretary Gresham for my recall, which the papers state has been sent to this

government; although I have been at the State Department several times since the date on which the request is alleged to have been made.

"Mr. Gresham has, however, repeatedly gone out of his way in what has appeared to be an attempt to pick a quarrel with me, to such an extent that I cannot but think that the hostile spirit which he evinces is more or less personal to myself. I do not, therefore, deem it for the best interests of Hawaii that I should longer occupy a position, the incumbent of which should be on as cordial terms as possible with the Secretary of State.

"I therefore hereby tender my resignation to take effect upon the appointment of my successor, or at such other time as the President may think best to accept it.

"I desire to express to you my appreciation of the many evidences of confidence in me heretofore shown by the Government and to assure you of my continued and loyal support of the Government in all measures which may tend to the advancement of Hawaii.

"I have the honor
to remain
Your Obedient Servant

"L. A. THURSTON."

"To

"Hon. F. M. Hatch

"Minister Foreign Affairs"

—United States, Minister to Washington, March-April, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

On April 30, 1895, Minister Willis presented to the Hawaiian government a request from Secretary Gresham that I be recalled. Through some error, Mr. Willis explained, either of the State Department or of the postal service, the request had been missent to the Orient, and he had received it on that day, April 30, although it was dated February 21. Foreign Minister Hatch replied to Mr. Willis on May 3, and my resignation was accepted on May 31. The letters follow.

*Secretary Goes
Out of His Way
to Pick Quarrel*

*Belated Letter
Comes at Last;
Thurston "Pau"*

"Department of Foreign Affairs,
"Honolulu, H. I., May 3rd 1895

"Sir

"Referring to our interview on the 30th ultimo in which you intimated that the President of the United States would be pleased if the Hawaiian Minister at Washington should be recalled, for personal reasons, and upon which occasion you read to me a dispatch from the Secretary of State to yourself on this subject dated February 21st but which had been sent to Japan by mistake, I have the honor to inform you:

"That Mr. Thurston is now in Hawaii and will not return to the post of Hawaiian Minister at Washington.

"I regret extremely that the presence in Washington of the late Minister is no longer agreeable and that the matters referred to by the Secretary of State should have been considered of sufficient gravity to call for the action taken.

"I have the honor to be,
"with the highest consideration

"Sir,

"Your obedient servant

"FRANCIS M. HATCH.

"Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"Mr. Albert S. Willis

"U. S. Envoy Extraordinary

"and Minister Plenipotentiary."

—United States, Minister to Washington, May-June, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

"Honolulu, May 31st. 1895.

"Sir:—

"I have the honor to inform you that your resignation as Hawaiian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington has been accepted.

"The President in expressing his regret at the loss of your services at that post, desires to place on record his high appreciation of the ability, fearlessness and patriotism with which you have filled a most difficult position

*Hatch Regrets
That Incident
Is So Serious*

*Thurston Able,
Patriotic, and
Fearless: Dole*

under extraordinary circumstances, and of the ready and cheerful sacrifice of personal interests which has ever marked your career in the service of this Government.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your Obedient Servant,

"FRANCIS M. HATCH.

"Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"Mr. Lorrin A. Thurston,

"Honolulu, H. I."

—United States, Minister to Washington, May-June, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

[Unqualified approval of Mr. Thurston's course was voiced by Mr. Hatch at an executive session of the executive and advisory councils on May 1, 1895. A quotation from the minutes follows.—*Editor.*]

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs" [Francis M. Hatch] "stated that the United States Minister" [Albert S. Willis] "had called at the Foreign Office and read a long communication from Secretary Gresham, which proved to be the long missing dispatch requesting the recall of Minister Thurston, . . . The Minister" [Mr. Hatch] "gave the substance of the reasons assigned by Mr. Gresham for making this request, and stated that it was not deemed best that any reply or defense on the part of Mr. Thurston should be made at the present time, but rather to wait and see if Mr. Gresham would make public the ground of his complaint, in which case a reply and defense would be proper. It was not a question of being able to meet Mr. Gresham's charges, but simply a matter of expediency at the present time. The Minister stated also that Mr. Thurston's course had the full approval of the Executive: that owing to the very peculiar position in which he had been placed throughout by the unprecedented course of Mess. Gresham and Cleveland he had only two lines of action open to him: either to sit down and make himself personally agreeable to the U. S. Secretary of State and do nothing for the country

*Minister Gets
Full Approval
of Government*

he represented, or to do substantially as he had done, even though he thereby went outside of the line of activity usual in gentlemen in similar official positions. In the opinion of the Executive Mr. Thurston had pursued the proper course, and in so doing had rendered this country incalculable service."—Minutes, Executive and Advisory Councils, Republic of Hawaii, July, 1894, to May, 1895, page 162, Archives of Hawaii.

The following appeared in American newspapers about that time:

The Evening Post, New York, May 16, 1895: "San Francisco, Cal., May 16—Capt. Julius A. Palmer, jr., who went to the Hawaiian Islands to investigate the state of affairs there as special correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* three months ago, arrived here on the *Australia*. He believes that there will be soon a crisis there and that the end can only be the restoration of the monarchical form of government. He says there never will be harmony until the monarchy is restored and Princess Kaiulani placed upon the throne.

"Col. Ashford, ex-Attorney-General of Hawaii, who arrived on the same steamer, expresses similar views. He said: 'There is a perfect reign of terror in the islands; informers are everywhere. People do not dare to speak in their own houses. There is everywhere a feeling of uncertainty, doubt, and impending danger and ruin. Those who favored annexation have made up their minds that it is very impossible. The missionaries, as we call most of the political party in power, have claimed to be in favor of annexation, but have never been really. The annexationists mistrust them now.

"'As to the future. Well, annexation is an impossibility, and all are about agreed on that. Thurston has gone back, and it is publicly said that he is going to propose the restoration of a monarchy with Kaiulani on the throne. A republic seems an impossibility, such a large part of the population are incapable of governing themselves. As long as this so-called republic can pay armed men to keep down rebellion it will last, and no longer. What they are talking of now and want first is some sort of protectorate of the United States. They are

*Ashford Says
Kaiulani May
Be Enthroned*

afraid of Japan and they want some protection against other foreign interference. Then, of course, what is next wanted is a monarchy.

“The natives are not at all discouraged by the failure of the last movement. They would gladly make another attempt. I am not a royalist in principle, but under all the considerations existing down there I think it is the only thing. A monarchy would unite all the natives and be respected by all foreign powers.” [V. V. Ashford sailed for San Francisco on the *Australia* on May 8, 1895; C. W. Ashford did not sail.—*Editor.*]

*Japan Feared;
Natives Ready
to Rise Again*

The Sun, New York, June 10, 1895: “The dignity and brevity of Minister HATCH’s reply to the request of Mr. CLEVELAND for the recall of Mr. L. A. THURSTON, as Hawaii’s representative at Washington, certainly provoke admiration. There is no attempt to discuss the incidents which Mr. GRESHAM had set forth at length as a justification of that request. There is no intimation that the Hawaiian Government in the minutest particular disapproves of Minister THURSTON’s conduct. The only point which seems to that Government worthy of comment, is that so much should have been made of the affair as the CLEVELAND Administration’s own statement of it; and even that comment is limited to a single sentence:

“I regret extremely that the presence in Washington of the late Minister is no longer agreeable, and that the matters referred to by the Secretary of State should be considered of sufficient gravity to call for the action taken.”

“In other words, Hawaii accepts, as a matter of course the universal rule requiring that a diplomatic representative, who is *persona non grata* to the Government to which he is sent, shall be recalled; but does she not also intimate, as pointedly as politeness and diplomatic decorum will admit, her belief that the whole business was a very petty one on the part of the CLEVELAND Administration?”—United States, Minister to Washington, May-June, 1895, Archives of Hawaii.

*“Sun” Suggests:
Whole Business
Very Petty One*

When Mr. Gresham’s charge against me and his request for my recall were received, President Dole

*Gresham Dead;
Thurston Reply
to the Message*

asked me for a reply, which would be published. Before that could be done, however, news came of the secretary's death on May 28, 1895. Thus I was compelled to keep still or attack a dead man; and President Dole and I agreed that I should make no answer to the Gresham charges. Yet President Cleveland, in his third annual message to Congress, December 2, 1895, said that my recall had been requested for "abundant reason," referring to my alleged interference with affairs of state at Washington; and I was given an opportunity to reply, not to Secretary Gresham, but to the President's message. Miss Kate Field, representing *The Chicago Times-Herald*, was in Honolulu then; at her request, I gave her my version of the incident in an interview, which *The Times-Herald* published late in 1895 or early in 1896. It was published in Honolulu also, as a pamphlet entitled *Reply of Lorrin A. Thurston to Charges of Undiplomatic Conduct Made by President Cleveland and Mr. Gresham*. I quote it here, since it reviews, in some detail, the remarkable procedure of Secretary Gresham and President Cleveland.

"Why an Answer Was Not Published Before.

"Early in March, 1895, I then being Hawaiian Minister at Washington, the newspapers published the statement that Secretary Gresham had requested my recall, on the ground that official dispatches had first been communicated to the press. I received no information from the State Department that any charges had been made against me, or that my recall had been, or was to be, requested, although the newspapers were continually supplied from that source with a variety of information upon the subject. It was manifestly impossible for me then to reply to charges without knowing what they were. Upon

returning to Honolulu in April, 1895, I ascertained that no charges or request for my recall had been received. Mr. Gresham's letter, having miscarried to Japan, did not reach Honolulu until April 30th.

"I immediately made full reply to my own Government; but at their request, withheld publication until my successor was appointed. Before that occurred Mr. Gresham died, and it seemed importune to publish a controversial statement in which he was involved. After that the matter soon became ancient history, and, although it left me in the unfortunate position of tacitly admitting the truth of the charges, I should have continued to keep silence had not President Cleveland gone out of his way to resurrect the matter and drag it into his message to Congress by stating therein that 'Mr. Thurston having given abundant reason for asking for his recall, that course was pursued.'

*Cleveland Says
Thurston Gave
Abundant Cause*

"Whether there was 'abundant reason' for such course involves the story of the relations of Hawaii and myself with Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Gresham for two years. Many details bearing directly upon the issue I cannot give without making the statement too long. I will, therefore, only refer to a few incidents that indicate what Mr. Cleveland's and Mr. Gresham's ideal of diplomatic usage and courtesy was—an ideal which they consistently lived up to.

"The Charge.

"The gist of the only charge made against me in the letter requesting my recall is, in substance, that I furnished to the American press for publication matter which contained comments and criticism upon the policy pursued by Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Gresham toward Hawaii.

"Incidents Illustrating Cleveland's Hawaiian Diplomacy.

"Before stating exactly what I did in this respect, and why I did it, it is necessary to an understanding of the situation to state the facts leading up thereto, which began with the first week of Mr. Cleveland's inauguration.

"Withdrawal of the Annexation Treaty.

"At that time Hawaii was represented at Washington by a minister and five commissioners, all duly accredited and accepted, who had formally negotiated and signed an annexation treaty, action on which was pending before the Senate, while the relations between the two Governments were, as they always had been, most friendly and cordial.

"Immediately after the President's inauguration information reached the Hawaiian representatives that he intended to withdraw the treaty. Inquiry at the State Department was met with a curt refusal to confirm or deny the report, and the first and only news of the withdrawal by Mr. Cleveland of the treaty reached the Hawaiians through the newspapers.

"Initiation of Policy of Diplomatic Communication Through the Press.

*Unique Policy
of Informing
Through Press*

"Thus was initiated the unique and extraordinary policy of secreting from the accredited and recognized diplomatic representatives of a friendly government matters vitally affecting them and their country, and of allowing them to learn of the intentions of the government to which they were accredited solely through the press.

"Secrecy Toward the Republic.

"The immediate and continued endeavors by the Hawaiian representatives to ascertain the intentions of the President were met by a frigid silence at the State Department, and the positive refusal either to state what course the President would pursue or to allow the Hawaiian commissioners to make any statements or explanations. Mr. Gresham's repeated reply was: 'When I desire any information from you I will let you know.' Meanwhile the queen's agents were accorded full and confidential audiences, and received assurances that the President would do nothing until he had made an investigation.

"Full Information to Royalists.

"From this time on the royalists were kept fully informed of every intended move contemplated by the

President, Mr. Blount or Mr. Willis concerning Hawaii, while the Hawaiian Government and its representatives were kept in ignorance thereof.

"Blount's Appointment Concealed.

"The intention to make an investigation was soon announced in the press, but Mr. Gresham refused to affirm or deny it to the Hawaiian commissioners. Then the papers announced that Mr. Blount had been appointed and had started for San Francisco, whence he was to go to Hawaii on a special steamer. Still Mr. Gresham refused to admit or deny anything, or to grant our request to be allowed to send a telegram by the special steamer to the Government in Hawaii. It was not until months after that he would even admit to us that Mr. Blount had gone to Hawaii, although Mr. Cleveland finally claimed that the investigation was a basis for arbitration between Liliuokalani and the Dole Government and that his decision to restore the queen was that of an arbitrator we were bound to accept.

*Blount Mission
Is Kept Secret
by Mr. Gresham*

"Blount Follows the Policy of Newspaper Diplomacy.

"Arrived at Honolulu, Mr. Blount rigidly adhered to the policy of his superiors. The first and only information which the Hawaiian Government received concerning Mr. Blount's instructions was gleaned from the columns of a royalist paper in which they were published in full over Mr. Blount's signature, under the heading of 'An Address to the Hawaiian People.'

*Royalist Paper
Source of News
to Government*

"How Blount's Report Was Constructed.

"The manner in which Mr. Blount constructed the report is familiar history. The secret and ex parte examination of witnesses; the compilation of affidavits hostile to the Republic, without cross-examination or verification of the reliability of the affiants; the ignoring of nearly all of the leading participators in the overthrow of the monarchy, and of the causes leading up thereto; all these characteristics of the report have been made familiar to the public, but some of the incidents leading up to its final publication have not.

"Gresham Ignores Request for Action and Information.

"I was appointed Minister in June, 1893. On June 17, 1893, I addressed the following letter to Mr. Gresham:

"In confirmation of my verbal statement to you upon the 14th inst. 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 toward 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 which 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.

"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

*What Is Intent
of the States?
Thurston Asks*

that a decision may be arrived at and communicated as speedily as is consistent with the interests of the United States.'

"Mr. Gresham did not reply to this nor even acknowledge its receipt.

"Secrecy as to Blount's Report.

"After Mr. Blount's return, some months later, I vainly inquired of Mr. Gresham what the result was. He would not even admit that any report had been made, stating that such report, if made, was a confidential one, and that it was 'unfair' for me to ask any questions concerning it. I verbally reiterated to him that, owing to the long delay and uncertainty, affairs were unsettled and in a critical condition at the islands, and it would be in the interests of order and peace to first communicate his intentions when decided upon to the Hawaiian Government before making them public. This he said would be done.

*"Confidential,"
Says Gresham
of the Report*

"Mr. Gresham Denies That He Recommends Restoration of the Queen.

"On the evening of November 7th, 1893, being temporarily in Chicago, I saw in an evening paper a statement that Mr. Gresham had recommended to the President to restore the queen and overthrow the Dole Government.

"I immediately telegraphed to Mr. Hastings, Hawaiian Charge d' Affairs, to see Mr. Gresham and ask if it was true. Mr. Hastings did so and Mr. Gresham said to him: 'I assure you there is no foundation for the statement. Do you think I would take so important a step without informing you?' Mr. Hastings telegraphed me the substance of the reply. That same night at about midnight he was informed by a newspaper man that Mr. Gresham's letter to the President, recommending restoration, had been given out to the press associations and was then going over the wires. The letter was dated October 18, 1893, nearly a month prior to Mr. Gresham's assurance that there was no such letter.

