

THURSTON (L. A.)

A HAND-BOOK

....ON THE....

ANNEXATION

—OF—

HAWAII

BY

LORRIN A. THURSTON

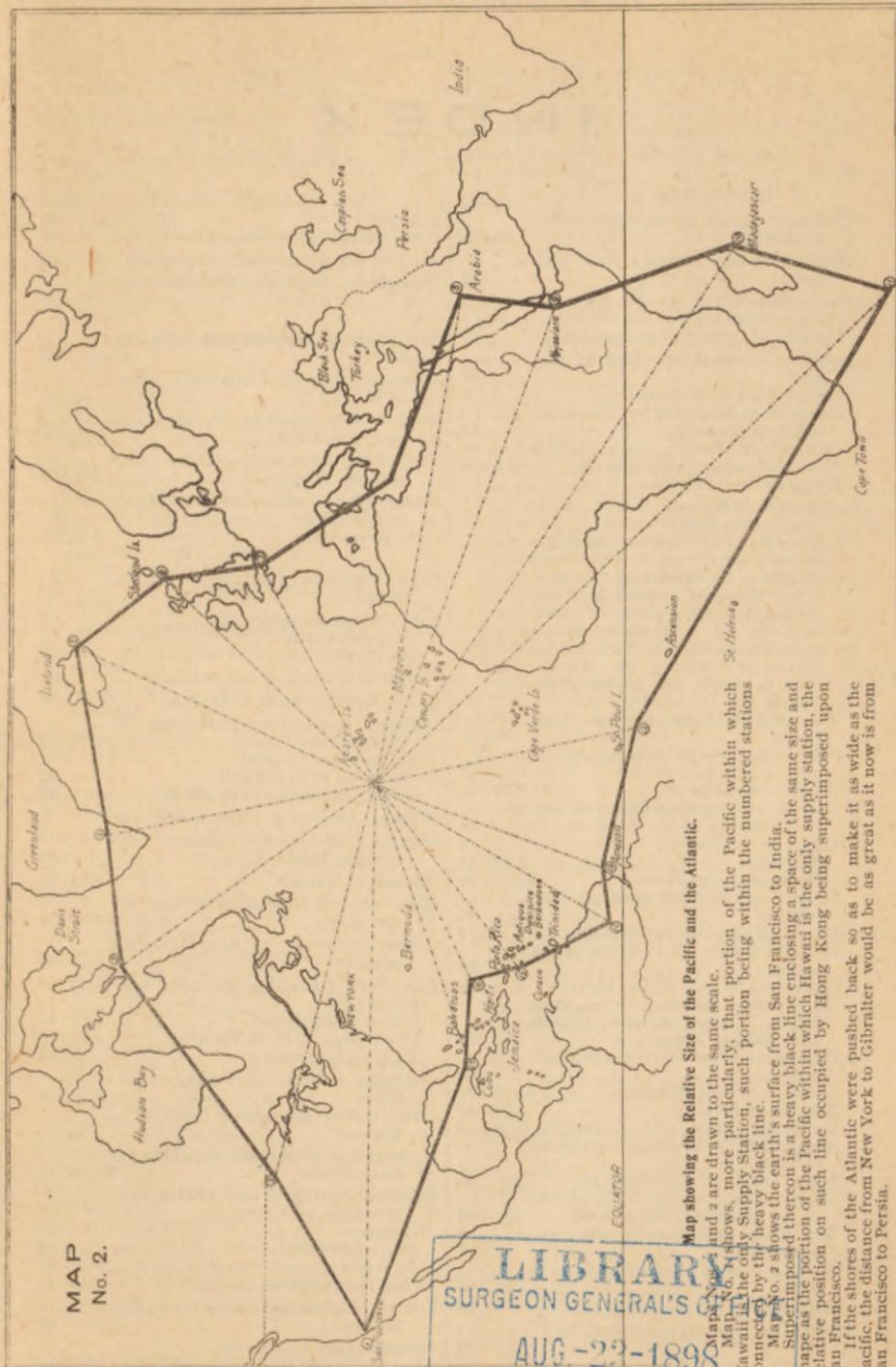
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MAP
No. 2.



Map showing the Relative Size of the Pacific and the Atlantic.

Maps No. 1 and 2 are drawn to the same scale.

Map No. 1 shows, more particularly, that portion of the Pacific within which Hawaii is the only Supply Station, such portion being within the numbered stations connected by the heavy black line.

Map No. 2 shows the earth's surface from San Francisco to India.

Superimposed thereon is a heavy black line enclosing a space of the same size and shape as the portion of the Pacific within which Hawaii is the only supply station, the relative position on such line occupied by Hong Kong being superimposed upon San Francisco.

If the shores of the Atlantic were pushed back so as to make it as wide as the Pacific, the distance from New York to Gibraltar would be as great as it now is from San Francisco to Persia.

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Shall Hawaii be Annexed?

For two generations the relations existing between the United States and Hawaii have been unique.

The usual attitude of one friendly nation towards another is that of keen business rivalry and enlightened selfishness.

The attitude of the United States toward Hawaii has been more that of an indulgent and protecting elder brother toward a little sister, than the usual formal courtesies and treatment accorded the other nations of the world.

Hawaii, on the other hand, early recognized this spirit, and has reciprocated with an unwavering confidence and faith in her great neighbor, such as has never been exhibited by one independent nation toward another.

There is no mystery about the reasons for these mutual relations.

Hawaiian christianization, civilization, commerce, education and development, are the direct product of American effort.

Hawaii is, in every element and quality which enters into the composition of a modern civilized community, a child of America.

Hawaii is the one "American Colony" beyond the borders of the Union.

Honolulu is the one port of the world where the stars and stripes float over more ships than all other flags combined.

Out of all this has grown a sentimental feeling toward Hawaii which does not measure its regard in dollars or material advantage.

Entwined and interwoven with this sentiment, which brings the cause of Hawaii so close to the heart of America, are material advantages, incidental to the possession and control of Hawaii, which have appealed still more strongly to the heads and sound business and political judgment of the statesmen who have controlled the destinies of America for fifty years.

The recognition of the strategic value of Hawaii's geographical position, and the determination that under no circumstances should it pass under the control of any other foreign people, constitute one of the most conspicuous examples of consistent and persistent foreign policy in the international history of the United States.