*In Plain Talk:
the Secretary
Lies Outright*

"As will be remembered, this letter adopted Mr. Blount's conclusions throughout, and in substance denounced the participators in the overthrow of the mon-

archy as cowards, falsifiers and robbers, who should be ejected in favor of the wronged queen.

"More Newspaper Diplomacy.

"Shortly after the publication of the letter a compilation of extracts from Mr. Blount's report, most injurious to the Dole Government, was given to press from the state department. Later printed copies of the full report were given out to the press. No copy was sent to the Hawaiian legation, although I finally succeeded in getting a mutilated copy, from which clippings had been made, from a representative of the Associated Press.

"Meanwhile I had returned from Chicago. No notice of the letter had been received at the legation. I immediately called on Mr. Gresham and stated that I had seen in the papers a letter concerning Hawaii purporting to emanate from him, but that as I had received no official notice thereof I had called to ask if it was authentic. He replied: 'Of course—you know it is authentic.' I reminded him of his agreement to let me know the substance of the Blount report before it was published. He replied: 'I do not think it necessary. I knew you would see it in the papers.'

*"Of Course, It
Is Authentic:"
Gresham Reply*

*"Gresham Declines to Say If Queen Will Be Restored
by Force.*

"I then asked if it was the intention of the United States government to restore the queen by force. He replied: 'I decline to answer that question.' I asked what if any instruction had been given to Mr. Willis.

"He replied: 'I cannot answer you.'

"I then asked for a copy of the Blount report. After some hesitation he said he had no more copies, but that more would be printed and he would send me one. He did not do so, and I had to send twice to the state department before a copy was secured.

*"Thurston Subject to Obligations Without Privileges of
Diplomatic Position.*

"The publication of the Blount report and Secretary Gresham's letter placed me in an embarrassing position. On the one hand I was the diplomatic representative of

Hawaii and by conventional rules was not authorized to discuss questions affecting the two countries, except with Mr. Gresham. On the other hand, Mr. Gresham was publishing broadcast false and defamatory matter concerning myself and those whom I represented; administration papers and members of congress were taking the charges up and reiterating them and public opinion was forming. I could not hear from home, nor obtain denials nor explanations from there for weeks. Most of the matters treated of by Mr. Blount and Mr. Gresham were peculiarly within my personal knowledge. This they knew, but had persistently refused to give me a hearing.

"I was being held subject to all of the obligations, while accorded none of the rights or privileges of a diplomatic position.

"Why Thurston Published a Reply to Blount.

"With regret, I was forced by the necessities of the situation and the tactics of the administration to meet them on the field of their own choosing, and published a reply over my signature to the charges contained in the Blount report and the Gresham letter. No notice was then taken of the matter by Mr. Cleveland, but, to use an American expression, the administration 'had no use' for me from that time on. At the same time I addressed an official protest to Mr. Gresham against the suggested restoration of the queen. No acknowledgment of or answer thereto was ever made.

*Cleveland Has
Small "Aloha"
For Thurston*

"Intrigues of Minister Willis.

"Meanwhile, Mr. Willis, in Honolulu, was persistently pursuing the policy of the administration, making public speeches foreshadowing action on his part, while repeatedly refusing to inform the Government of his instructions or intentions; secretly intriguing with the queen for her restoration; menacing the Government by a display of force on the American war vessels, and by demands upon President Dole, in the name of President Cleveland, to deliver up the Government to Liliuokalani.

"Abuse of the Republic the Key Note of Cleveland's Hawaiian Policy.

"Mr. Cleveland's message to Congress upon the restoration proposition reiterated and intensified the abuse of all connected with the overthrow of the monarchy, and from that time on this has been the keynote of the Hawaiian policy of the Administration and its supporters, both in press and in Congress; while, with occasional lapses, the attitude of Mr. Gresham was one of studied insolence and insult toward myself and the Government which I represented, although at all times, even during the dark days of the attempted restoration, the Dole Government was the only one officially recognized at Washington, and I was its representative with full official recognition.

"A few incidents will suffice to illustrate the courteous methods of those who have since developed into sticklers for diplomatic etiquette.

"Hastings Slighted.

"Having temporarily returned to Hawaii during December, 1893, Mr. Hastings represented the legation as Charge d' Affairs, and was officially recognized as such. Upon the occasion of the dinner to the diplomatic corps, the list of those to be invited was, as usual, forwarded from the State Department to the White House, with Mr. Hastings' name included. It came back with a mark drawn through it, placed there, we are reliably informed, by Mr. Cleveland himself. Mr. Hastings was not invited to the dinner, although the Charges d' Affairs of other countries were.

"Gresham's Indifference Concerning Japan In Hawaii.

"On January 25, 1894, I made a statement to Mr. Gresham concerning the friction that existed in Hawaii by reason of the continued demand by Japan that the franchise be granted to Japanese.

"He said: 'What do you mean by coming to me with complaints about Japan? Do you expect us to protect you from Japan? I should think that the last country in the world you would appeal to for assistance would be the United States. It is most extraordinary that you

*Studied Insult
Seems Attitude
of Washington*

*Do the Islands
Expect America
to Fend Japan?*

should make this statement to me. What do you want me to do?' etc.

"I replied that I had not applied for assistance, nor did I want him to do anything; that the United States had for years followed a certain line of policy concerning Hawaii's relations with other foreign powers; that I was simply stating a fact, and that it was entirely for him to say whether or not it was of interest to or concerned American policy or interests.

"Gresham Said Dole Insulted Willis.

"He reiterated his former statements in different forms several times, and wound up by branching off from the subject entirely, and demanded what President Dole meant by sending an insulting reply to Mr. Willis (referring to Mr. Dole's reply to Mr. Willis' demand that the queen be restored). I denied that the answer was, or was intended to be, insulting. Mr. Gresham said: 'I say it was insulting, and Mr. Dole's sole object was to say something sharp to the American Minister when he had the opportunity.'

"He continued to talk in this strain until it became manifest that he was simply trying to provoke a quarrel, and I left the room.

"Gresham Tries to Pick a Quarrel With Thurston.

"During the summer and fall of 1894 I was absent in Hawaii and Europe. On January 7, 1895, I returned to Washington, and called the next day on Mr. Gresham to see about presenting my credentials from the Republic of Hawaii, which had taken the place of the Provisional Government. After stating that they would be received, he said, in a gruff way: 'What did your Government mean by complaining to us that arms were being shipped from California to Hawaii?' I replied that I knew of no such complaint; that I had arrived only the day before and knew nothing of it. He said: 'Yes, they complained to us, and I have investigated the matter, and there isn't a particle of foundation for it. They have put us to all this trouble without any reason.' (By a remarkable coincidence, the insurrection made possible by the use of these very arms had broken out the day before, and at

*No Arms Sent
to Hawaii; He
Has Made Sure*

that very hour Charles Carter lay dead in Honolulu, shot to death with one of the guns which Mr. Gresham had investigated and found did not exist.)

"Gresham Speaks Insultingly of Hatch.

"Continuing, Mr. Gresham said: 'I guess your minister of foreign affairs (Mr. Hatch) is a scarey kind of fellow, isn't he?' I replied: 'No. On the contrary, he is usually cool and clear-headed.' He said: 'Well, he acts like it, anyhow. I can see no reason for the complaint he made. He even put Mr. Willis to the expense of telegraphing it over here.'

"He continued to talk in this strain, with an exceeding harsh manner, until I became convinced that he was seeking to pick a quarrel with me, as there was no occasion for his bringing up the subject, of which he knew that I was ignorant.

"Necker Island Cable Incident.

*Neckar Island
Cable Station
Now Broached*

"About this time President Cleveland sent a message to Congress recommending that England be allowed the exclusive use of Necker Island as a cable station.

"After it became manifest that both houses were hostile to the proposition, acting under instructions from my government I called on Mr. Gresham and stated that our legislature was about to meet; that we were extremely anxious to do everything possible to facilitate construction of a cable; that we would prefer one to San Francisco rather than to Canada, although the latter was better than no cable; that as it did not seem probable that Congress would consent to the British proposition, we were desirous of ascertaining whether the United States would favor joining with Hawaii in laying a cable to San Francisco. He said: 'How can you with any propriety make me such a proposition when you have already agreed with England to lay a cable via Necker Island and have asked our consent thereto?'

"I replied in substance: 'We have not agreed with England nor requested your consent. England has made a request of us which we have not granted, but have referred to you for consideration. It is for the United States to say whether the request of England shall be

granted. If the United States is not going to assist a cable, then we want the British cable, although we prefer an American one. If, however, Congress refuses the request of England, then we want to know whether you would favor assisting a San Francisco cable.'

"He said, with an air of severity: 'I consider your inquiry in the highest degree improper, and as evidencing bad faith on the part of your government toward England, and I will not consider it.' This ended the interview.

"Ignores the Wahlberg Outrage.

"On February 15, 1895, the *Wahlberg*, the schooner which took the arms to Honolulu which were used in the insurrection, arrived in San Diego and was seized by the collector for violation of the neutrality laws.

"Acting under instructions, I first informally and then by letter drew Secretary Gresham's attention to the infraction by the *Wahlberg* of the neutrality laws, and requested that proceedings be taken against the ship and the captain, offering to furnish the required evidence. He said he would look into the matter and let me know what would be done.

"Having heard nothing from him, and being informed that no proceedings had been instituted, I again called on him on or about February 26th and inquired about the matter.

"In an impatient manner he said: 'What do you expect me to do? This is like the complaint which Mr. Hatch made—charges with no evidence.'

"I replied that all the evidence was at his disposal; that I had simply been waiting to hear from him, and immediately sent him a full copy of it, also setting forth the section of the statute alleged to have been violated, and a decision of the United States Circuit Court construing it.

"Although the necessary witnesses were sent to San Francisco from Honolulu and Secretary Gresham informed thereof, no action was taken, and neither letter was answered or acknowledged. I saw by the newspapers that the *Wahlberg* was released, but no explanation was given, and no disavowal made or regret offered

*Would America
Help Cable to
San Francisco?*

*Witnesses Sent
From Honolulu
to California*

that American arms had been transported in an American vessel from an American port, contrary to treaty obligations and neutrality laws, and used to assault a friendly government.

"Maintains an Insulting Silence.

"As it was of the utmost importance to Hawaii to know what the future course of the United States would be in cases of a like nature, on or about March 15th I called at the State Department to get the information if possible, I was informed by Mr. Uhl that Mr. Gresham was ill; that as the Secretary had personally had charge of the subject he desired me to place in writing what I wanted to know for submission to the Secretary.

"I accordingly addressed a formal letter, which contained the following:

" 'For the purpose of informing my Government as to the status of the matter, I respectfully request to be informed what, if any, action has been taken by the United States authorities concerning the alleged violation of the neutrality laws, and also what, if any, action is proposed to be taken by the United States Government concerning the same.'

"Mr. Uhl acknowledged the receipt of this and my two previous letters concerning the same matters, but to this day the Hawaiian Government has received no answer to any of the questions asked.

"Thurston Not Informed of Recall.

"Although Mr. Gresham's letter requesting my recall was dated February 21, no suggestion thereof was made to me, and I remained in ignorance thereof until informed on March 19th by a newspaper representative that he had received the information from an official of the State Department.

"With this brief outline of some of the conditions existing, and accurately illustrating the spirit in which the Hawaiian Government and its representatives were continuously treated, and bearing in mind that during all of this time the 'Hawaiian question' was almost constantly before Congress, and that the Administration supporters in and out of Congress were continuously

keeping up a systematic abuse and detraction of all connected with the Dole Government, it is easier to understand what I did, and why I did the act now stated by Mr. Cleveland to constitute 'abundant reason' for my recall.

"Why Thurston Gave Information to Press.

"Immediately after news of the insurrection reached the States the cue of the administration was to minimize its importance. It was characterized as 'a little riot' and ridiculed as 'a tempest in a teapot.' So sedulously was this view presented that it appeared as though it might become generally adopted.

"Knowing as I did the real seriousness of the situation, and fearing that my Government might feel it necessary to impose extreme penalties upon some of the leaders, as a deterrent example for the future, I saw that if the American public became impressed that the insurrection was an insignificant affair any severity of punishment would cause a reaction of feeling against us. I accordingly took pains to give to the press the fullest information concerning the facts. This I had a perfect right to do as the matter was purely domestic. The statement made in the press that the ground of the request for my recall was because of my giving to the press information contained in official dispatches was without foundation.

"All material in the legation and information possessed by myself concerning Hawaii which could be properly furnished was at all times free to all who chose to ask for it, and was as available to those opposed to us as to our friends, but no dispatches sent to me for communication to the State Department were ever given to the press. Knowing the supersensitiveness of the administration I at all times refrained from expressing any opinion concerning them, and even refused invitations to go to dinners or other assemblages of a political character.

*Thurston Gives
the Reporters
Full Accounts*

"How the Matter Complained of Got Out.

"On February 12, 1895, a representative of the press associations, who had frequently called, came in as I was reading the mail received that morning from Hawaii, and made a remark to the effect that the trouble in Ha-

waii was 'only a little fracas' and did not amount to much. I replied that he was mistaken; that it was through no lack of intent on the part of the royalists that the results were not worse, and that there was still most intense feeling over the matter in Honolulu, as he could see by the letters I had just received. I thereupon read to him from several private letters, not with intent that he should publish what was read to him, but to disabuse his mind of a false impression. There was nothing said about publication. There was no intention on my part that the references in the letters to the American Administration should be published, and they were not published; but the gentlemanly press representative treasured up such references and communicated them, either directly or indirectly, to Mr. Gresham. I understand that it has been denied that this was the avenue of his information. I know that it was, for the letters to me were shown to no one else but the newspaper man in question. In speaking to me in relation to the matter later, Mr. Gresham said, in explanation of his possession of the reference: 'Some of our newspaper friends have abused your confidence.' When Mr. Gresham spoke to me concerning the subject I gave, in substance, the foregoing explanation, saying in connection therewith that I understood myself to be at liberty to give out for publication facts concerning Hawaii, but that there had been no intention to give out for publication any matter referring to the Administration.

*Newspaper Man
Tells Gresham
of the Letters*

"Gresham Garbled Thurston's Statement.

"In his letter requesting my recall Mr. Gresham garbled and suppressed my explanation, stating only that I claimed that the references in question were news which I had a right to give out.

"I had committed no intentional breach of diplomatic etiquette; but knowing the spirit which animated the administration toward everything Hawaiian, and desiring to prevent friction if possible, I tendered an apology that the matter had come through the legation, even inadvertently, and even though it had not been published. Mr. Gresham immediately requested an apology in writing, stating as a reason that this was a personal matter

between myself and the President, and that he ought to know exactly what I said. The matter had been presented to me informally, and I saw no reason for treating it otherwise on my part, especially as I did not know to what use it might be put in my absence and without explanation, and I accordingly declined to make the written apology requested.

"That is the whole story.

"I submit that if, in defending my country and my Government against the continuous attempts of Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Gresham to ruin and overthrow them, I unwittingly brushed the bloom from the cheek of the delicate creature known as 'diplomatic etiquette,' Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Gresham have clubbed her into insensibility and driven over her with a coach and four.

"LORRIN A. THURSTON."

Miss Kate Field, to whom I gave the foregoing quotation as an interview, was a keen observer and analyst of American politics, and published a weekly journal in the capital, entitled *Kate Field's Washington*; she explained to me the Cleveland-Gresham opposition to the annexation of Hawaii, and I am convinced that her diagnosis was correct. [Mary Katherine Keemle Field died in Honolulu on May 19, 1896.—*Editor.*]

"I have known Mr. Gresham a long time," said she. "He was, for years, one of the Republican leaders. Both he and Mr. Harrison were candidates for the Republican presidential nomination in 1888. Mr. Harrison was nominated, which so alienated Mr. Gresham that he seceded from the Republican Party and came out openly in support of the Democratic nominee, Mr. Cleveland. In response to this support, Mr. Cleveland appointed Mr. Gresham secretary of state in 1893. Consequently Mr. Gresham was the leading member of a

*Gresham Quits
His Old Party
For Democrats*

cabinet otherwise composed of Democrats. He was embittered and unhappy. All of his old friends repudiated him, and he was thrown into political and social contact with those who had been his lifelong political enemies.

*Mr. Cleveland
Never West of
Missouri River*

“Mr. Cleveland was a distinctly local man. He had never been west of the Missouri River, and knew nothing about the Pacific Coast or the Pacific interests of the United States. Mr. Gresham’s hostility to Mr. Harrison was so intense that any policy advocated by President Harrison was anathema to Gresham. Hawaiian annexation having been taken up actively by President Harrison, it followed that Mr. Gresham was opposed; and President Cleveland, with no special knowledge or interest, readily handed the whole Hawaiian subject over to Mr. Gresham. Hence the committal of the Cleveland administration against Hawaiian annexation, and the bending of all its activities in support of the royalist-Gresham theory.”

[In the first days of the Cleveland administration, Mr. Thurston thought that Secretary Gresham favored the annexation of Hawaii. On March 10, 1893, Mr. Thurston wrote two dispatches to the Provisional Government. He had a way of addressing a formal letter to President Dole, while supplementing it with a more personal and more confidential letter to “My dear Dole.” Excerpts from the letters of March 10 follow, that from the formal one preceding.—*Editor.*]

*Annexation of
Hawaii Favored
by Secretary?*

“I believe that Mr. Gresham is heartily in sympathy with the annexation proposition, and will do all he can

to forward it. All our information has also been that Mr. Cleveland is in favor of the general proposition, although he is so close-mouthed that it is impossible to say exactly what his intentions are. . . . ” “ . . . On Tuesday evening Admiral Brown had an interview of an hour and a half with Secretary Gresham. On Wednesday evening I had about an hour's interview with the Admiral. He is heart and soul in favor of annexation. He told me that Gresham was thoroughly convinced of the advisability of annexation and would do all he could in favor of it. He said that at the beginning of his interview Mr. Gresham seemed to have an idea that some kind of a job might be mixed up in the matter and after an interview with the Admiral he seemed to be convinced that this was not so. Mr. Gresham told the Admiral that the President was in favor of retaining the advantage gained by the United States at the Islands, but was not decided in his own mind as to whether annexation or a protectorate was the best thing; and that for the purpose of giving himself more time to look into the matter that he would probably withdraw the treaty. . . . ”
 —United States, Minister and Commissioners to Washington, March-April, 1893, Archives of Hawaii.

*America Should
 Keep Advantage
 in the Islands*

William R. Castle succeeded me temporarily at Washington. On November 6, 1895, Francis M. Hatch, minister of foreign affairs, was appointed minister to the United States; and President Dole tendered me an appointment as minister of foreign affairs. President Dole thus complied technically with the request of Mr. Gresham that I be recalled, but my acceptance would have been such a slap in the face of the Cleveland administration, under which we still had more than a year to live, that I felt it unwise to antagonize President Cleveland further. Consequently I declined the position, and returned to law practice in Honolulu. Uninterrupted peace prevailed in Hawaii after the insurrection and the trials of the conspirators.

CHAPTER XXIV

ANNEXATION TO THE UNITED STATES

William McKinley, the Republican candidate, was elected to the presidency of the United States on November 3, 1896. The Republicans, as a party, had so continuously approved annexation that the Republic of Hawaii decided to discuss the subject with the United States again. Francis M. Hatch, Hawaiian minister to Washington, received appropriate instructions; and William A. Kinney and I were appointed commissioners to assist him. We went to Washington before the inauguration of President McKinley in March, 1897. Intimations were made to us that the United States government was not unfavorable to annexation, but that, because of the disturbed relations of the United States and Spain, arising from the Cuban insurrection against Spanish rule, Hawaii was requested to allow annexation to remain in abeyance. We commissioners complied, withholding our credentials until negotiation of a treaty took place. On June 16, 1897, we negotiated a treaty with Secretary of State John Sherman. It follows.

*Second Treaty
of Annexation
Is Negotiated*

“The Republic of Hawaii and the United States of America, in view of the natural dependence of the Hawaiian Islands upon the United States, of their geographical proximity thereto, of the preponderant share acquired by the United States and its citizens in the industries and trade of said Islands, and of the expressed desire of the Government of the Republic of Hawaii that those Islands should be incorporated into the United

States as an integral part thereof and under its sovereignty, have determined to accomplish by treaty an object so important to their mutual and permanent welfare.

*Island Status:
Integral Part
of the Nation*

“To this end, the High Contracting Parties have conferred full powers and authority upon their respectively appointed Plenipotentiaries, to wit:

“The President of the Republic of Hawaii: Francis March Hatch, Lorrin A. Thurston and William A. Kinney.

“The President of the United States: John Sherman, Secretary of State of the United States.

“ARTICLE I.

“The Republic of Hawaii hereby cedes absolutely and without reserve to the United States of America all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and over the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies; and it is agreed that all the territory of and appertaining to the Republic of Hawaii is hereby annexed to the United States of America under the name of the Territory of Hawaii.

“ARTICLE II.

“The Republic of Hawaii also cedes and hereby transfers to the United States the absolute fee and ownership of all public, government or crown lands, public buildings or edifices, ports, harbors, military equipments and all other public property of every kind and description belonging to the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining.

“The existing laws of the United States relative to public lands shall not apply to such lands in the Hawaiian Islands; but the Congress of the United States shall enact special laws for their management and disposition, Provided: that all revenue from or proceeds of the same, except as regards such part thereof as may be used or occupied for the civil, military or naval purposes of the United States, or may be assigned for the use of the local government, shall be used solely for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands for educational and other public purposes.

*Public Lands
Will Be Used
for the Public*

“ARTICLE III.

“Until Congress shall provide for the government of such Islands all the civil, judicial and military powers exercised by the officers of the existing government in said Islands, shall be vested in such person or persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct; and the President shall have power to remove said officers and fill the vacancies so occasioned.

“The existing treaties of the Hawaiian Islands with foreign nations shall forthwith cease and determine, being replaced by such treaties as may exist, or as may be hereafter concluded between the United States and such foreign nations. The municipal legislation of the Hawaiian Islands, not enacted for the fulfilment of the treaties so extinguished, and not inconsistent with this treaty nor contrary to the Constitution of the United States, nor to any existing treaty of the United States, shall remain in force until the Congress of the United States shall otherwise determine.

“Until legislation shall be enacted extending the United States Customs laws and regulations to the Hawaiian Islands, the existing Customs relations of the Hawaiian Islands with the United States and other countries shall remain unchanged.

“ARTICLE IV.

“The public debt of the Republic of Hawaii, lawfully existing at the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, including the amounts due to depositors in the Hawaiian Postal Savings Bank, is hereby assumed by the Government of the United States; but the liability of the United States in this regard shall in no case exceed \$4,000,000. So long, however, as the existing Government and the present commercial relations of the Hawaiian Islands are continued, as hereinbefore provided, said Government shall continue to pay the interest on said debt.

“ARTICLE V.

“There shall be no further immigration of Chinese into the Hawaiian Islands, except upon such conditions

*United States
Assumes Debts
of the Islands*

MEMOIRS OF LORRIN A. THURSTON

as are now or may hereafter be allowed by the laws of the United States, and no Chinese by reason of anything herein contained shall be allowed to enter the United States from the Hawaiian Islands.

“ARTICLE VI.

“The President shall appoint five commissioners, at least two of whom shall be residents of the Hawaiian Islands, who shall as soon as reasonably practicable, recommend to Congress such legislation concerning the Territory of Hawaii as they shall deem necessary or proper.

*Commissioners
Will Be Named
to Draft Laws*

“ARTICLE VII.

“This treaty shall be ratified by the President of the Republic of Hawaii, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, in accordance with the Constitution of the said Republic, on the one part; and by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the other; and the ratifications hereof shall be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible.

“In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the above articles and hereunto affixed their seals.

“Done in duplicate at the City of Washington, this sixteenth day of June one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven.

“FRANCIS MARCH HATCH. [SEAL]

“LORRIN A. THURSTON [SEAL]

“WILLIAM A. KINNEY. [SEAL]

“JOHN SHERMAN.” [SEAL]

—Original treaty, Hawaiian copy, Archives of Hawaii.

The Hawaiian senate ratified the treaty on September 9, 1897, as follows:

“BE IT RESOLVED, by the Senate of the Republic of Hawaii:

“That the Senate hereby ratifies and advises and consents to the ratification by the President of the treaty be-

*Done in duplicate at the City of Wash-
ington, this sixteenth day of June in
one thousand eight hundred and ninety-
seven*

Francis Mark Hatch.
Lorrin A. Thurston
William A. King
Wm. S. Sherman

*Signatures to the annexation treaty of 1897, Hawaiian copy,
which is in the Archives of Hawaii*

tween the Republic of Hawaii and the United States of America on the subject of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States of America, concluded at Washington on the 16th day of June, A. D. 1897, which treaty is word for word as follows:

* * * *

"I hereby certify that the foregoing Resolution was unanimously adopted at the Special Session of the Senate of the Republic of Hawaii on the 9th day of September, A. D. 1897.

"Attest:
"J. F. CLAY
"Clerk of Senate.

"WILLIAM C. WILDER
"President."

—*Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1905, pp. 36-39.*

An interesting incident occurred at the signing of the treaty. The publisher of the official organ of the Grand Army of the Republic wished to have a

*Hawaii Senate
Is Unanimously
for Annexation*

photograph taken for his paper; Secretary Sherman and Minister Hatch consented, and arrangements were made by Alvey A. Adee, second assistant secretary of state. He called me to the State Department to approve his plans, which contemplated the use of the formal reception room, where the portraits of former secretaries hung. Mr. Adee proposed that the photographer place his camera to face Secretary Sherman, who would be seated at a table, with the Hawaiian representatives standing at his right. Happening to glance at the wall before which Secretary Sherman would sit, Mr. Adee exclaimed: "Ha! There is Secretary Gresham, looking down on the signing of the treaty. This will never do, for he opposed annexation, and we do not want any discordant element in this picture. I'll move his portrait to the other end of the room, and put someone here who favored annexation." James G. Blaine's portrait, as I recall, was substituted, and the photograph was taken as Secretary Sherman signed.

*Gresham Must
Not Witness,
Adee Exclaims*

Through some mishap, however, it was a failure; and the publisher of the Grand Army of the Republic paper asked the signers to meet again at the State Department. That was done; Secretary Sherman, again taking his pen in hand, appeared to be signing the treaty. Prints of the photograph were given to the State Department and to the Hawaiian commissioners. I brought my copy home to Honolulu, and intended to place it in the Archives of Hawaii eventually, but it was burned in a fire that razed my home in 1920. I have failed to find a trace of any other copy.

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

*Protest Made
by the Mikado
Against Treaty*

When the McKinley treaty was sent to the United States Senate for approval, the Japanese minister at Washington formally protested to the State

PRESIDENT DOLE OF HAWAII TO PRESIDENT MCKINLEY—“LET’S DRAW STRAWS TO SEE WHICH SHALL BE PRESIDENT.”

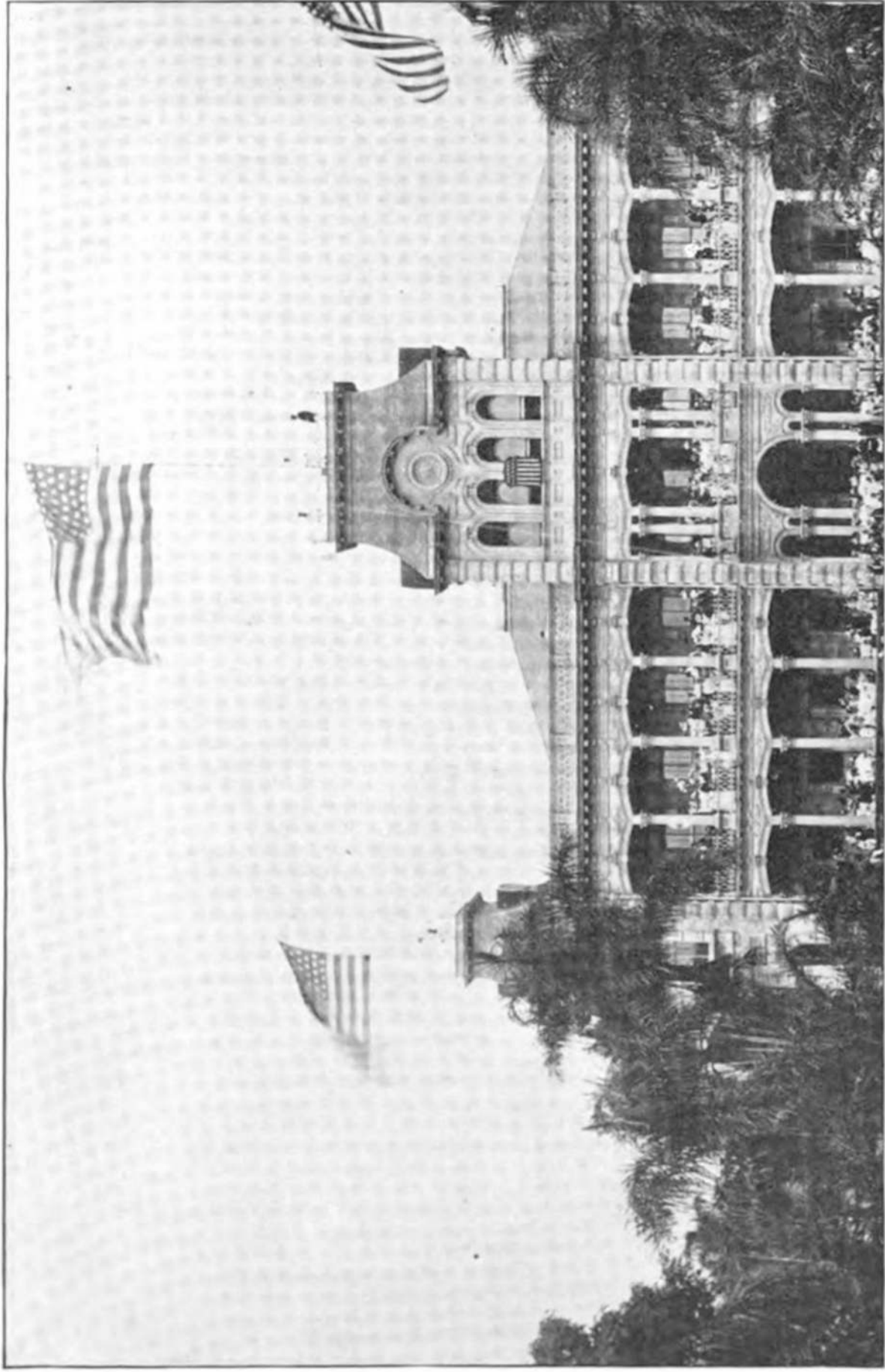


—*Record*, Chicago, June 19, 1897; used by permission of the cartoonist, John T. McCutcheon.