That policy has always been directed toward the exclusion of other powers and the drawing closer of the bonds which bind Hawaii to the United States, with ultimate incorporation into the Union as the destined end.

With this end in view special commercial privileges have been granted to Hawaii in exchange for exclusive material and political privileges secured to the United States. American influence, power, ownership and control have been fostered and increased. Many times annexation has seemed at hand. The present is the fourth treaty which has been negotiated by the government of Hawaii, transferring the sovereignty of that country to this.

The natural progress of events, under the fostering influences of this far-seeing policy has brought this country to the point where it must now decide whether or not the fruits of fifty years of statesmanship are to accrue to its honor and glory and progress, or whether they are to be spurned and rejected.

For nearly five years Hawaii has stood at the door of the Union, asking to come in. Delay has not lessened her confidence in the American people, and she still awaits their decision to know whether she can cross the threshold; or whether the door is to shut in her face. She offers all that she is, has and hopes to be. She asks no guarantees in return, but volunteers to share in the defence of the flag which she already honors co-equally with her own, and to bear her proportion of the obligations and burdens incident to the conduct of the general government.

The diplomatic, naval and congressional records of the United States contain thousands of pages concerning Hawaii. Scores of magazine articles and tens of thousands of columns of newspaper matter have been devoted to the subject. But the material is scattered and not easily available.

This pamphlet is designed to digest and concentrate for the information of the busy man, the principal arguments for and against annexation; the replies to objections thereto; and to furnish a brief description of the people, laws, finances, educational system, resources and civilization of the country proposed to be annexed, and such documentary evidence as is necessary to the full understanding of the issues involved.

LORRIN A. THURSTON.

Reasons in Favor of the Annexation of Hawaii.

FIRST REASON IN FAVOR OF THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII.

It will prevent the establishment of an alien and possibly hostile stronghold in a position commanding the Pacific Coast, and the commerce of the North Pacific, and definitely and finally secure to the United States the strategical control of the North Pacific, thereby protecting its Pacific Coast and commerce from attack.

The question is frequently asked, how the possession of Hawaii, 2000 miles distant from the continent, will secure control of the North Pacific; and why Hawaii is any more necessary to the Pacific Coast than are the Azores, which are about the same distance off the Atlantic Coast, necessary to the protection of the United States on the Atlantic side?

The reasons why Hawaii is essential to the protection of the Pacific Coast, and why the Azores are not necessary to the protection of the Atlantic, are as follows:

In the first place, the distance across the Atlantic is approximately 3000 miles.

The distance across the Pacific is from 7000 to 9500 miles.

Second: All of the Great Powers of Europe lie, or have coaling stations, within steaming distance of the Atlantic Coast of the United States. On the other hand no nation, European or Asiatic, lies, or possesses a coaling station, near enough to the Pacific Coast to be practically available, as a base of hostile naval operation against that Coast or its commerce.

British Columbia is not a material factor in this connection; for, in case of hostilities between England and the United States, all Canadian territory would be so speedily overwhelmed by invasion from the United States that its ports would not cut any material figure as hostile bases of operation for any considerable length of time.

Third: On the Atlantic there are scores of islands which can be used as bases of naval supply and repair. There are not only the Azores, Madeira, Canary, Cape Verde, Bermuda, Newfoundland, and the Bahamas, but the vast number of West India Islands.

On the other hand; in the whole Pacific Ocean from the Equator on the South, to Alaska on the North; from the Coast of China and Japan on the West, to the American Continent on the East, there is but one spot where a ton of coal, a pound of bread, or a gallon of water can be obtained by a passing vessel, and that spot is Hawaii.

The immensity of this area of the earth's surface is comprehended by but few.

The distance from Hong Kong, through Hawaii to Panama, is 9580 miles. This distance is as far as from San Francisco eastward across the continent, across the Atlantic, across the Mediterranean, and across Turkey to the boundary of Persia.

The first supply station north of Hawaii is at Unalaska in the Aleution Islands, and the first similar station on the south is Tahiti, a French Colony.

The distance between Unalaska and Tahiti is 4400 miles; as far as from the southern point of Greenland to the mouth of the Amazon river.

The Atlantic is, comparatively, so narrow, that way stations are not absolutely essential; while the islands in the Atlantic north of the Equator, capable of use as way stations are so numerous that it is practically impossible for the United States to absorb them all.

On the other hand, the width and size of the North Pacific is so great that no naval vessel in existence can carry coal enough to cross the Pacific from any of the existing or possible foreign naval stations, to the Pacific coast of the United States, operate there and return, without recoaling. A modern battleship without coal is like a caged lion—magnificent but harmless.

One of the first principles in naval warfare is, that an operating fleet must have a base of supply and repair.

Any country in possession of Hawaii would possess a base of operations within four or five days steaming distance of any part of the Pacific Coast.

Without the possession of Hawaii, all of the principal countries possessing interest in the Pacific, are so far away that the distance is practically prohibitory of hostile operations against the Pacific Coast. For instance, the nearest English station is forty-six hundred miles distant from San Francisco. The nearest French station is thirty-six hundred miles distant. The nearest Spanish station is forty-seven hundred miles distant. Russia is forty-seven hundred miles away; Japan forty-five hundred miles, and China fifty-five hundred miles.

The United States, in possession and control of Hawaii, will thereby, by simply keeping other nations out, afford almost absolute protection to her Pacific Coast and commerce from hostile naval attack. On the other hand, Hawaii, in possession of any foreign country, will be a standing menace against, not only the Pacific Coast, but against all of the Ocean-bound commerce to and from that Coast, and all American commerce on or across the North Pacific.

The Importance of the relation of Hawaii to the commerce of the Pacific is demonstrated by the fact that of the seven trans-Pacific steamship lines plying between the North American Continent and Japan, China and Australia, all but one make Honolulu a way station.

It is for the reasons above set forth that Hawaii has for the last fifty years been currently known to Statesmen and Naval Authorities as "The Key of the North Pacific," and that American Statesmen, regardless of party, have consistently and persistently maintained the policy that the United States could not allow any foreign government or people to colonize or control Hawaii. (See appendix of opinions of American Statesmen concerning Hawaii.)

Upon the opening of the Nicaragua or Panama Canal, practically all of the shipping bound for Asia, making use thereof, will stop at Honolulu for coal and supplies.

SECOND REASON IN FAVOR OF ANNEXATION.

The conditions are such that the United States must act NOW to preserve the results of its past policy, and to prevent the dominance in Hawaii of a foreign people.

For over fifty years, beginning with President Pierce in 1842, Presidents, Secretaries of State, American Ministers to Hawaii, and successive Congresses have had to deal with Hawaii, and have continuously enunciated the principle that no other foreign nation can be allowed to possess, control, or dominate Hawaii.

Up to a recent time the simple announcement by the United States of its policy has been sufficient to make it effective, at least for the time being. Later a combined commercial and political treaty, known as the "Reciprocity Treaty," was negotiated, designed to secure the exclusion of other nations. For a time this treaty accomplished the desired result. The time has come, however, when neither the simple declaration nor the treaty is sufficient to effectuate the time honored policy of the United States nor retain the advantages already secured.

Through causes unnecessary to discuss, the native race has decreased until there are now only thirty odd thousand of them remaining, constituting less than a third of the population of the country, and the decrease is continuing. The day when the aboriginal Hawaiian alone should own and control Hawaii has gone and gone forever. *It is no longer a question of whether Hawaii shall be controlled by the native Hawaiian, or by some foreign people; but the question is, "What foreign people shall control Hawaii."*

Through the medium of the reciprocity treaty, American dominancy in Hawaii has been maintained, and American interests have increased to such an extent that Americans now own, approximately, three-fourths of all the property in the country; consume 98 per cent. of their exports; furnish 75 per cent. of their imports and carry 75 per cent. of their foreign trade in American bottoms. By this treaty American goods are admitted free while other nations pay a duty, and Hawaii is prohibited from granting the same privilege to any other government. The United States are granted the exclusive use of Pearl Harbor, the best in the

Pacific, as a naval station, and Hawaii is prohibited from granting any lien, lease or special privilege in any of her ports or territory to any other government.

It is said by some, Why is not this enough? Why not let well enough alone?

There are two answers :

First : This treaty is terminable by either party upon a year's notice. The uncertainties of politics may at any time bring into power in Hawaii a party inimical to American interests, who can at once terminate all special privileges and powers now held in Hawaii by the United States, and transfer them to one or more rival nations. Such action would be entirely legal; and that other nations stand ready to avail themselves of the opportunity is evidenced by the fact that three years ago the English and Canadian Governments sent special agents to Honolulu to obtain the cession or lease of one of the Hawaiian Islands as a cable station. The proposition is still being urged, and all that has stood in the way of its consummation has been the Reciprocity Treaty and the unflinching determination of the little Republic to keep its territory intact, its government free from other foreign alliances and its face turned Americawards until the annexation question was definitely settled.

Second : Whether the Reciprocity Treaty is continued or not, conditions have developed within the past few years which will as certainly evict American interests and control from Hawaii as though it were accomplished by abrogation of the Treaty or by hostile guns.

The awakening of Japan has introduced a new element into the politics of the world, and more especially of the Pacific. Until within a few years, emigration from Japan was prohibited. Japan has now reversed this policy, and emigration, particularly to Hawaii, is encouraged. So rapidly have the Japanese come to Hawaii that in 1896 they numbered twenty-five thousand; the adult Japanese males outnumbering those of any other nationality.

During the latter part of 1896 and the early part of 1897 they came in at the rate of 2000 a month. If this rate of immigration had continued for a year, they would have numbered one-half of the population of the entire country, and before the end of five years would have outnumbered all of the other inhabitants put together, two to one. The rate at which they were entering Hawaii, is, as compared with the population of the United States, as though a million Japanese a month were entering San Francisco. It has been well said that "this was not immigration but invasion."

Hawaii has attempted to stay this invasion by adopting legislation against contract laborers and paupers, identical with that of the United States, and has thereby become involved in its present controversy with Japan, the latter country refusing to recognize

the validity of such legislation and practically claiming the absolute right of emigration, by her people, to Hawaii.

Even though the Hawaiian legislation referred to is sustained, still immigrants who do not come within the terms of the restrictive legislation are free to enter Hawaii, to such an extent as will soon give Japan an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the country.

Under the existing constitution of Hawaii, the Japanese are not citizens and are ineligible to citizenship; but it goes without saying, that an energetic, ambitious, warlike, and progressive people like the Japanese can not indefinitely be prevented from participating in the government of a country in which they become dominant in numbers, and the ownership of property.

Already the Japanese in Hawaii are restless under the restrictions imposed upon them, and it needs no gift of prophecy to demonstrate that, with their growing wealth, commerce and numbers, it will be impossible for any local independent government in Hawaii to much longer withhold from them the full privileges which they demand.

Even though political privileges may for some time be withheld from them, their commercial men are active and progressive, and are rapidly establishing themselves in Hawaii.

Long experience has shown that in Hawaii, as elsewhere, blood is thicker than water.

The American merchant buys all that he can in the United States, and what he cannot get there he buys elsewhere. The Japanese merchant naturally buys all that he can in Japan and gets elsewhere what can not be advantageously obtained from his own country. Much of the advantage heretofore obtained by the United States in Hawaii has been by reason of the strong American commercial representation in the Islands. The new Japanese commercial element is in a position to compete and does destructively compete with the American merchants in Hawaii, in an ever accelerating degree.

Regardless of the declarations or political intentions of the Japanese government, as a government, Hawaii has, against the will and efforts of its government and people, drifted Japan-wards during the past two years; and unless radical action is taken to stay the process there can be but one logical result, viz: the ultimate supremacy of the Japanese, and thereby of Japan, in Hawaii. This has progressed and will be accomplished in the teeth of the American policy of exclusion of foreign control in Hawaii, and with no tangible overt act on the part of the Japanese government.

It may be claimed that Europeans and Americans can hold their own in competition with the Japanese. The reply to this is, that experience has demonstrated that there can be no competition between Europeans and Americans on the one side and Japanese or Chinese on the other. The only possible result is the absolute

substitution of the Asiatic in the place of the white man, by reason of the fact that the Eastern standard of civilization and living is so much lower than the Western, that the Asiatic can exist and prosper on a margin of profit which means starvation and destitution to a man who attempts to feed, clothe and educate a family in accordance with the American standard.