Department against the treaty. The incident is covered in *A History of Hawaii*,* by Ralph S. Kuykendall and Herbert E. Gregory, pages 286 and 287, as follows:

“The Japanese government presented to the United States government a strong protest against the annexation of Hawaii, on two grounds: (1) That the proposed annexation would change the existing condition of affairs in the Pacific Ocean and might thereby cause international difficulties; (2) that annexation might interfere with the rights of Japanese citizens in Hawaii. When annexation was under consideration in 1893, Japan made no protest, but since that time circumstances had changed. Japan had defeated China in war and had suddenly become a world power and the leading nation in Asia. The

* Copyright in 1926 by the Territory of Hawaii.



Stars and Stripes forever: the United States flag floats over Iolani Palace at the annexation formalities on August 12, 1898. It was lowered from Aliiolani Hale in 1893, after a brief quasi protectorate

number of Japanese in Hawaii had increased from 15,000 in 1893 to 25,000 in 1897.

"During this period (1893-1897) Japanese immigrants came to Hawaii so rapidly that the Hawaiian government thought it necessary to place some restrictions on immigration. The government finally became convinced that many Japanese were entering Hawaii in violation of the immigration laws, and in the early part of 1897 about a thousand immigrants were refused admission because they could not meet the requirements of the law. The Japanese government immediately protested against this action, declaring that it was in violation of treaty rights, and demanded indemnity from the Hawaiian government. This led to a long discussion, which was in progress at the very time Japan made her protest to the United States against annexation.

"The Japanese government finally withdrew its protest against annexation, and the Hawaiian government paid \$75,000 to Japan in order to settle the immigration controversy so that it would not be passed on to the United States as an unsettled question at the time of annexation. The question of Japanese immigration to Hawaii proved to be a very strong argument in favor of annexation. It was said that if Hawaii were not annexed to the United States it would be only a matter of time until the islands would become a Japanese colony."

Congress adopted a declaration of war against Spain in April, 1898. Commodore George Dewey, afterward admiral, who commanded the Pacific fleet of the United States, destroyed the Spanish fleet at Manila on May 1. He needed troops and supplies; the distance between San Francisco and Manila was so great that transports had to refuel on the way. Honolulu was the logical port. If Hawaii permitted refueling at Honolulu, the Republic would violate neutrality, subjecting itself to possible Spanish reprisal, but Hawaii unhesitatingly decided to grant the United States full rights to utilize Honolulu as might seem

*Japanese Break
Hawaiian Laws
on Immigration*

*Hawaii Would
Expose Itself
to a Reprisal*

*Islands Become
American Base
Against Spain*

best, and risk the consequences. If the United States used Honolulu, however, that country must annex Hawaii, or protect the islands, should Spain undertake to hold Hawaii responsible for a violation of neutrality. America accepted the Hawaiian offer, and made the fullest use of Honolulu to refuel vessels and refresh troops bound for the Philippines; thus Hawaii became virtually an American outpost.



THE CORNER IN FLAGS.

Wouldn't It Be Magnanimous
to Help Out One of the "Shorts?"

—*Inter Ocean*, Chicago, June 3, 1898.

Under the circumstances, annexation became imminent. Ratification of the treaty by a two-thirds vote of the United States Senate would have sufficed, but a canvass indicated that one or two votes would be lacking. Following the precedent set when Texas was annexed in 1845, a joint resolution of annexation, the Newlands resolution, was introduced in Congress; it was adopted by the House of Representatives on June 15, 1898, and by the Senate on July 6. Annexation was consummated at

*Texas Example
of Annexation
Followed Here*

*The Minister of Foreign Affairs
invites Mr. and Mrs. Thurston
to be present at the Ceremony
attending the Transfer of the
Sovereignty of the Republic of Hawaii,
to the
United States of America,
at the Executive Building
at half after eleven,
Friday morning, August 12th,
1898.*

P. S. M. '98

ceremonies in Honolulu on August 12, 1898. The text of the joint resolution follows.

"Whereas the Government of the Republic of Hawaii having, in due form, signified its consent, in the manner provided by its constitution, to cede absolutely and without reserve to the United States of America all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and over the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies, and also to cede and transfer to the United States the absolute fee and ownership of all public, Government, or Crown lands, public buildings or edifices, ports, harbors, military equipment, and all other public property of every kind and description belonging to the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining; Therefore

*Island Cession
Is Confirmed
by the States*

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That said cession is accepted, ratified, and confirmed, and that the said Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies be, and they are hereby, annexed as a part of the territory of the United States and are subject to the sovereign dominion thereof, and that all and singular the property and rights hereinbefore mentioned are vested in the United States of America."

* * * *

[See Articles II, III, IV, V, and VI of the treaty.]

"The President shall appoint five commissioners, at least two of whom shall be residents of the Hawaiian Islands, who shall, as soon as reasonably practicable, recommend to Congress such legislation concerning the Hawaiian Islands as they shall deem necessary or proper.

"Sec. 2. That the commissioners hereinbefore provided for shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

"Sec. 3. That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to be immediately available, to be expended at the discretion of the President of the

United States of America, for the purpose of carrying this joint resolution into effect."—*Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1905*, pp. 40-43.

Theodore Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the navy in those days, was an enthusiastic annexationist. Once a Japanese prisoner escaped from jail in Honolulu, and swam off to the Japanese cruiser *Naniwa* in the harbor; the commander of the cruiser, Captain Heihachiro Togo, who afterward became a celebrated admiral, manifested a somewhat belligerent spirit, refusing to surrender the man. Mr. Roosevelt said to me: "Do you think, Thurston, the Japanese really intend to fight in Honolulu? If they do, I hope they will do so now, and we certainly will give them a bellyful." And he smiled characteristically, with a show of all his teeth.

At another time, when I was preparing an argument for annexation, I evolved that the distance from Hongkong to Panama was approximately 9,500 miles, the same distance as that from San Francisco, across the United States to New York, across the Atlantic and Mediterranean to Constantinople, across Turkey, and to the eastern boundary of Persia, and that the distance from Unalaska, the nearest port to Honolulu on the north, to Papeete, Tahiti, the nearest port on the south, was 4,500 miles, represented on the Atlantic by the stretch between the south point of Greenland and Rio de Janeiro. In all that Pacific area of 9,500 miles by 4,500, Hawaii was the only spot where a ton of fuel or a loaf of bread could be had. A nation controlling Hawaii would virtually control naval

*This Concerns
Roosevelt and
a Captain Togo*

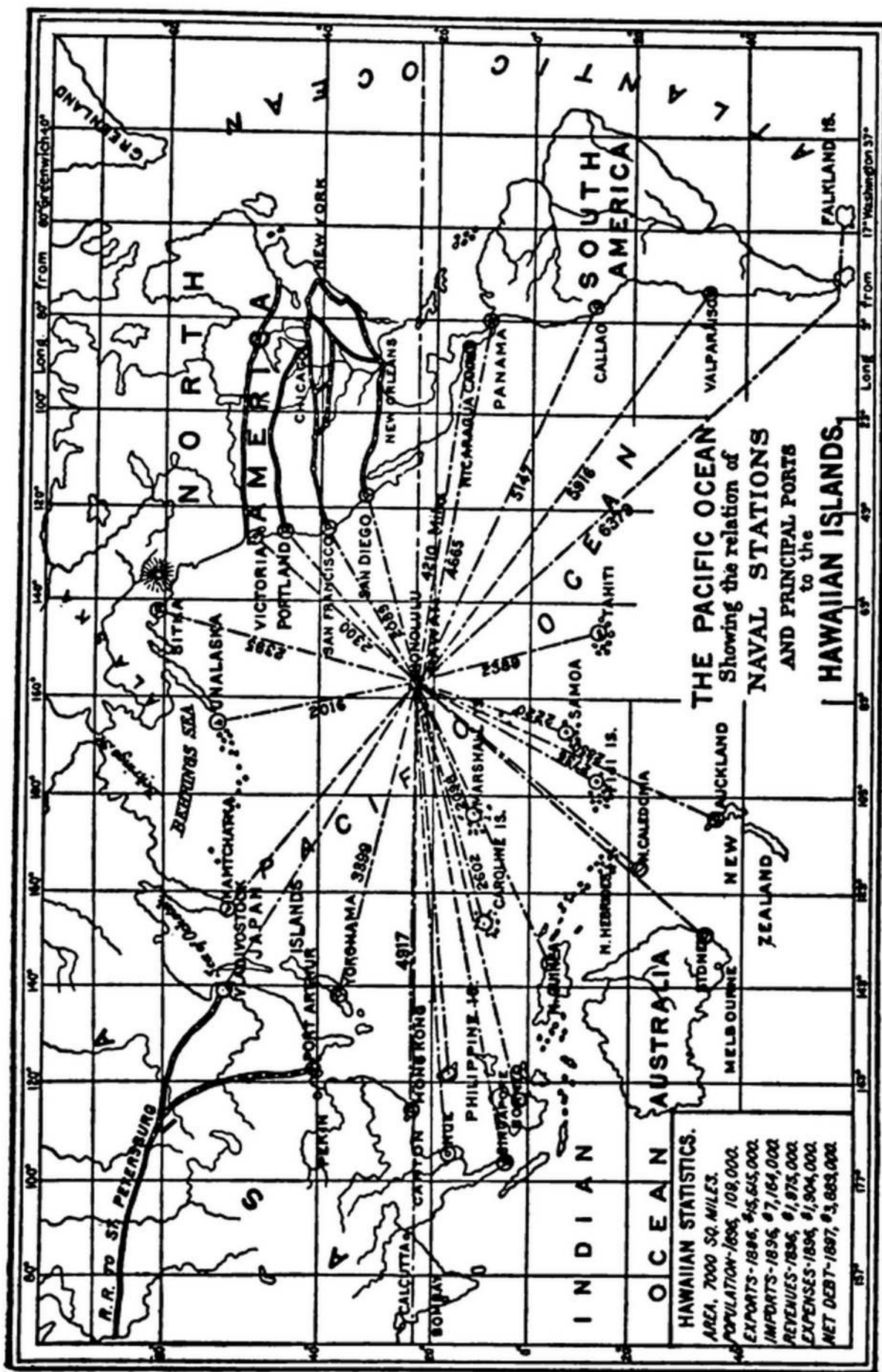
*Hawaii Controls
Enormous Area
of the Pacific*

operations in the Pacific, because there was no battleship, in existence or planned, that could cross the ocean without refueling and obtaining supplies, to say nothing of making repairs.

Since the great majority of Americans did not know what a Pacific area was dominated by Hawaii, I conceived an idea of indicating the area by a line on a map, and of indicating a similar area on a map of the Atlantic side, extending from San Francisco to Persia and from Greenland to Rio de Janeiro. If one point dominated such an area in the Atlantic, the advantage to the United States of securing control would be brought home. I broached the idea to the head of the map-making division of the Navy Department. He replied that such a map would not be absolutely accurate, as Hongkong and San Francisco were not in the same latitude, nor were Unalaska and Greenland, nor Tahiti and Rio De Janeiro. Although he was correct technically, I observed, the differences in latitude were so slight that the principle was not affected. When he remained obstinate, I talked

*Maker of Maps
Needs Latitude
in His Design*

The map on the facing page does not answer Mr. Thurston's description of the one prepared in the Navy Department at the direction of Theodore Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the navy in 1897. Apparently, however, the accompanying map was drawn in some department of the United States government. "The St. Louis Manufacturer," of October 25, 1897, published an engraving of it; an article was headed, in part: "A GOVERNMENT MAP. Showing the Relative Position of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States and Other Countries. An Ocean Cross-Roads Where the Steam Ships of All Nations Must Stop to Drink and Warm Up . . ." Mr. Thurston had just spent four days in St. Louis with Harry B. Hawes and others, advocating annexation



*Quick Decision
Characteristic
of the Colonel*

with Mr. Roosevelt, acting secretary in the absence of Secretary John D. Long, who was ill at the time. Mr. Roosevelt, with his usual quick decision, took about two minutes to consider; he asked: "Do you think the map would be helpful to annexation? Your illustrative map looks good to me." Thereupon he wrote an order on a piece of note paper, directing the map division immediately to prepare what I had asked; and I received a dozen or two maps, which I used in and about Congress.

As annexation commissioner to the McKinley administration, I met George P. Keeney, who had been president of the National Association of Silver Clubs, but the silver issue was defeated by McKinley's election, and Mr. Keeney found himself out of a position. Because of his interest in the annexation of Hawaii, he joined us in propaganda. As the Republicans were committed to annexation, our hunting ground was among the Democrats and Populists, who had considerable strength in Congress. Both Mr. Keeney and I had quarters in the Cochran Hotel. He would invite his silver and Populist friends to dinner; the party would spend the evening in my room, where we would introduce and expound the Hawaiian cause. Our visitors usually became converts.

*Populists and
Silver People
Are Converted*

A small newspaper, which had been devoted to the silver issue, came under our control. There was no reason to continue its advocacy of silver, after the elections of 1896, but it had a wide circulation among the very persons we wished to reach. Therefore we continued publication, under Mr. Keeney's direction, incidentally making annexation

one of its policies. Once Eugene V. Debs, a leading Socialist and a supporter of Populist doctrines, was Mr. Keeney's guest, on the eve of addressing a meeting in Washington. After Mr. Debs and I spent an evening together, he asked me to attend the meeting and to report his address in our paper, and I did so, using an apocryphal story of the Battle of Manila Bay. In the course of the battle, the tale ran, American ammunition was running low, and Commodore Dewey withdrew from action for a council of war, when he was approached by a quartermaster, who wished to know why the fleet had stopped fighting. Commodore Dewey was said to have replied: "Why, we had to stop for breakfast." Responded the quartermaster: "To hell with breakfast! Let's fight!"

*Eugene V. Debs
Asks Thurston
to Report Talk*

I headed my article with those words, and reviewed Mr. Debs' address vigorously, adapting my story to his viewpoint. On the day after publication, Mr. Debs called, and thanked me with the utmost enthusiasm. "It is evident," he said, "that you are one of us. Please call upon me for anything that I can do in support of your cause." Mr. Debs was imprisoned in the Wilson administration for expressions held to be antagonistic to the participation of the United States in the World War. I never shared his socialistic views, but I believed in his absolute sincerity; I had a sympathetic feeling for him, and was glad to hear of his release from prison.

Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, speaker of the House of Representatives, was violently opposed to annexation, and used his every influence to pre-

*Hold Country
Should Keep to
North America*

vent passage of the joint resolution. His attitude was somewhat remarkable, in view of the fact that such Maine men as James G. Blaine, former secretary of state, and Senator William P. Frye and John L. Stevens, American minister to Hawaii during the overthrow, all had been enthusiastic annexationists. Mr. Reed maintained that the United States should keep to the continent, that expansion elsewhere, especially to islands, would scatter American strength. A similar objection to expansion, even on the mainland, had been made early in the history of the United States. With the advance of the years, and the extension of American jurisdiction to noncontiguous Alaska, the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, Samoa, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, the objection had faded more and more; and the question, as to the areas over which the United States should acquire jurisdiction, has resolved itself into one of military control or commercial advantage, rather than of contiguity to the continental nucleus.