The issue in Hawaii is not between monarchy and the Republic. That issue has been settled. There are some persons who do not recognize this fact. There are never lacking those who set their faces backward; who mourn every lost cause and vainly hope for the restoration of abused and forfeited power.

The issue in Hawaii today, is the preliminary skirmish in the great coming struggle between the civilization and the awakening forces of the East and the civilization of the West. The issue is whether, in that inevitable struggle, Asia or America shall have the vantage ground of the control of the naval "Key of the Pacific," the commercial "Cross-roads of the Pacific."

All that has held, and that is now holding, Hawaii for the United States, is the indomitable will and pluck of the men in Hawaii, of not only American, but of Hawaiian and European blood, who against heavy odds, are doing and will continue to do all that is within the bounds of possibility to prevent Hawaii from retrograding into an Asiatic outpost, and to hold the country to that destiny which American statesmen have for fifty years, regardless of party, outlined for it. But there is a limit to their strength, and if help from the great Republic is to come in time it must come soon. While the tendency of events in Hawaii is against American interests they have not progressed so far that they can not be arrested, if the United States will take radical action for its own protection. Annexation will accomplish such a result and nothing else will. A protectorate is suggested by some. The reasons why a protectorate will not meet the requirements of the case are given in full elsewhere herein. It is sufficient to say here that the alternative of "annexation or protectorate" has successively been presented to Presidents Pierce, Harrison, and McKinley, and Secretaries of State Marcy, Foster, and Sherman, in 1854, 1893 and 1897, and has each time been decided in favor of annexation; for the reason that a Protectorate imposes upon the United States responsibility without power to control; while Annexation imposes practically no more responsibility but is accompanied with the full powers of ownership. Under annexation the United States prohibition of Chinese immigration will apply to Hawaii, and the new treaty with Japan gives the United States full power to control the emigration of laborers.

Annexation can be consummated now with little or no friction. Events are moving rapidly in the Pacific and no one can predict what the developments and changes of even a year may bring forth.

THIRD REASON IN FAVOR OF THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII.

It will increase many fold and secure to the United States the commerce of the Islands.

Only those who have been brought directly into contact with the commercial relations between Hawaii and the United States realize its volume or importance.

Prior to the negotiation of the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty in 1876, the commerce of the Islands was inconsiderable, and was in a languishing condition. Population, exports, imports, and shipping—all were steadily decreasing as the following figures show:

Table Showing Condition of the Hawaiian Trade for Six Years prior to Reciprocity Treaty.

Year	Imports	Domestic Exports	Customs Receipts	Merchant Vessels Entered.	Whaling Vessels Entered
1869-----	\$2,040,000	\$1,743,000	\$215,000	127	102
1870-----	1,930,000	1,514,000	223,000	159	118
1871-----	1,625,000	1,733,000	221,000	171	47
1872-----	1,746,000	1,402,000	218,000	146	47
1873-----	1,437,000	1,725,000	198,000	109	63
1874-----	1,210,827	1,622,000	183,000	120	43

From the day the Reciprocity treaty went into operation the island trade, in all its branches, increased rapidly, and today Hawaii is the best customer which the Pacific coast has,—the largest consumer of United States products of any single country bordering on the Pacific.

The following table shows the change wrought since the treaty :

Table showing Improved Condition of Hawaiian Trade for the last Five Years, the Result of the Reciprocity Treaty.

Year	Imports	Domestic Exports	Customs Receipts	Merchant Vessels Entered
1892-----	\$4,684,000	\$8,081,000	\$494,000	262
1893-----	5,346,000	10,742,000	545,000	315
1894-----	5,713,000	9,591,000	524,000	350
1895-----	5,714,000	8,358,000	547,000	318
1896-----	7,164,000	15,515,000	656,000	386

STATEMENT SHOWING IMPORTANCE OF HAWAIIAN TRADE TO PACIFIC COAST.

While the United States as a whole is benefited by Hawaiian trade, the Pacific coast finds it one of the most profitable in which it engages.

The figures for the full year 1896 showing the trade of the Pacific coast are not yet available. The following figures are from the published statement of San Francisco's commerce for the year ending November 30, 1896.

Table showing comparative importance of San Francisco exports to Hawaii, and to some other countries, for the year ending November 30, 1896.

Australia.....	\$3,932,000
Hawaii.....	3,588,000
All of Central America.....	3,440,000
China.....	2,989,000
Japan.....	2,270,000
Mexico.....	1,469,000
All Europe except Great Britain.....	1,446,000
All of Asia and Oceanica, except China and Japan.....	1,298,000
New Zealand, Samoa, Marquesas, Cook, Fiji, Friendly, Marshall, Caroline and all other Polynesian islands combined.....	684,000
British Columbia.....	431,000
All of South America.....	294,000

STATEMENT SHOWING COMPARATIVE IMPORTANCE OF SAN FRANCISCO EXPORTS OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES TO HAWAII AND SOME OTHER COUNTRIES.

WINE.

Hawaii is San Francisco's *second* best foreign wine customer. Central America is the only country which took more of San Francisco's wine than Hawaii, and the only thing that prevents Hawaii from standing first on the list is that all the Central American republic's are grouped and treated as one country in the statistics.

Hawaii took wine to the amount of.....	\$78,000
Mexico took wine to the amount of.....	64,000
England took wine to the amount of.....	44,000
Japan took wine to the amount of.....	20,000
All of South America took wine to the amount of.....	18,000
China took wine to the amount of.....	7,000
Siberia took wine to the amount of.....	1,400
All of the Pacific islands (except Hawaii) took wine to the amount of.....	12,000
New Zealand took wine to the amount of.....	565
Australia took wine to the amount of.....	7

SALMON.

Hawaii is San Francisco's *third* best purchaser of salmon, having purchased to the amount of \$59,379.

The only countries that bought more than Hawaii were Australia and England.

Other countries took the following amounts :

New Zealand.....	\$43,594
All of Europe.....	9,089
All of Asia and Africa, including Japan.....	15,907
Mexico, Central and South America.....	12,395
All of Oceanica and Polynesia.....	15,134

In other words, Hawaii bought more salmon from San Francisco in 1896 than all the rest of the countries of the world added together, leaving out England, Australia, and New Zealand.

BARLEY.

Hawaii was the *third* largest consumer of barley exported by San Francisco, having taken barley to the amount of \$139,000.

The only countries which took more barley than Hawaii were England and Belgium.

St. Vincent is credited with more, but that is only a port of call at which to receive orders as to where to deliver the grain.

Australia took barley to the amount of only.....	\$52,000
Africa took barley to the amount of only.....	6,000
All of the Pacific islands (excluding Hawaii) took barley to the amount of only.....	2,907
All of Central America took.....	3,004
Japan took.....	280
Mexico took.....	56
China, South America, and British Colombia took none.	

FLOUR.

In the consumption of flour Hawaii stood *sixth*, flour having been exported there to the amount of \$164,000.

England took flour to the amount of only.....	\$333,000
Or barely twice the consumption of Hawaii.	
The export to Japan was.....	123,000
To all of South America.....	96,000
To Mexico.....	31,000
To all of Africa, Polynesia, Oceanica, and Asia (excepting Japan, China, and Siberia) the export of flour amounted to only.....	114,569

The above statistics do not include the large shipments being made to Hawaii, direct from Washington and Oregon, by the three lines of steamers and many sailing vessels running from there to Honolulu.

TABLE SHOWING VALUES OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES IMPORTED BY HAWAII DURING 1896.

Hawaiian imports amounted during 1896 to \$7,164,561, of which \$5,464,208, being 76 per cent, came from the United States.

The infinite variety of the exports to Hawaii indicates the widespread participation which the residents of the United States have in the business. There is not an industry in the United States which is not benefited by Hawaiian trade, and which would not be injured by abrogation of the treaty, or diversion of Hawaii's trade elsewhere.

The following statement shows the value of some of the principal articles imported by Hawaii during 1896:

Ale, beer, cider and porter.....	\$ 74,820 65	
Animals.....	51,633 37	
Building materials.....	120,638 78	
Clothing, boots and hats.....	292,558 82	
Coal and coke.....	135,646 85	
Crockery, glassware, lamps and lamp fixtures.....	47,552 58	
Drugs, surgical instruments, and dental material.....	68,192 06	
Dry goods.....	{ Cottons.....	311,891 21
	{ Linens.....	12,633 94
	{ Silks.....	20,953 16
	{ Woolens.....	69,368 27
	{ Mixtures.....	10,932 59

Fancy goods, millinery, etc.....	101,285	80
Fertilizer, bone-meal, etc.....	332,238	71
Fish (dry and salt).....	80,564	21
Flour.....	156,999	29
Fruits, fresh.....	14,154	97
Furniture.....	91,637	73
Grain and feed.....	273,752	71
Groceries and provisions.....	520,884	69
Guns and materials.....	16,046	42
Gunpowder, blasting, etc.....	7,526	68
Hardware, agricultural implements, and tools.....	278,267	93
Iron, steel, etc.....	38,940	70
Jewelry, plate, clocks.....	25,341	89
Leather.....	41,549	28
Lumber.....	255,241	64
Machinery.....	343,104	69
Matches.....	15,587	32
Musical instruments, etc.....	21,456	82
Naval stores.....	47,922	34
Oil—coconut, kerosene, whale, etc.....	107,418	94
Paints, paint oils, and turpentine.....	53,410	86
Perfumery and toilet articles.....	17,149	48
Railroad material, rails, cars, etc.....	32,977	22
Saddlery, carriages, and material.....	95,007	74
Shooks, bags, and containers.....	199,096	78
Spirits.....	65,947	20
Stationery and books.....	92,614	67
Tea.....	30,860	26
Tin, tinware, and materials.....	10,925	67
Tobacco, cigars, etc.....	194,835	82
Wines, light.....	161,360	54
Sundry personal and household effects.....	24,765	12
Sundry merchandise not included in above.....	227,897	01

TABLE SHOWING HOW MANY AND HOW MUCH OF CERTAIN ARTICLES WERE IMPORTED BY HAWAII DURING 1896.

An enumeration of the numbers and amounts of articles imported will convey a better idea to some, of the importance of the Hawaiian trade to the farmers and manufacturers of the United States.

The following items taken at random from the Hawaiian table of imports for 1896 indicate the wide range of their business.

This list can be indefinitely extended, but it is sufficient to show that no narrow interest is subserved by the Hawaiian trade:

33	Bulls and cows.	189,000	Prs. boots, shoes and slippers.
246	Horses.	18,960	Cravats and ties.
1,583	Hogs and pigs.	27,600	Boys' felt and wool hats.
555	Mules.	6,300	Ladies' hats.
2,223	Blinds.	38,000	Straw hats.
110,872	Bricks.	55,600	Undershirts.
5,016	Doors.	194,600	Prs. socks and stockings.
22,281	Barrels lime.	350,000	Cartridges.
65,000	Tons of coal.	22,500	Pounds rope.
140,000	Bottles and vials.	31,000	Pairs butts and hinges.
7,400	Lamps.	321,000	Pounds fence wire.
7,500	Lanterns.	40,500	Files and rasps.
52,000	Lbs. of acids.	20,000	Galvanized buckets.
11,000	Lbs. Epsom salts.	1,600	Kegs horseshoes.
134,000	Pounds soda ash.		