Mr. Reed was so determined in his opposition that he refused to give the joint resolution right of way in the House—the right of way was under the control of the rules committee, composed of two Republicans and one Democrat, with Speaker Reed as chairman. Thus a vote on the resolution was blocked, until the McKinley administration decided to get a vote, even at the cost of overriding the speaker. Accordingly, the Republican leaders of the House agreed to address a petition to the rules committee, requesting that a day be set for a vote. A petition was prepared and circulated for

signatures of representatives by Representative James A. Tawney, of Minnesota. Noticing Mr. Tawney circulating the petition, Mr. Reed sent to inquire what was afoot. Mr. Tawney explained; the speaker asked what success he was having, and Mr. Tawney replied that virtually all the Republican members were signing. Said Mr. Reed: "You need not carry that petition any further. I will grant the resolution a hearing." Circulation of the petition was suspended; and the committee on rules set a day for the vote. Being still of the same mind, however, Mr. Reed absented himself from the House when the vote was taken; and Representative Sereno E. Payne, speaker *pro tempore*, certified to the passage of the resolution.

*Czar Gives Up:
Now Resolution
Will Be Heard*

An organization entitled the Trans-Mississippi Congress met annually to discuss the interests of the states west of the river. In June, 1897, the congress would meet in Salt Lake City. Its secretary was Henry C. Whitmore, of St. Louis, who had been a student at Washington University at the beginning of the Civil War, when Alfred S. Hartwell, of Massachusetts, was a professor of law there. Mr. Hartwell immediately resigned, entered the Union Army from Massachusetts, and was appointed the first colonel of a Union Negro regiment. Afterward he came to Hawaii, and served as justice of the supreme court and as attorney-general. In the spring of 1897, Mr. Whitmore wrote to Judge Hartwell: although Hawaii was not yet in the Union, it probably would be soon; if the judge would apply for admission as a dele-

gate from Hawaii to the Trans-Mississippi Congress, his application would be approved.

Judge Hartwell replied that he could not accept the invitation, but he suggested that invitations be sent to William A. Kinney and me, who were then in Washington. That was done; we accepted the invitations, and joined the Missouri delegation in St. Louis in the summer of 1897. At the meeting of the congress in Salt Lake City, one evening was devoted to a resolution favoring the annexation of Hawaii, and virtually the whole time was given to Mr. Kinney and me for addresses. The resolution was adopted unanimously, with the exception of one vote; an apologetic explanation was made to me later, that the one negative vote was cast by a delegate under the influence of liquor.

*Meeting Solid
for Annexing,
One Excepted*

William Jennings Bryan, thrice Democratic candidate for the presidency, presided at the Trans-Mississippi Congress. An issue between gold and silver was still alive; and a resolution favoring silver coinage, at the sixteen-to-one ratio, was moot. It had been discussed for a whole day—naturally the supporters of the gold standard opposed it vigorously; and still an evening session was held. Just before the resolution was put to vote, Chairman Bryan said that he wished to make a few remarks. Then I listened to some of the most remarkable oratory it has been my good fortune to hear. Although the subject had been debated to apparent exhaustion, and the audience was weary, Mr. Bryan, for thirty minutes, electrified everyone present with a masterly address, an appeal for silver that aroused the audience to a frenzy of en-

*Bryan's Speech
Stirs Audience
to Enthusiasm*

thusiasm. Never have I listened to another such positively inspired advocacy of a principle. The silver resolution carried.

After Hawaii had been annexed and had become a territory of the United States, it was accorded delegates to the national party conventions. There was a close division in the Democratic convention of 1900 on a silver plank in the platform; when the platform committee voted, the Hawaiian delegate on the committee had the deciding vote. He cast it for silver. On the return of the Hawaiian delegates to Honolulu, a Democratic meeting was held, at which two of the delegates, John H. Wise and Edwin E. Bush, spoke. Mr. Bush surprised the meeting by concluding thus: "And we finally nominated that fearless orator William Cullen Bryant." At the end of the Wise address, someone in the audience called out: "Wise, what do you mean by 'sixteen to one.?' " Flustered, Mr. Wise hesitated; his reply: "Well, I guess you had better ask that question of Mr. Bryan!"—a highly intelligent answer from one who had cast the vote that incorporated the sixteen-to-one plank in the Democratic national platform.

*Silver Again:
Hawaii Casts
Deciding Vote*

Other outcomes of the Trans-Mississippi Congress were an acquaintance of mine with Harry B. Hawes, now senator from Missouri, and his effective advocacy of annexation. A young man, he had just opened a law office in St. Louis, and was an active Democrat and the president of a Democratic club, and now was serving as private secretary to the secretary of the congress. On the trip from St. Louis to Salt Lake City, Mr. Hawes be-

came much interested in Hawaii; after the congress closed, I suggested that he help us Hawaiian commissioners on a business basis. He accepted; and we gave him the task of counteracting Senator George G. Vest, of Missouri, an opponent of annexation, who never lost an opportunity to stick pins into the Republic of Hawaii. Mr. Hawes canvassed virtually every Missouri town where a newspaper was published. Knowing that Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, had been a protagonist of expansion, and had coined the slogan "The way to the East is by way of the West," Mr. Hawes made it his keynote.

At his arrival in a town, he would call on the editor of the local newspaper. Since Mr. Hawes was well-known as a Democratic leader in St. Louis, state politics was the subject of conversation, but the talk finally veered to Hawaii. Substantially Mr. Hawes would say to the editor: "Senator Vest is off on the wrong foot. He is opposing Hawaiian annexation, whereas annexation is essentially a Missouri doctrine." Then Mr. Hawes would speak of Senator Benton, and remark: "We should bring this matter to the attention of Senator Vest, and straighten him out." Becoming interested, the editor would ask Mr. Hawes for an interview; Mr. Hawes was very willing to grant one, in the form of a careful article (with which he was already provided). It would be published on the first page of the paper. Then Mr. Hawes would suggest that a copy be sent to Senator Vest; Mr. Hawes would leave the editor committed to the annexation of Hawaii. We, in

*Hawes Obliges:
Has an Article
on the Islands*

Washington, heard of the Hawes campaign, and that Senator Vest said: "I do not know what in hell has come over the State of Missouri. They do not know the first thing about Hawaii, but I am being bombarded, from all over the state, with newspaper articles and protests against my attitude." Senator Vest was fairly bluffed into ceasing his opposition.

*"What in Hell
Has Come Over
Old Missouri?"*



GOOD!

"Times," Washington, June 17, 1897. Uncle Sam kicks the "Sugar Trust," while Hawaii waves a tiny American flag, and John Bull and Nippon observe from Asia

On the heels of the McKinley annexation treaty, a representative of a so-called organization of beet sugar producers appeared in Washington from Chicago; and a paper, purporting to have been written by the officers of the "beet sugar producers of the United States," was mailed to every

*Propaganda Is
Sent Congress
by Beet Sugar*

member of Congress as a protest against annexation. It imitated the style of the Declaration of Independence; it was strongly worded and impressive in appearance. Having finished his work in Missouri, Mr. Hawes went to Chicago to investigate the supposed "producers." He found the headquarters in a back room, upstairs, in charge of a secretary; and that man, the Washington representative, and the president—an official of a beet sugar factory in Nebraska—composed the membership. Mr. Hawes then went to Nebraska to see the president, who said that he knew little about the protest against the annexation of Hawaii, except that it had been prepared and was being pressed by the secretary and the Washington representative. Mr. Hawes sent me a full account of what he had learned.

The controlling owner and editor of *The Evening Star*, Washington, usually neutral on questions that concerned the administration, had a relative who was a missionary in Turkey. When the Hawaiian annexation commissioners appeared, and the fact became known that I was a descendant of missionaries in Hawaii, the editor, predisposed to the so-called missionary view, supported annexation heartily. On my informing him of the beet sugar organization, he volunteered to publish anything that I would write on the subject. I wrote vigorously, airing the spurious nature of the opposition to annexation, and *The Star* gave my articles front-page space in three issues. [The editor of *The Evening Star* at the time was Crosby S. Noyes.—*Editor.*] The efforts of Mr. Hawes in behalf of

*Thurston Airs
False Nature
of Opposition*

Hawaii were exceedingly effective; he has kept his interest in Hawaii, and is a warm friend of the Territory.

While I was in Washington from 1893 to 1895 as annexation commissioner and minister, I frequently needed a stenographer, especially after a meeting with a State Department official, when I immediately dictated the essentials of the interview. In 1897, when I returned to Washington as commissioner, a full-time stenographer and clerk was needed. George P. Keeney introduced Albert P. Taylor, who had been assistant secretary and clerk of the national silver committee until the McKinley election, when he was commissioned in the insurgent forces of Cuba—late in 1896. General Valeriano Weyler, the Spanish governor, arrested him and imprisoned him at Havana, with a threat of summary trial and punishment, but Mr. Taylor was released at the instance of the American representative at Havana, on condition that he leave Cuba immediately and agree not to return. He joined the staff of the Hawaiian legation in Washington early in 1897, and I found him a ready stenographer and an able assistant.

*Albert Taylor
Is Member of
Legation Staff*

After the passage of the joint resolution of annexation in 1898, I said good-by to him and returned to Honolulu. One morning, soon thereafter, I was surprised to see him at my office, and he became a reporter on *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, which I purchased within a short time after his arrival. He readily fitted into the duties of the position; with the exception of brief absences, he remained on *The Advertiser* until 1924.

He was appointed librarian of the Archives of Hawaii in that year, and has added much to the effectiveness of the institution. Mr. Taylor married Miss Emma Davison, an island girl, well-informed in Hawaiian lore and data. His book *Under Hawaiian Skies* is a readable and informative history.

At the consummation of annexation, President McKinley directed that the government of the Republic of Hawaii should continue until Congress provided another form; and the President appointed a commission to draft an organic act. It was composed of Senator Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois; Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama; Representative Robert R. Hitt, of Illinois; Sanford B. Dole, president of Hawaii, and Walter F. Frear, associate justice of the supreme court of Hawaii. The commission met in Honolulu and formulated an act, organizing the Territory; Congress adopted the draft, with a few amendments; it was approved by the President on April 30, 1900, and became effective on June 14, 1900. Originally it provided that the decisions of the Hawaiian supreme court should be final, except that Federal questions could be carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, as from a state supreme court. Later it was amended to permit appeals, in certain cases, from the decisions of the supreme court of Hawaii to the ninth circuit court of appeals and to the Supreme Court of the United States. With this and some other amendments, the act has remained the fundamental law of Hawaii, and has given general satisfaction. Hawaii has passed legislation under it, dividing the Territory into five

*Commission Is
Named to Draft
Law for Hawaii*

counties and apportioning governmental functions between the Territory and the county organizations. A delegate to Congress is elected every two years, with a seat in the House of Representatives and the right to speak on the floor of the House, but without a vote.

After the organic act was passed by Congress, President McKinley appointed Sanford B. Dole the first governor of the Territory. Mr. Dole was appointed first judge of the Federal court in 1903, and filled the position until 1916. Then he retired to private life, to live in peace and happiness until his death on June 9, 1926. Liliuokalani died on November 11, 1917. With the deaths of these representatives of opposing forms of government, this turbulent chapter of Hawaiian history comes to an end. Hawaii has accepted the American principles of government whole-heartedly, without reservation. No one in the Territory today has any thought of a return to the Monarchy, any more than a South Carolinian yearns for a status independent of the Union.

*Islands Accept
American Rule
Whole-heartedly*

Appendices

APPENDIX A

USE OF CHAULMOOGRA OIL IN LEPROSY

The following data on the use of chaulmoogra oil in the treatment of leprosy are supplied in 1936 by Dr. James T. Wayson, physician of the board of hospitals and settlement, Territory of Hawaii, who has observed and treated leprosy for forty-one years.—*Editor.*

Crude chaulmoogra oil was used by the Chinese in all forms of skin diseases, leprosy included, as early as 1540; in fact, many years earlier than that. It was first used in Hawaii in 1880, but earlier in Europe. The ethyl esters of chaulmoogra oil were patented in 1910 under the title of "antileprol," and were used in Europe, Africa, and elsewhere. I commenced their use here in 1910. It is believed now that the crude oil, by oral administration, is equally as good as the ethyl esters, by intramuscular injections. But the great trouble with the crude oil is that it may cause nausea when given orally.

Now as to the value of chaulmoogra in the treatment of leprosy: some claim that it has none; others claim that it has a value in certain types of the disease, just like other drugs in selective forms of a disease. Personally, I believe that it has some value—I have no doubt of that; but I cannot prove my belief. It is being used the world over; it is not given in Hawaii unless a patient asks for it, if I understand the situation.

So far as we know, leprosy is not curable by any known drug, yet food, medicine, and hygiene are of great value in materially benefiting many patients. In about ten per cent of all leprous persons, the disease becomes and may remain quiescent, but so many cases of this type reactivate that uncertainty remains. If ten per cent become quiescent without treatment, we should be able to increase this percentage with treatment. I believe that chaulmoogra oil, besides food and care, may bring the quiescent period much sooner in many early cases, and may add another five per cent to the more or less quiescent. Certainly, if this be so, chaulmoogra oil is of value in the treatment of leprosy

and should be used in Hawaii, as well as in other leprous communities.

Of the first patients released as quiescent from Kalihi Hospital, some sixty-two or sixty-four, all returned as reactivated. Mr. Thurston formed his views while they were on parole. I believed and stated then that the improvements were only temporary. Time has verified my opinion, yet chaulmoogra oil is of value. There is no means of making sure that quiescent patients may be cured, for many of them reactivate years after being released. Much may happen, however, since even a cancer has been known to disappear.—*James T. Wayson, M.D.*

APPENDIX B

ACTUAL AND PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONS

Here follow the constitution of 1887, quoted from *Roster Legislatures of Hawaii 1841-1918*; the complete membership of the Hawaiian League; and Liliuokalani's proposed constitution of 1893, quoted from *Blount's Report*.—*Editor.*

CONSTITUTION OF 1887

Granted by Kalakaua, July 6, 1887.

WHEREAS, the Constitution of this Kingdom heretofore in force contains many provisions subversive of civil rights and incompatible with enlightened Constitutional Government:

AND WHEREAS, it has become imperative in order to restore order and tranquillity and the confidence necessary to a further maintenance of the present Government that a new Constitution should be at once promulgated:

NOW THEREFORE, I, Kalakaua, King of the Hawaiian Islands, in my capacity as Sovereign of this Kingdom, and as the representative of the people hereunto by them duly authorized and empowered, do annul and abrogate the Constitution promulgated by Kamehameha the Fifth, on the 20th day of August, A. D. 1864, and do proclaim and promulgate this Constitution.

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ARTICLE 1. God hath endowed all men with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the right of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

ARTICLE 2. All men are free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; but this sacred privilege hereby secured, shall not be so construed as to justify acts of licentiousness, or practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the Kingdom.

ARTICLE 3. All men may freely speak, write, and publish their sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be enacted to restrain the liberty of speech, or of the press.

ARTICLE 4. All men shall have the right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble, without arms, to consult upon the common good, and to petition the King or Legislature for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE 5. The privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* belongs to all men, and shall not be suspended, unless by the King, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety shall require its suspension.

ARTICLE 6. No person shall be subject to punishment for any offense, except on due and legal conviction thereof, in a Court having jurisdiction of the case.

ARTICLE 7. No person shall be held to answer for any crime or offense, (except in cases of impeachment, or for offenses within the jurisdiction of a Police or District Justice, or in summary proceedings for contempt), unless upon indictment, fully and plainly describing such crime or offense, and he shall have the right to meet the witnesses who are produced against him face to face; to produce witnesses and proof in his own favor; and by himself or his counsel, at his election, to examine the witnesses produced by himself, and cross-examine those produced against him, and to be fully heard in his own defence. In all cases in which the right of trial by Jury has been heretofore used, it shall be held inviolable forever, except in actions of debt or assumpsit in which the amount claimed is less than Fifty Dollars.