271,000	Yards brown cotton.	51,000	Feet rubber hose.
488,000	Yards denim.	26,800	Hoes.
79,000	" drilling.	23,800	Butcher and pocket knives.
94,000	" dress goods.	36,000	Pounds and 8,000 kegs and boxes nails.
90,000	" duck.	343,000	Nuts and bolts.
48,000	" flannelette.	4,300	Picks and mattocks.
179,000	" gingham.	400,000	Feet iron pipe.
84,000	Cotton handkerchiefs.	2,000	Razors.
24,000	Yards muslin.	18,500	Pots and kettles.
1,657,000	" cotton prints.	330	Plows.
521,000	" sheeting.	260	Refrigerators.
103,000	" shirting.	30,000	Pounds iron and copper rivets.
49,000	Silk handkerchiefs.	4,000	Saws.
12,000	Pairs woolen blankets.	15,000	Pairs scissors and shears.
20,000	Yards embroidery.	4,500	Shovels and spades.
569,000	Needles.	2,900	Stoves.
20,000	Pieces of ribbon.	100,000	Feet wire cloth.
304,000	Pounds cod fish.	26,000	Paint and other brushes.
4,000	Barrels salt salmon.	3,500	Clocks.
644,000	Pounds and 550 barrels and cases of other kinds of salt fish.	3,100	Watches.
11,500	Barrels and boxes of fresh apples, grapes, peaches, pears and other fruits.	19,197,000	Feet northwest pine lumber.
11,000	Chairs.	800,000	Laths.
39,000	Rolls wall paper.	64,000	Fence posts.
575	Sets parlor and chamber furniture.	4,100,000	Feet red-wood lumber.
970	Tables.	42,600	Railroad ties.
18,635,000	Pounds of barley.	21,000	Feet belting.
12,500,000	" " bran.	1,500	Boiler tubes.
565,000	" " corn.	246,000	Pounds packing.
2,155,000	" " middlings.	937	Sewing machines.
65,000	Bales of hay.	58	Type-writing machines.
3,548,000	Pounds of oats.	600	Guitars.
85,700	" " meal cake.	79	Pianos and organs.
876,500	" " wheat.	24,000	Yards canvas.
23,000	" dried apples and apricots.	52,000	Pounds ship chains.
63,000	" bacon.	220,000	Pounds rope.
1,100,000	" beans.	130,000	Pounds and 38,000 feet wire rope.
264,000	" hard bread.	64,000	Cases kerosene.
120,000	" butter.	110,000	Gallons lubricating oil.
45,000	" butterine.	620	Barrels tar.
51,000	" candles.	31,000	Gallons linseed oil.
107,000	" cheese.	493,000	Pounds and 9,000 gallons paint and varnish.
197,000	" and 16,000 tins of cakes and crackers.	363	Bicycles.
225,000	" hams.	132	Carriages.
322,000	" lard.	300	Sets Harness.
477,000	" onions.	1,200	Horse combs.
38,000	Tins canned oysters.	1,560	Saddles.
53,000	pounds split peas.	4,000,000	Sugar bags.
632,000	" potatoes.	1,500,000	Paper bags.
21,000	" prunes.	11,000	Printed books.
145,000	Tins canned meats.	4,200	Blank books.
477,000	Pounds salt.	41,600	Packs playing cards.
193,000	" and 10,000 cases of soap.	2,321,000	Envelopes.
637,000	" refined sugar.	96,000	Lead pencils.
49,000	Gallons vinegar.	1,427,000	Cigars.
2,932,000	Gun caps.	5,827,000	Cigarettes.
6,709	Window sashes.	320,000	Pounds tobacco.
		869	Cases and 136,000 gallons California wine.
		28,800,000	Pounds fertilizer.

COMMERCE WILL BE GREATLY INCREASED UNDER ANNEXATION.

The astonishing commercial results shown above have resulted from affording to Hawaii a free market for, practically, only three of her products, viz : sugar, rice and bananas.

Under annexation, the country would have a free market for all its products, and, with the exception of the three products above named, the resources of the country are practically untouched.

With a population of only 109 thousand, Hawaii in 1896, had a foreign trade of over \$208 per capita for every man, woman and child in the country; a record almost unparallel in the history of the world.

Less than a hundred years ago, Hawaii supported a population of four hundred thousand souls with the crude methods of cultivation then known.

Artificial irrigation in its most advanced methods, is now practiced in Hawaii, bringing thousands of acres into cultivation that have heretofore been waste.

There is no reason why Hawaii cannot support a population of a million as easy as it does a hundred thousand.

Islands of less area, and no greater resources than Hawaii, in both the East and West Indies are supporting populations of several millions each.

It requires no mathematical ability to demonstrate that an increase of the population of Hawaii to even a million will place its commerce in the front rank of American export trade.

Under existing conditions, the Hawaiian general tariff of 10 per cent has allowed about 25 per cent of Hawaiian imports to come from countries other than the United States, and if annexation does not take place an increasing proportion of Hawaiian imports will come from other countries.

If Hawaii becomes American territory, the American protective tariff of approximately 50 per cent will give to Americans practically all of its present foreign trade, and an immensely larger trade which will spring into existence as the Islands develop under the stimulating influences of a stable government, fertile soil and a free market.

FOURTH REASON IN FAVOR OF THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII.

It will greatly increase and secure to the United States the shipping business of the islands.

To those who refer to the Hawaiian Islands, as "Dots in the Pacific" this may appear to be an absurd reason.

It is absurd to those only who do not know the facts.

Hawaii is today, the main stay of the American merchant marine engaged in deep-sea-foreign trade.

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF AMERICAN VESSELS ENTERING AMERICAN PORTS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OTHER THAN THE AMERICAN CONTINENT, DURING THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1896.

(COMPILED FROM U. S. TREASURY RECORDS.)

Countries cleared from.	Number of Vessels	
Austria	None	} All of Europe 30 Ships.
Belgium	16	
Denmark	None	
France	2	
Gibraltar	2	
Germany	None	
Italy	5	
Netherlands	None	
Portugal	None	
Russia	None	
Spain	5	} All of Asia 98 Ships.
Sweden and Norway	None	
China	14	
Hong Kong	30	
Japan	29	
East Indies	23	
Russia	2	
Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Fiji, and Norfolk Islands	30	All of Australasia 30 Ships.
All other Pacific Islands (except Hawaii)	30	
All of Africa	22	
United Kingdom	88	
Hawaiian Islands	191	

To summarize further, the number of American vessels entering American ports during the year ending June 30, 1896, were :

From the United Kingdom	88
From Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and Oceanica combined	210
From Hawaii	191

Or, in other words, Hawaii furnished cargo for 191 American ships, and all the world besides, outside of the American continent, furnished cargo for only 298 American ships.

Hawaii is the banner country for promoting American shipping and spreading the American flag to the breeze, and it is submitted that she should be allowed to carry on and extend the good work.

The following tables also show the extent to which American shipping is dominating the Hawaiian foreign trade, and that Hawaii is the only foreign country in the wide world in which American shipping is not only holding its own, but increasing :

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER AND TONNAGE OF VESSELS ENTERING THE PORTS OF HAWAIIAN ISLANDS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES FOR THE YEARS 1890 TO 1896, INCLUSIVE.

Year	American Entered.		Hawaiian Entered.		Other Nations Entered.		Total Entered.	
	Vessels No.	Tons.	Vessels No.	Tons.	Vessels No.	Tons.	Vessels No.	Tons.
1890.....	227	150,676	34	42,229	34	37,215	295	230,120
1891.....	224	173,891	25	28,077	61	82,187	310	284,155
1892.....	204	154,007	9	5,009	49	79,606	262	238,622
1893.....	221	178,120	23	15,759	66	126,115	310	319,994
1894.....	250	182,176	17	13,844	73	140,388	340	336,408
1895.....	219	182,876	28	22,592	71	132,349	318	337,817
1896.....	247	243,983	26	25,049	113	208,965	386	477,997
Total.....	1,592	1,265,729	162	152,559	467	806,825	2,221	2,225,113

Total vessels entering, 2,221; tonnage 2,225,113.

Total American and Hawaiian vessels entering, 1,754; tonnage, 1,418,288.

Total all other nationalities, 469; tonnage, 806,825.

NOTE.—Nearly all the Hawaiian vessels engaged in foreign trade are owned by Americans.

TABLE SHOWING THE VALUE OF IMPORTS TO AND EXPORTS FROM HAWAII FOR THE YEARS 1892 TO 1896, INCLUSIVE; THE PERCENTAGE OF TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND PERCENTAGE CARRIED IN AMERICAN VESSELS.

Year.	Total value imports.	Total value exports.	Per cent. of trade with U. S.	Per cent. carried in American vessels.	Per cent. carried in Hawaiian vessels.	Per cent. carried in vessels of other nations.
1892.....	4,684,207	8,060,087	93.12	85.39	3.03	11.58
1893.....	5,346,808	10,818,758	93.18	83.76	6.42	9.82
1894.....	5,713,181	9,140,794	89.90	84.67	5.09	10.24
1895.....	5,714,017	8,474,138	90.00	74.70	12.40	12.90
1896.....	7,164,561	15,515,230	92.26	82.53	5.26	12.21

NOTE.—Nearly all the Hawaiian vessels engaged in foreign trade are owned by Americans.

UNDER ANNEXATION, AMERICAN SHIPPING WILL BE GREATLY INCREASED.

After annexation, all exports and imports to and from the United States, will have to be carried in American vessels; for, being American territory, the Coasting trade laws will apply, and freight and passengers

can be carried between Hawaii and other parts of the United States in American vessels only.

As the American tariff will bar out almost all imports from foreign countries, practically the whole freighting business of Hawaii will be with the United States and will be transacted by American vessels. With the unquestionably rapid and large increase of Hawaiian population and commerce under annexation, it is entirely within bounds to say that within ten years after annexation is completed, the number of American vessels required to carry freight to and from Hawaii to the United States will be double that now engaged therein. That is to say, 247 American ships being required to carry Hawaiian freight, in 1896, approximately five hundred will be required in 1906, if annexation is consummated; or more than all the deep sea American ships which entered American ports during 1896, from all the world outside of the American continent.

FIFTH REASON IN FAVOR OF THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII.

It will remove Hawaii from international politics, and tend to promote peace in the Pacific by eliminating an otherwise certain source of international friction.

It is the habit of those who oppose the annexation of Hawaii, to ridicule the possibility of any foreign government taking any action in or towards Hawaii inimical to the interests of the United States.

One of the best methods of judging the future is to examine the past.

Within the past eighty-five years, Hawaii has been taken possession of:

Once by Russia.

Once by England.

Twice by France.

And by reason of hostile demonstrations by foreign governments, creating the fear of foreign conquest, an absolute cession of the sovereignty of the country to the United States was executed and delivered in 1851, and a treaty of annexation negotiated in 1854.

Since 1874, on four separate occasions, internal disturbances have required the landing of foreign troops from war ships, for the protection of the interests of the several nations there represented.

During the past few years there has not seemed to be any likelihood of conflict between the United States and any other foreign powers, and many persons have concluded that there is no possibility of conflict in the future.

While the tendency of the age is undoubtedly in favor of arbitration and against war, the existing conditions in the world are not such as to guarantee that the millennium is near at hand, and more particularly are the developments in the Pacific such as to render it unsafe for any country possessing interests therein to act upon the supposition that there will be no conflict of interests in that locality.

Russia has heretofore been a European country, with but a nominal interest in the Pacific. Within the past five years it has developed Pacific wards, until it fills the northwestern horizon, and with the now rapidly progressing development of its vast empire on the Pacific coast

of Siberia; the construction of its transcontinental railway from St. Petersburg to the Pacific, and the fore-shadowed absorption of northern China, there can be no prediction of the limit of its interests and strength in the Pacific.

The meteor-like projection of Japan into the international sky, is too recent and vivid to need any enumeration of detail. In the short space of a year Japan has become not only a Pacific, but a world power.

With its rapidly increasing population, already numbering nearly fifty million; its navy now stronger than any other in the Pacific; its demonstrated power of organization and military execution; its progressive commercial and aggressive national spirit, there is no safety in basing any calculations upon the meekness or weakness of Japan.

Whether the government of Great Britain will voluntarily engage in hostilities with the United States, may be doubted; but there is a great Anglo-Saxon community growing up in the Pacific, including Australia, New Zealand, and hundreds of islands within their sphere of influence, whose interests are so great as to radically affect and frequently control British policy. This great Anglo-Saxon community inhabiting a country larger than the United States, excluding Alaska, is in the spring tide of its development. Its leading statesmen have repeatedly and publicly advanced the claim that the control of the Pacific was theirs, by right. Today, their influence and strength is not sufficient to be a serious menace to other interests in the Pacific. What their power may be fifty, or a hundred years from now, no man can tell. The statesmen of the United States should look, not to the conditions of today only, but should stake out and secure to the United States the position and policy which that country may require for a hundred years to come.

The population of Hawaii is, and for years to come will be, constituted of many divers nationalities and factions.