ARTICLE 8. No person shall be required to answer again for an offense, of which he has been duly convicted, or of which he has been duly acquitted.

ARTICLE 9. No person shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

ARTICLE 10. No person shall sit as a judge or juror, in any case in which his relative, by affinity, or by consanguinity within the third degree, is interested, either as plaintiff or defendant, or in the issue of which the said judge or juror, may have, either directly or through such relative, any pecuniary interest.

ARTICLE 11. Involuntary servitude, except for crime, is forever prohibited in this Kingdom. Whenever a slave shall enter Hawaiian Territory, he shall be free.

ARTICLE 12. Every person has the right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his house, his papers, and effects; and no warrants shall issue, except on probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE 13. The Government is conducted for the common good, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men.

ARTICLE 14. Each member of society has a right to be protected in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and property, according to law; and, therefore, he shall be obliged to contribute his proportional share to the expense of this protection, and to give his personal services, or an equivalent when necessary. Private property may be taken for public use, but only upon due process of law and just compensation.

ARTICLE 15. No subsidy, duty, or tax, of any description, shall be established or levied without the consent of the Legislature; nor shall any money be drawn from the Public Treasury without such consent, except when between the sessions of the Legislature, the emergencies of war, invasion, rebellion, pestilence, or other public disaster shall arise, and then not without the concurrence of all the Cabinet, and of a majority of the whole Privy Council; and the Minister of Finance shall render a detailed account of such expenditure to the Legislature.

ARTICLE 16. No retrospective laws shall ever be enacted.

ARTICLE 17. The Military shall always be subject to the laws of the land; and no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner prescribed by the Legislature.

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ARTICLE 18. Every Elector shall be privileged from arrest on election days, during his attendance at election, and in going to and returning therefrom, except in case of treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 19. No Elector shall be so obliged to perform military duty, on the day of election, as to prevent his voting; except in time of war, or public danger.

ARTICLE 20. The Supreme Power of the Kingdom in its exercise, is divided into the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial; these shall always be preserved distinct, and no Executive or Judicial officer, or any contractor, or employee of the Government, or any person in the receipt of salary or emolument from the Government, shall be eligible to election to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, or to hold the position of an elective member of the same. And no member of the Legislature shall, during the time for which he is elected, be appointed to any civil office under the Government, except that of a member of the Cabinet.

ARTICLE 21. The Government of this Kingdom is that of a Constitutional Monarchy, under His Majesty Kalakaua, His Heirs and Successors.

ARTICLE 22. The Crown is hereby permanently confirmed to His Majesty Kalakaua, and to the Heirs of His body lawfully begotten, and to their lawful Descendants in a direct line; failing whom, the Crown shall descend to Her Royal Highness the Princess Liliuokalani, and the heirs of her body, lawfully begotten, and their lawful descendants in a direct line. The Succession shall be to the senior male child, and to the heirs of his body; failing a male child, the succession shall be to the senior female child, and to the heirs of her body. In case there is no heir as above provided, the successor shall be the person whom the Sovereign shall appoint with the consent of the Nobles, and publicly proclaim during the Sovereign's life; but should there be no such appointment and proclamation, and the Throne should become vacant, then the Cabinet immediately after the occurring of such vacancy, shall cause a meeting of the Legislature, who shall elect by ballot some native Alii of the Kingdom as Successor to the Throne; and the Successor so elected shall become a new *Stirps* for a Royal Family; and the succession from the Sovereign thus elected, shall be regulated by the same law as the present Royal Family of Hawaii.

ARTICLE 23. It shall not be lawful for any member of the Royal Family of Hawaii who may by Law succeed to the Throne, to contract Marriage without the consent of the Reigning Sovereign. Every Marriage so contracted shall be void, and the person so contracting a Marriage, may, by the proclamation of the Reigning Sovereign, be declared to have forfeited His or Her right to the Throne, and after such Proclamation, the Right of Succession shall vest in the next Heir as though such offender were dead.

ARTICLE 24. His Majesty Kalakaua, will, and his Successors shall take the following oath: I solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God, to maintain the Constitution of the Kingdom whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity therewith.

ARTICLE 25. No person shall ever sit upon the Throne, who has been convicted of any infamous crime, or who is insane, or an idiot.

ARTICLE 26. The King is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and of all other Military Forces of the Kingdom, by sea and land. But he shall never proclaim war without the consent of the Legislature; and no military or naval force shall be organized except by the authority of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 27. The King, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, and with the consent of the Cabinet, has the power to grant reprieves and pardons, after conviction, for all offenses, except in case of impeachment.

ARTICLE 28. The King convenes the Legislature at the seat of Government, or at a different place, if that should become insecure from an enemy or any dangerous disorder, and prorogues the same; and in any great emergency he may, with the advice of the Privy Council, convene the Legislature in extraordinary session.

ARTICLE 29. The King has the power to make Treaties. Treaties involving changes in the Tariff or in any law of the Kingdom, shall be referred for approval to the Legislature. The King appoints Public Ministers, who shall be commissioned, accredited, and instructed agreeably to the usage and law of Nations.

ARTICLE 30. It is the King's Prerogative to receive and acknowledge Public Ministers; to inform the Legislature by Royal Message, from time to time, of the state of the Kingdom; and

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to recommend to its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

ARTICLE 31. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred. His Ministers are responsible. To the King and the Cabinet belongs the *Executive power*. All laws that have passed the Legislature, shall require His Majesty's signature in order to their validity, except as provided in Article 48.

ARTICLE 32. Whenever, upon the decease of the Reigning Sovereign, the Heir shall be less than eighteen years of age, the Royal Power shall be exercised by a Regent or Council of Regency, as hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE 33. It shall be lawful for the King at any time when he may be about to absent himself from the Kingdom, to appoint a Regent or Council of Regency, who shall administer the Government in His name; and likewise the King may, by His last Will and Testament, appoint a Regent or Council of Regency to administer the Government during the minority of any Heir to the Throne; and should a Sovereign decease, leaving a minor Heir, and having made no last Will and Testament, the Cabinet at the time of such decease shall be a Council of Regency, until the Legislature, which shall be called immediately, be assembled, and the Legislature immediately that it is assembled shall proceed to choose by ballot, a Regent or Council of Regency, who shall administer the Government in the name of the King, and exercise all the powers which are constitutionally vested in the King, until such Heir shall have attained the age of eighteen years, which age is declared to be the legal majority of such Sovereign.

ARTICLE 34. The King is Sovereign of all the Chiefs and of all the people.

ARTICLE 35. All Titles of Honor, Orders, and other distinctions, emanate from the King.

ARTICLE 36. The King coins money and regulates the currency, by law.

ARTICLE 37. The King, in case of invasion or rebellion, can place the whole Kingdom, or any part of it, under martial law.

ARTICLE 38. The National Ensign shall not be changed, except by Act of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 39. The King cannot be sued or held to account in any court or tribunal of the Kingdom.

ARTICLE 40. There shall continue to be a Council of State, for advising the King in all matters for the good of the State, wherein He may require its advice, which Council shall be called the King's Privy Council of State, and the members thereof shall be appointed by the King, to hold office during His Majesty's pleasure, and which Council shall have and exercise only such powers as are given to it by the Constitution.

ARTICLE 41. The Cabinet shall consist of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Finance, and the Attorney General, and they shall be His Majesty's special advisers in the executive affairs of the Kingdom; and they shall be *ex officio* members of His Majesty's Privy Council of State. They shall be appointed and commissioned by the King and shall be removed by him, only upon a vote of want of confidence passed by a majority of all the elective members of the Legislature, or upon conviction of felony, and shall be subject to impeachment. No act of the King shall have any effect unless it be countersigned by a member of the Cabinet, who by that signature makes himself responsible.

ARTICLE 42. Each member of the Cabinet shall keep an office at the seat of Government, and shall be accountable for the conduct of his deputies and clerks. The Cabinet hold seats *ex officio*, in the Legislature, with the right to vote, except on a question of want of confidence in them.

ARTICLE 43. The Minister of Finance shall present to the Legislature in the name of the Government, on the first day of each Biennial Session, the Financial Budget, in the Hawaiian and English languages.

ARTICLE 44. The Legislative power of the Kingdom is vested in the King and the Legislature, which shall consist of the Nobles and Representatives sitting together.

ARTICLE 45. The Legislative Body shall be styled the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and shall assemble, biennially, in the month of May. The first regular session shall be held in the year of our Lord Eighteen Hundred and Eighty-eight.

ARTICLE 46. Every member of the Legislature shall take the following oath: I solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will faithfully support the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and conscientiously and impartially discharge my duties as a member of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 47. The Legislature has full power and authority

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to amend the Constitution as hereinafter provided; and from time to time to make all manner of wholesome laws, not repugnant to the Constitution.

ARTICLE 48. Every bill which shall have passed the Legislature shall, before it becomes law, be presented to the King. If he approve he shall sign it and it shall thereby become a law, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to the Legislature, which shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration it shall be approved by a two-thirds vote of all the elective members of the Legislature it shall become a law. In all such cases the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the journal of the Legislature. If any Bill shall not be returned by the King within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Legislature by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

ARTICLE 49. The Legislature shall be the judge of the qualifications of its own members, except as may hereafter be provided by law, and a majority shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as the Legislature may provide.

ARTICLE 50. The Legislature shall choose its own officers and determine the Rules of its own proceedings.

ARTICLE 51. The Legislature shall have authority to punish by imprisonment, not exceeding thirty days, every person, not a member, who shall be guilty of disrespect to the Legislature by any disorderly or contemptuous behavior in its presence; or who, during the time of its sitting, shall publish any false report of its proceedings, or insulting comments upon the same; or who shall threaten harm to the body or estate of any of its members for any thing said or done in the Legislature; or who shall assault any of them therefor, or who shall assault or arrest any witness, or other person ordered to attend the Legislature, on his way going or returning; or who shall rescue any person arrested by order of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 52. The Legislature may punish its own members for disorderly behavior.

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ARTICLE 53. The Legislature shall keep a journal of its proceedings; and the yeas and nays of the members, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

ARTICLE 54. The members of the Legislature shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the Sessions of the Legislature, and in going to and returning from the same; provided such privilege as to going and returning shall not cover a period of over twenty days; and they shall not be held to answer for any speech or debate made in the Legislature, in any Court or place whatsoever.

ARTICLE 55. The Representatives shall receive for their services a compensation to be determined by law, and paid out of the Public Treasury, but no increase of compensation shall take effect during the biennial term in which it shall have been made; and no law shall be passed increasing the compensation of Representatives beyond the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars each for each biennial term.

ARTICLE 56. A Noble shall be a subject of the Kingdom, who shall have attained the age of twenty-five years and resided in the Kingdom three years, and shall be the owner of taxable property in this Kingdom of the value of three thousand dollars, over and above all encumbrances, or in receipt of an income of not less than six hundred dollars per annum.

ARTICLE 57. The Nobles shall be a Court, with full and sole authority to hear and determine all impeachments made by the Representatives, as the Grand Inquest of the Kingdom, against any officers of the Kingdom, for misconduct or maladministration in their offices; but previous to the trial of every impeachment the Nobles shall respectively be sworn, truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question, according to evidence and law. Their judgment, however, shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold or enjoy any place of honor, trust, or profit, under this Government; but the party so convicted shall be, nevertheless, liable to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to the laws of the land.

ARTICLE 58. Twenty-four Nobles shall be elected as follows: Six from the Island of Hawaii; six from the Islands of Maui, Molokai and Lanai; nine from the Island of Oahu; and three from the Islands of Kauai and Niihau. At the first election

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held under this Constitution, the Nobles shall be elected to serve until the general election to the Legislature for the year of our Lord 1890, at which election, and thereafter, the Nobles shall be elected at the same time and places as the Representatives. At the election for the year of our Lord 1890, one-third of the Nobles from each of the divisions aforesaid, shall be elected for two years, and one-third for four years, and one-third for six years, and the electors shall ballot for them for such terms, respectively; and at all subsequent general elections they shall be elected for six years. The Nobles shall serve without pay.

ARTICLE 59. Every male resident of the Hawaiian Islands, of Hawaiian, American or European birth or descent, who shall have attained the age of twenty years, and shall have paid his taxes, and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters for Nobles for his District, shall be an elector of Nobles, and shall be entitled to vote at any election of Nobles, provided:

First: That he shall have resided in the country not less than three years, and in the district in which he offers to vote, not less than three months immediately preceding the election at which he offers to vote;

Second: That he shall own and be possessed, in his own right, of taxable property in this country of the value of not less than three thousand dollars over and above all encumbrances, or shall have actually received an income of not less than six hundred dollars during the year next preceding his registration for such election;

Third: That he shall be able to read and comprehend an ordinary newspaper printed in either the Hawaiian, English or some European language;

Fourth: That he shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution and laws, such oath to be administered by any person authorized to administer oaths, or by any Inspector of Elections;

Provided, however, that the requirements of a three years' residence and of ability to read and comprehend an ordinary newspaper, printed either in the Hawaiian, English or some European language, shall not apply to persons residing in the Kingdom at the time of the promulgation of this Constitution, if they shall register and vote at the first election which shall be held under this Constitution.

ARTICLE 60. There shall be twenty-four Representatives of

the People elected biennially, except those first elected under this Constitution, who shall serve until the general election for the year of our Lord, 1890. The representation shall be based upon the principles of equality, and shall be regulated and apportioned by the Legislature according to the population to be ascertained from time to time by the official census. But until such apportionment by the Legislature, the apportionment now established by law shall remain in force, with the following exceptions, namely: there shall be but two Representatives for the Districts of Hilo and Puna on the Island of Hawaii; but one for the Districts of Lahaina and Kaanapali on the Island of Maui; and but one for the Districts of Koolauloa and Waialua on the Island of Oahu.

ARTICLE 61. No person shall be eligible as a Representative of the people unless he be a male subject of the Kingdom, who shall have arrived at the full age of twenty-one years; who shall know how to read and write either the Hawaiian, English or some European language; who shall understand accounts; who shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for at least three years, the last of which shall be the year immediately preceding his election; and who shall own real estate within the Kingdom of a clear value, over and above all encumbrances, of at least five hundred dollars; or who shall have an annual income of at least two hundred and fifty dollars, derived from any property or some lawful employment.

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

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register and vote at the first election which shall be held under this Constitution.

ARTICLE 63. No person shall sit as a Noble or Representative in the Legislature unless elected under, and in conformity with, the provisions of this Constitution. The property or income qualification of Representatives, of Nobles, and of Electors of Nobles, may be increased by law; and a property or income qualification of Electors of Representatives, may be created and altered by law.

ARTICLE 64. The Judicial Power of the Kingdom shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Legislature may, from time to time, establish.

ARTICLE 65. The Supreme Court shall consist of a Chief Justice, and not less than two Associate Justices, any of whom may hold the Court. The Justices of the Supreme Court shall hold their offices during good behavior, subject to removal upon impeachment, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. Provided, however, that any Judge of the Supreme Court or any other Court of Record may be removed from office, on a resolution passed by two-thirds of all the members of the Legislature, for good cause shown to the satisfaction of the King. The Judge against whom the Legislature may be about to proceed, shall receive notice thereof, accompanied by a copy of the causes alleged for his removal, at least ten days before the day on which the Legislature shall act thereon. He shall be heard before the Legislature.

ARTICLE 66. The Judicial Power shall be divided among the Supreme Court and the several inferior Courts of the Kingdom, in such manner as the Legislature may, from time to time, prescribe, and the tenure of office in the inferior Courts of the Kingdom shall be such as may be defined by the law creating them.

ARTICLE 67. The Judicial Power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under the Constitution and laws of this Kingdom, and Treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority, to all cases affecting Public Ministers and Consuls, and to all cases of Admiralty and Maritime jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 68. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall be the Chancellor of the Kingdom; he shall be *ex officio* President of the Nobles in all cases of impeachment, unless when impeached himself; and shall exercise such jurisdiction in equity or

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other cases as the law may confer upon him; his decisions being subject, however, to the revision of the Supreme Court on appeal. Should the Chief Justice ever be impeached, some person specially commissioned by the King shall be President of the Court of Impeachment during such trial.

ARTICLE 69. The decisions of the Supreme Court, when made by a majority of the Justices thereof, shall be final and conclusive upon all parties.

ARTICLE 70. The King, His Cabinet, and the Legislature shall have authority to require the opinions of the Justices of the Supreme Court, upon important questions of law, and upon solemn occasions.

ARTICLE 71. The King appoints the Justices of the Supreme Court, and all other Judges of Courts of Record. Their salaries are fixed by law.

ARTICLE 72. No Judge or Magistrate shall sit alone on an appeal or new trial, in any case on which he may have given a previous judgment.

ARTICLE 73. The following persons shall not be permitted to register for voting, to vote, or to hold office under any department of the Government, or to sit in the Legislature, namely: Any person who is insane or an idiot, or any person who shall have been convicted of any of the following named offenses, viz: Arson, Barratry, Bribery, Burglary, Counterfeiting, Embezzlement, Felonious Branding of Cattle, Forgery, Gross Cheat, Incest, Kidnapping, Larceny, Malicious Burning, Manslaughter in the First Degree, Murder, Perjury, Rape, Robbery, Sodomy, Treason, Subornation of Perjury, and Malfeasance in Office, unless he shall have been pardoned by the King and restored to his Civil Rights, and by the express terms of his pardon declared to be eligible to offices of Trust, Honor and Profit.

ARTICLE 74. No officer of this Government shall hold any office, or receive any salary from any other Government or Power whatever.

ARTICLE 75. The Legislature votes the Appropriations biennially, after due consideration of the revenue and expenditure for the two preceding years, and the estimates of the revenue and expenditure of the two succeeding years, which shall be submitted to them by the Minister of Finance.

ARTICLE 76. The enacting style in making and passing all

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Acts and Laws shall be, "Be it enacted by the King, and the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom."

ARTICLE 77. To avoid improper influences which may result from intermixing in one and the same Act, such things as have no proper relation to each other, every law shall embrace but one subject, and that shall be expressed in its title.

ARTICLE 78. Wherever by this Constitution any Act is to be done or performed by the King or the Sovereign, it shall, unless otherwise expressed, mean that such Act shall be done and performed by the Sovereign by and with the advice and consent of the Cabinet.

ARTICLE 79. All laws now in force in this Kingdom, shall continue and remain in full effect, until altered or repealed by the Legislature; such parts only excepted as are repugnant to this Constitution. All laws heretofore enacted, or that may hereafter be enacted, which are contrary to this Constitution, shall be null and void.

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

ARTICLE 81. This Constitution shall be in force from the 7th day of July, A. D. 1887, but that there may be no failure of justice, or inconvenience to the Kingdom, from any change, all officers of this Kingdom, at the time this Constitution shall take effect, shall have, hold, and exercise all the power to them granted. Such officers shall take an oath to support this Constitution, within sixty days after the promulgation thereof.

ARTICLE 82. Any amendment or amendments to this Constitution may be proposed in the Legislature, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members thereof, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on its journal, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to next Legislature; which proposed amendment or amendments

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shall be published for three months previous to the next election of Representatives and Nobles; and if in the next Legislature such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members of the Legislature, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the Constitution of this Kingdom.

KALAKAUA REX.

By the King:

W. L. GREEN, Minister of Finance.

HONOLULU, } ss.
OAHU. }

I, KALAKAUA, King of the Hawaiian Islands, in the presence of Almighty God, do solemnly swear to maintain this Constitution whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity therewith.

KALAKAUA REX.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this sixth day of July, A. D. 1887.

A. F. JUDD,

Chief Justice of the Supreme Court,
and Chancellor of the Kingdom.

—*Roster Legislatures of Hawaii 1841-1918*, pp. 159-170.

Here follows the complete membership of the Hawaiian League, which organized the movement that wrested the constitution of 1887 from Kalakaua, as taken from the original list, Thurston collection, Archives of Hawaii.—*Editor*.

1, S. B. Dole. 2, L. A. Thurston. 3, P. C. Jones. 4, W. R. Castle. 5, Dr. Tucker S. G. 6, W. Rowell. 7, W. A. Kinney. 8, C. W. Ashford. 9, Major Benson. 10, A. T. Atkinson. 11, Dr. Martin. 12, H. Riemenschneider. 13, C. Furneaux. 14, Dr. Emerson N. B. 15, Lecker J. 16, A. H. Smith. 17, W. W. Hall. 18, H. P. Baldwin. 19, V. V. Ashford. 20, Capt. Penhallow. 21, T. K. Moore. 22, J. A. Magoon. 23, Jno. Austin. 24, L. L. LaPierre. 25, L. C. Ables. 26, W. E. Foster. 27, A. F. Cooke. 28, Capt. King. 29, G. P. Castle. 30, C. M. Cooke. 31, H. Waterhouse. 32, J. M. Horner. 33, W. H. Rice. 34, J. S. Emerson. 35, F. J. Hills. 36, M.

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P. Robinson. 37, W. P. A. Brewer. 38, A. W. Pierce. 39,
 H. C. Reid. 40, J. A. Cruzan. 41, G. N. Wilcox. 42, E. O.
 White. 43, Robert Gray. 44, Geo. McDougal. 45, Geo. C.
 Stratemeyer. 46, E. Muller. 47, Capt. Ross Jno. 48, H. F.
 Hebbard. 49, J. A. Kennedy. 50, J. W. Pratt. 51, C. Brown.
 52, J. Nott. 53, F. Turril. 54, R. W. Podmore. 55, J. D.
 Tucker. 56, C. Richardson. 57, Frank Brown. 58, Godfrey
 Brown. 59, W. Y. Horner. 60, W. Y. Horner, Jr. 61, C. F.
 Horner. 62, G. H. Horner. 63, R. D. Walbridge. 64, Wm.
 Unger. 65, C. A. Brown. 66, J. E. Brown. 67, E. F. Bishop.
 68, J. Torbert. 69, J. W. Podmore. 70, H. M. Dow. 71,
 C. H. Nicoll. 72, J. M. Whitney. 73, W. B. Oleson. 74,
 Jno. A. McCandless. 75, E. A. Jones. 76, C. C. Kennedy.
 77, J. J. Carden. 78, Weir Capt. Wm. 79, E. Kistler. 80,
 Schuman E. G. 81, Hewett A. M. 82, Fisher J. H. 83,
 Livingstone C. 84, Emmeluth J. 85, Smith W. H. 86, At-
 water W. O. 87, Kittridge C. S. 88, Paty W. T. (Hilo).
 89, Hitchcock D. H. 90, Holmes (Hilo). 91, Blacow R. C.
 92, Swain. 93, Deacon H. 94, Townsend H. S. 95, Colville
 J. B. 96, Goodale W. W. 97, Vannatta. 98, Wells C. B.
 99, Porter D. 100, Walsh. 101, Richards. 102, Hitchcock
 E. G. 103, Shepard. 104, R. Grieve. 105, Wilder C. W. Jr.
 106, Wilder Chas. 107, Wright W. 108, Hall Chas. 109,
 Langley E. W. 110, Hamilton Johnson. 111, Morgan A.
 112, McDonald J. J. 113, Gunn H. 114, McLeod Geo.
 115, Egan J. J. 116, Cunha E. S. 117, Lang J. H. 118,
 Wright T. 119, Wright H. 120, Cassidy Jno. 121, Wall T.
 122, Cannon H. 123, Jaeger A. 124, Rose M. 125, More
 Robt. 126, Crozier Chas. 127, Smith Tom. 128, Gilfillan
 Jno. 129, Duncan Harry. 130, McAndrews. 131, Hanley
 D. 132, Young A. Jr. 133, Carter S. M. 134, Carter A. W.
 135, Paris J. D. Jr. 136, McLean D. D. 137, Huston C. B.
 138, Simonson J. 139, Meyers H. C. 140, Vivas Jno. 141,
 Oat F. B. 142, Rothwell Jno. 143, Engelhardt Geo. 144,
 Hobron C. 145, Graham S. F. 146, Fageroos V. J. 147,
 Green W. L. 148, Thomas E. B. 149, Dredge Theo T.
 150, Gibson J. B. 151, Renjes H. 152, Wicke F. 153,
 Robertson A. 154, Hustace F. 155, Logan D. 156, Lanz W.
 157, Goldberg A. [No number 158.] 159, McChesney F. W.
 160, McChesney E. F. 161, McCarthy C. J. 162, Murray
 Tim. 163, McGrew Jno. S. 164, Rowland Fritz. 165,
 Roeding Jno. 166, Eckhardt Max. 167, Douglas David.

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The following pledge, not in Mr. Thurston's hand, was found in a pocket of the notebook containing the names of members of the Hawaiian League.—*Editor.*

I — do solemnly promise upon my honor, that I will keep secret the existence and purposes of this League, that I will not, in my position of a member of any military organization, oppose or oppress the white citizens of this Kingdom, that I will stand by and support my military superiors in their necessary efforts to protect the white community of this Kingdom against any arbitrary or oppressive action of the Government, which may threaten the lives, liberty or property of the people, and will at all hazards protect and defend the members of the league who may be jeopardized in its service.

LILIUOKALANI'S PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS the constitution of this Kingdom contains many provisions inconsistent, ambiguous and contradictory in its terms, and is subversive and restrictive of civil and popular rights, and incompatible with enlightened constitutional monarchical government; and

WHEREAS the prayers of my people, coming in the form of petitions from all parts of this Kingdom, to myself and to the Legislature, asking for a new constitution embodying in its provisions equal rights among all my subjects; which prayer to the Legislature of this Kingdom has not been duly recognized by that body through undue and unjust influences; and

WHEREAS it has become imperative in order to restore order and tranquillity, and to gratify the just demand of my subjects for a new constitution to be remodeled upon the most liberal and popular form of Constitutional Monarchical Government, that a new constitution be at once promulgated.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Liliuokalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands, in my capacity as Sovereign of this Kingdom, and as the representative of the people, and in accordance with their almost universal desire, and in conformity with their wishes, do annul and abrogate the constitution promulgated by Kalakaua on the 7th day of July, A. D. 1887, and do proclaim and promulgate this constitution.

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CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. God hath endowed all men with certain inalienable rights; among which are life, liberty, and the right of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

ARTICLE 2. All men are free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; but this sacred privilege hereby secured shall not be so construed as to justify acts of licentiousness or practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the Kingdom.

ARTICLE 3. All men may freely speak, write, and publish their sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be enacted to restrain the liberty of speech or of the press, except such laws as may be necessary for the protection of Her Majesty, the Queen, and the royal family.

ARTICLE 4. All men shall have the right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble, without arms, to consult upon the common good, and to petition the Queen or legislative assembly for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE 5. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus belongs to all men, and shall not be suspended, unless by the Queen, when in case of rebellion or invasion the public safety shall require its suspension.

ARTICLE 6. No person shall be subject to punishment for any offence, except on due and legal conviction thereof in a court having jurisdiction of the case.

ARTICLE 7. No person shall be held to answer for any crime or offence (except in case of impeachment or for offences within the jurisdiction of a police or district justice, or in summary proceedings for contempt), unless upon indictment, fully and plainly describing such crime or offence, and he shall have the right to meet the witnesses who are produced against him face to face; to produce witnesses and proofs in his own favor; and by himself or his counsel, at his election, to examine the witnesses produced by himself and cross-examine those produced against him, and to be fully heard in his defence. In all cases in which the right of trial by jury has been heretofore used, it shall be held inviolable forever, except in actions of debt or assumpsit in which the amount claimed is less than \$50.

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION

ARTICLE 8. No person shall be required to answer again for any offence of which he has been duly convicted, or of which he has been duly acquitted.

ARTICLE 9. No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

ARTICLE 10. No person shall sit as a judge or juror in any case in which his relative, by affinity, or by consanguinity within the third degree, is interested, either as plaintiff or defendant, or in the issue of which the said judge or juror may have either directly or through such relative any pecuniary interest.

ARTICLE 11. Involuntary servitude, except for crime, is forever prohibited in this Kingdom; whenever a slave shall enter Hawaiian territory he shall be free.

ARTICLE 12. Every person has the right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his house, his papers, and effects; and no warrants shall issue but on probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE 13. The Queen conducts her government for the common good, and not for the profit, honor, or private interests of any one man, family, or class of men among Her subjects.

ARTICLE 14. Each member of society has a right to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property, according to law, and therefore he shall be obliged to contribute his proportional share to the expense of his protection and to give his personal services or an equivalent when necessary; but no part of the property of any individual shall be taken from him or applied to public uses without his own consent or the enactment of the legislative assembly, except the same shall be necessary for the military operation of the Kingdom in time of war or insurrection; and whenever the public exigencies may require that the property of any individual should be appropriated to public uses, he shall receive a reasonable compensation therefor.

ARTICLE 15. No subsidy, duty, or tax of any description shall be established or levied without the consent of the legislative assembly, nor shall any money be drawn from the public treasury without such consent, except when between the sessions of the legislative assembly the emergencies of war, invasion, rebellion, pestilence, or other public disaster shall arise, and then

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not without the concurrence of all the cabinet and of a majority of the whole privy council; and the minister of finance shall render a detailed account of such expenditure to the legislative assembly.

ARTICLE 16. No retrospective laws shall ever be enacted.

ARTICLE 17. The military shall always be subject to the laws of the land, and no soldier shall in times of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by the Legislature.

ARTICLE 18. Every elector shall be privileged from arrest on election days, during his attendance at election and in going to and returning therefrom, except in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 19. No elector shall be so obliged to perform military duty on the day of election as to prevent his voting, except in time of war or public danger.

ARTICLE 20. The supreme power of the Kingdom in its exercises is divided into the executive, legislative, and judicial; these shall always be preserved distinct, and no executive or judicial officer or any contractor or employee of the Government or any person in the receipt of salary or emolument from the Government shall be eligible to election to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, or to hold the position of an elective member of the same, except members of the privy council, notary public, attorney at law, and agent to take acknowledgment. And no member of the legislative assembly shall, during the time for which he is a member, be appointed to any civil office under the Government, except that of a member of the cabinet.

ARTICLE 21. The government of this Kingdom is that of a constitutional monarchy, under Her Majesty Liliuokalani, her heirs and successors.

ARTICLE 22. The Crown is hereby permanently confirmed to Her Majesty Liliuokalani and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and to their lawful descendants in a direct line; failing whom, the Crown shall descend to Her Royal Highness the Princess Victoria Kaiulani and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and their descendant in a direct line; failing whom, the Crown shall descend to His Royal Highness the Prince David Kawananakoa and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, and their descendant in a direct line; failing whom, the Crown shall descend to His Royal Highness the Prince

Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, and their lawful descendant in a direct line. The succession shall be to the senior male child and to the heirs of his body; failing a male child the succession shall be to the senior female child and to the heirs of her body. In case there is no heir, as above provided, then the successor shall be the person whom the Sovereign shall appoint, with the consent of the nobles, and publicly proclaimed during the Sovereign's life; but should there be no such appointment and proclamation, and the Throne should become vacant, then the cabinet council, immediately after the occurring of such vacancy, shall cause a meeting of the legislative assembly, who shall elect by ballot some native alii of the Kingdom as successor to the throne; and the successor so elected shall become a new stirps for a royal family; and the succession from the Sovereign thus elected shall be regulated by the same law as the present royal family of Hawaii.

ARTICLE 23. It shall not be lawful for any member of the royal family of Hawaii who may by law succeed to the Throne to contract marriage without the consent of the reigning Sovereign. Every marriage so contracted shall be void, and the person so contracting a marriage may, by the proclamation of the reigning Sovereign, be declared to have forfeited his or her right to the Throne, and after such proclamation the right of succession shall vest in the next heir as though such offender were dead.

ARTICLE 24. Her Majesty Liliuokalani will, and her successors upon coming to the Throne shall, take the following oath: "I solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God to maintain the Constitution of the Kingdom whole and inviolable, and to govern in conformity therewith."

ARTICLE 25. No person shall ever sit upon the Throne who has been convicted of any infamous crime, or who is insane, or an idiot.

ARTICLE 26. The Queen is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and of all other military forces of the Kingdom by sea and land, and has full power by herself, or by any officer or officers she may appoint, to train and govern such forces as she may judge best for the defense and safety of the Kingdom. But she shall never proclaim war without the consent of the legislative assembly.

ARTICLE 27. The Queen, by and with the consent of her

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privy council, has the power to grant reprieves and pardon, after conviction, for all offenses, except in cases of impeachment.

ARTICLE 28. The Queen, by and with the consent of her privy council, convenes the Legislature at the seat of Government, or at a different place, if that should become dangerous from an enemy or any dangerous disorder; and in case of disagreement between Her Majesty and the legislative assembly, she adjourns, prorogues, or dissolves it, but not beyond the next ordinary session; under any great emergency, she may convene the legislative assembly to extraordinary sessions.

ARTICLE 29. The Queen has the power to make treaties. Treaties involving changes in the tariff or in any law of the Kingdom shall be referred for approval to the Legislative Assembly. The Queen appoints public ministers, who shall be commissioned, accredited, and instructed agreeably to usage and law of nations.

ARTICLE 30. It is the Queen's prerogative to receive and acknowledge public ministers; to inform the Legislative Assembly by royal message, from time to time, of the state of the Kingdom, and to recommend to its consideration such measures as she shall judge necessary and expedient.

ARTICLE 31. The person of the Queen is inviolable and sacred. Her ministers are responsible. To the Queen belongs the executive power. All laws that have passed the Legislative Assembly, shall require Her Majesty's signature in order to their validity.

ARTICLE 32. Whenever upon the decease of the reigning sovereign the heir shall be less than eighteen years of age the royal power shall be exercised by a regent or council of regency, as hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE 33. It shall be lawful for the Queen at any time, when she may be about to absent herself from the Kingdom, to appoint a regent or council of regency, who shall administer the Government in her name; and likewise the Queen may, by her last will and testament, appoint a regent or council of regency to administer the Government during the minority of any heir to the throne, and should a sovereign decease, leaving a minor heir, and having made no last will and testament, the cabinet council at the time of such decease shall be a council of regency, until the Legislative Assembly, which shall be called immediately, may be assembled, and the Legislative Assembly, imme-

diately that it is assembled, shall proceed to choose by ballot a regent or council of regency, who shall administer the Government in the name of the Queen, and exercise all the powers which are constitutionally vested in the Queen, until she shall have attained the age of eighteen years, which age is declared to be the legal majority of such sovereign.

ARTICLE 34. The Queen is Sovereign of all the chiefs and of all the people; the Kingdom is Her.

ARTICLE 35. All titles of honor, orders, and other distinctions, emanate from the Queen.

ARTICLE 36. The Queen coins money and regulates the currency by law.

ARTICLE 37. The Queen in case of invasion or rebellion can place the whole Kingdom or any part of it under martial law.

ARTICLE 38. The national ensign shall not be changed, except by act of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 39. The Queen's private lands and other property are inviolable.

ARTICLE 40. The Queen can not be sued or held to account in any court or tribunal of the realm.

ARTICLE 41. There shall continue to be a council of state, for advising the Queen in all matters for the good of the state, wherein she may require its advice, and for assisting her in administering the executive affairs of the Government in such manner as she may direct; which council shall be called the Queen's privy council of state, and the members thereof shall be appointed by the Queen, to hold office during Her Majesty's pleasure.

ARTICLE 42. The Queen's cabinet shall consist of the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of the interior, the minister of finance, and the attorney-general of the Kingdom, and these shall be the Queen's special advisers in the executive affairs of the Kingdom; and they shall be ex-officio members of the Queen's privy council of state. They shall be appointed and commissioned 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. No act of the Queen shall have any effect unless it be countersigned by a minister, who, by that signature, makes himself responsible.

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ARTICLE 43. Each member of the Queen's cabinet shall keep an office at the seat of Government, and shall be accountable for the conduct of his deputies and clerks. The ministers hold seat *ex officio*, as nobles, in the legislative assembly with the right to vote, except on a question of want of confidence in them.

ARTICLE 44. The minister of finance shall present to the legislative assembly, in the name of the Government, on the first day of the meeting of the Legislature, the financial budget, in Hawaiian and English languages.

ARTICLE 45. The legislative power of the three estates of this Kingdom is vested in the Queen, and the legislative assembly, which assembly shall consist of nobles appointed by the Queen, and of the representatives of the people, sitting together.

ARTICLE 46. The legislative body shall assemble biennially, in the month of April, and at such other time as the Queen may judge necessary, for the purpose of seeking the welfare of the nation. This body shall be styled the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

ARTICLE 47. Every member of the legislative assembly shall take the following oath: I most solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will faithfully support the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and conscientiously and impartially discharge my duties as a member of this assembly.

ARTICLE 48. The Legislature has full power and authority to amend the constitution, as hereinafter provided, and, from time to time, to make all manner of wholesome laws not repugnant to the provisions of the constitution.

ARTICLE 49. The Queen shall signify her approval of any bill or resolution which shall have passed the legislative assembly by signing the same. If she approve not, she shall return it with her objections to the legislative assembly, which shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, it shall be approved by a two-thirds vote of all the members of the legislative assembly, it shall be presented again to the Queen, and she shall sign it, and it shall therefore be a law. In all such cases the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill or resolution shall be entered on the journal of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 50. The legislative assembly shall be the judge of

the qualifications of its own members, and a majority shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as the assembly may provide.

ARTICLE 51. The legislative assembly shall choose its own officers and determine the rules of its own proceedings.

ARTICLE 52. The legislative assembly shall have authority to punish by imprisonment, not exceeding thirty days, every person, not a member, who shall be guilty of disrespect to the assembly, by any disorderly or contemptuous behavior in its presence; or who, during the time of its sitting, shall publish any false report of its proceedings, or insulting comment upon the same; or who shall threaten harm to the body or estate of any of its members, for anything said or done in the assembly; or who shall assault any of them therefor, or who shall assault or arrest any witness or other person ordered to attend the assembly, in his way going or returning, or who shall rescue any person arrested by order of the assembly.

ARTICLE 53. The legislative assembly may punish its own members for disorderly behavior.

ARTICLE 54. The legislative assembly shall keep a journal of its proceedings; and the yeas and nays of its members, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

ARTICLE 55. The members of the legislative assembly shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of the Legislature, and in going to and returning from the same; and they shall not be held to answer for any speech or debate made in the assembly, in any other court or place whatsoever.

ARTICLE 56. The representatives shall receive for their services a compensation to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the public treasury, but no increase of compensation shall take effect during the year in which it shall have been made; and no law shall be passed increasing the compensation of said representatives beyond the sum of five hundred dollars each for each biennial term.

ARTICLE 57. The Queen appoints the nobles, who shall hold their appointments during life, subject to the provisions of article 53; but their number shall not exceed twenty-four.

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ARTICLE 58. No person shall be appointed a noble who shall not have attained the age of twenty-one years and resided in the Kingdom five years.

ARTICLE 59. The nobles shall be a court with full and sole authority to hear and determine all impeachments made by the representatives, as the grand inquest of the Kingdom, against any officer of the Kingdom, for misconduct or maladministration in their offices; but previous to the trial of every impeachment the nobles shall respectively be sworn truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question according to evidence and the law. Their judgment, however, shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold or enjoy any place of honor, trust or profit, under this Government; but the party so convicted shall be nevertheless liable to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to the laws of the land. No minister shall sit as a noble on the trial of any impeachment.

ARTICLE 60. The representation of the people shall be based upon the principle of equality, and shall be regulated and apportioned by the Legislature according to the population to be ascertained, from time to time, by the official census. The representatives shall not be less in number than twenty-four nor more than forty-eight, who shall be elected biennially.

ARTICLE 61. No person shall be eligible for a representative of the people who is insane or an idiot, nor unless he be a male subject of the Kingdom who shall have arrived at the full age of twenty-one years, who shall know how to read and write, who shall understand accounts, and shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for at least three years, the last of which shall be the year immediately preceding his election; and who shall own real estate, within the Kingdom, of a clear value, over and above all incumbrances, of at least five hundred dollars, or who shall have an annual income of at least two hundred and fifty dollars derived from any property or lawful employment.

ARTICLE 62. Every male subject of the Kingdom who shall have paid his taxes, who shall have attained the age of twenty years, and shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for one year immediately preceding the election, and be possessed of real property in the Kingdom, to the value over and above all incumbrances of one hundred and fifty dollars, or a leasehold property on which the rent is twenty-five dollars per year, or of an income of not less than seventy-five dollars per year, derived

from any property or some lawful employment and shall know how to read and write, if born since the year 1840 and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters of his district as may be provided by the law, shall be entitled to one vote for the representative or representatives of that district. Provided, however, that no insane or idiotic person, nor any person who shall have been convicted of any infamous crimes within this Kingdom, unless he shall have been pardoned by the Queen, and by the terms of such pardon have been restored to all rights of a subject, shall be allowed to vote.

ARTICLE 63. The property qualifications of the representatives of the people, and of the electors, may be increased or decreased by law.

ARTICLE 64. The judicial power of the Kingdom shall be vested in one supreme court and in such inferior courts as the Legislature may, from time to time, establish.

ARTICLE 65. The supreme court shall consist of a chief justice and not less than two associate justices, any of whom may hold the court. The justices of the supreme court shall hold their offices for a term of six years, during good behavior, subject to removal upon impeachment. Provided, however, that any judge of the supreme court or any other court of record may be removed from office on a resolution passed by two-thirds of the legislative assembly, for good cause shown to the satisfaction of the Queen.

The judge against whom the legislative assembly may be about to proceed, shall receive due notice thereof, accompanied by a copy of the causes alleged for his removal, at least ten days before the day on which the legislative assembly shall act thereon. He shall be heard before the legislative assembly.

ARTICLE 66. The judicial power shall be divided among the supreme court and the several inferior courts of the Kingdom in such manner as the Legislature may from time to time prescribe, and the tenure of office in the inferior courts of the Kingdom shall be such as may be defined by the law creating them.

ARTICLE 67. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the constitution and laws of this Kingdom and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority to all cases affecting public ministers and council and to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction.

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ARTICLE 68. The chief justice of the supreme court shall be the chancellor of the Kingdom; he shall be *ex officio* president of the nobles in all cases of impeachment, unless when impeached himself, and exercise such jurisdiction in equity or other cases as the law may confer upon him, his decisions being subject, however, to the revision of the supreme court on appeal. Should the chief justice ever be impeached, some person specially commissioned by the Queen shall be president of the court of impeachment during such trial.

ARTICLE 69. The decision of the supreme court, when made by a majority of all the justices thereof, shall be final and conclusive upon all parties.

ARTICLE 70. The Queen, her cabinet, and the legislative assembly shall have authority to require the opinions of the justices of the supreme court upon important questions of law and upon solemn occasions.

ARTICLE 71. The Queen appoints the justices of the supreme court and all other judges of court of records; their salaries are fixed by law.

ARTICLE 72. No judge or magistrate can sit alone on an appeal or new trial in any case on which he may have given a previous judgment.

ARTICLE 73. The Queen also appoints and commissions the governors of the several islands; the governors hold office for the term of four years, subject to impeachment.

ARTICLE 74. The following persons shall not be permitted to register for voting, to vote, or to hold office under any department of the Government, or to sit in the legislative assembly, namely: Any person who is insane or an idiot, or any person who shall have been convicted of any of the following named offenses, viz: Arson, barratry, bribery, burglary, counterfeiting, embezzlement, felonious branding of cattle, forgery, gross cheat, incest, kidnapping, larceny, malicious burning, manslaughter in the first degree, murder, perjury, rape, robbery, sodomy, treason, subornation of perjury, and malfeasance in office, unless he shall have been pardoned by the Queen and restored to his civil rights and by the express term of his pardon declared to be eligible to office of trust, honor, and profit.

ARTICLE 75. No officer of this Government shall hold any other office or receive any salary from any other Government or power whatever.

ARTICLE 76. The Legislature votes the appropriations biennially, after due consideration of the revenue and expenditure for the two preceding years and the estimates of the revenue and expenditure of the two succeeding years, which shall be submitted to them by the minister of finance.

ARTICLE 77. The enacting style in making and passing all acts and laws shall be: "Be it enacted by the Queen and the legislative assembly of the Hawaiian Islands, in the Legislature of the Kingdom assembled."

ARTICLE 78. To avoid improper influences which may result from intermixing in one and the same act such things as have no proper relation to each other, every law shall embrace but one object, and that shall be expressed in its title.

ARTICLE 79. All laws now in force in this Kingdom shall continue and remain in full effect, until altered or repealed by the Legislature; such parts only excepted as are repugnant to this constitution. All laws heretofore enacted, or that may hereafter be enacted, which are contrary to this constitution, shall be null and void.

ARTICLE 80. This constitution shall be in force from theday of....., in the year....., but that there may be no failure of justice, or inconvenience to the Kingdom, from any change all officers of this Kingdom, at the time this constitution shall take effect, shall have, hold, and exercise all power to them granted, until other persons shall be appointed in their stead.

ARTICLE 81. Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the legislative assembly, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members thereof, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on its Journal, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to next Legislature; which proposed amendment or amendments shall be published for three months previous to the next election of Representatives; and if in the next Legislature such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members of the legislative assembly, and be approved by the Queen, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the constitution of this country.

We have read the document purporting to be a copy of the constitution presented to us by Queen Liliuokalani on January 14th last, and we deem it to be almost identical, except as to

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Article 62, which, according to our recollection, did not contain any property qualification for voters for representatives.

We are yours, respectfully,

SAMUEL PARKER,
A. P. PETERSON,
WM. H. CORNWELL.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *July 16, 1893.*

The proposed changes to the Kalakaua constitution were these:

ARTICLE 20. By adding to exceptions: Members of the privy council, notary public, agent to take acknowledgements.

ART. 22. By adding Princes Kawananakoa and Kalania-naole as heirs to the throne.

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

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

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

ART. 57. The Queen shall appoint the nobles not to exceed 24.

ART. 60. The representatives may be increased from 24 as at present to 48.

ART. 62. Only subjects shall vote, and the qualification of voters reduced.

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

ART. 75. The appointment of governors of each island for four years term.—*Blount's Report*, pp. 581-590.

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