For the immediate present, the government is under the control of those favorable to the United States. There is no certainty that this condition of affairs will continue. As long as Hawaii is independent, other nationalities will naturally and legitimately seek to advance their interests at the expense of those of the United States.

It is not necessary that any foreign government should attempt to do this, as a government.

The present difficulty with Japan is an illustration of how international troubles may arise through conflict of interests of the different nationalities resident in Hawaii, without direct initiative of a foreign government, and from entirely unexpected sources. Today the friction is with Japan. Tomorrow it may be with Europe, England, or China.

The population of the country is so small that individual influence is much greater than in a larger country, and it is much easier for a nationality or a faction to get control of the government.

As long as the country is independent, with its growing wealth and importance there is, and will be, a growing tendency to international friction among its inhabitants, which will inevitably draw into controversy the respective governments.

When annexation was proposed in 1893 no government objected. Today, by reason of the increase of the interests of Japanese subjects

in the islands, Japan interposes a vigorous objection. It may not be considered a serious obstacle to annexation; but it is an illustration of the rapidity with which changes are taking place in the Pacific, and of the possibility and probability of rapid developments inimical to American control, which must be expected in the Pacific within the early future.

Hawaii independent, but without the power to maintain its independence, is a standing invitation to international intrigue, and friction, and a menace to the peace of the Pacific.

As a part of the territory of the United States, Hawaii will be eliminated from international politics, as much so as is Florida or California.

A Brief Description of the Republic of Hawaii, Its People, Government, Laws, Commerce, Finances, Educational System and Resources.

LOCATION.

The Hawaiian Islands are near the middle of the North Pacific Ocean, between 18 and 22 degrees North Latitude and 154 and 160 degrees West Longitude.

The map on the back cover of this pamphlet shows their position, better than any description.

Without disputing Boston's claim to be the hub of the Universe, Hawaii is the hub of the Western Hemisphere.

STRATEGICAL POSITION.

Hawaii is the only spot in the Pacific, from the Equator on the South to Alaska on the North, and between America on the East and Asia on the West, where water, food or coal can be obtained. It is also on or near the principal trade routes across the Pacific. Its unique position is what has given it the name of "*The Cross Roads of the Pacific*," "*The Key of the Pacific*," and "*The Gibraltar of the Pacific*."

CAPTAIN MAHAN'S OPINION.

Captain Mahan, of the U. S. Navy, one of the highest authorities on naval strategy, says that Hawaii is one of the most important strategical points in the world; that it stands "alone, having no rival and admitting no rival."

The distances to the principal Pacific ports are as follows :

Hawaii to	San Francisco.....	2080 Miles.
" "	Nicaragua Canal.....	4210 "
" "	Tahiti.....	2389 "
" "	Pagopago, Samoa.....	2263 "
" "	Auckland, New Zealand.....	3850 "
" "	Fiji.....	2736 "
" "	Marshall Islands.....	2098 "
" "	Caroline Islands.....	2602 "
" "	Hong Kong.....	4917 "
" "	Yokohama, Japan.....	3399 "
" "	Unalaska, Aleution Islands.....	2016 "
" "	Sitka.....	2395 "
" "	Vancouver.....	2305 "

(See the map on the cover of this pamphlet.)

NUMBER AND AREA OF ISLANDS.

The group contains eight inhabited islands and a large number of small uninhabited ones, of a total approximate area of 7000 square miles, or 4,480,000 acres; being nearly the area of Massachusetts, and considerably larger than Connecticut and Rhode Island combined. The group extends east and west a distance of 1200 miles. The eight principal islands cover 300 miles at the eastern end of the group. They are Ha-wai-i, Mau-i, O-a-hu, Kau-ai, Mo-lo-kai, La-nai, Ka-hoo-la-we and Ni-i-hau. There are valuable guano and phosphate rock deposits on some of the western islands.

HO-NO-LU-LU.

Situated on the island of O-a-hu, is the principal city and the capital of the Republic.

It is located on a small but safe harbor, and has a population of 30,000.

The business portion is well built of stone and brick; the residences are of wood.

The city has 67 miles of streets and drives, of which 20 miles are macadamized; has a street railway system; public and private electric light systems; a telephone system extending throughout the island and using 1300 telephones; a well regulated State prison; handsome executive buildings, Custom House and Court House; an Insane Asylum, Public Hospitals, Maternity Home, Old Folks Home; Public Library; a well equipped Y. M. C. A. building; banks; churches; public and private schools; public water works, both a reservoir and pumping plant; a paid fire department equipped with the most modern steam and chemical engines; has a G. A. R. Post; branches of the Societies of "Sons" and "Daughters" of the American Revolution, and numerous Masonic, Odd Fellows and other similar Lodges. In other words, it has the appliances and conveniences of an up-to-date American city, with the added charm of a profuse tropical vegetation, and a climate unrivalled the world over for mildness and evenness.

The city lies on a level strip of land along the sea, a mile or two wide and five miles long, and extending back for several miles into five valleys, which cut deep into thickly wooded, cloud-capped mountains rising to an elevation of nearly 4000 feet at a distance of six miles from the sea.

GENERAL PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.

The islands are all high and mountainous, rising to a height of 4000 feet on Oahu, to 10,000 on Maui, and 14,000 feet and perpetual snow on the island of Hawaii. The whole country is volcanic in origin, there being hundreds of extinct and two active volcanoes.

Each island consists of one or more mountains seamed with valleys and gorges, with rolling plains lying between the mountains, and generally fringed with a comparatively level belt along the sea shore.

Some portions of the coast are protected by reefs of coral, while others are sheer precipices rising out of blue water to a height of thousands of feet.

THE SOIL, consisting of decomposed lava, is fertile; but has to be irrigated in many places, the water coming from mountain streams, artesian and surface wells. Some of the largest steam pumps in the world are used, raising water to an elevation of 400 feet.

Fertilizers are used in large quantities, thousands of tons per annum being used on the sugar plantations.

THE CLIMATE, is mild and even, being of an average weekly maximum of 74 in winter and 82 in summer. There are no extremes of heat or cold. The lowest temperature at sea level in winter, is about 56° and the hottest in the summer about 88°. A temperature of 90° in the shade is almost unknown. At higher eleva-

tions above the sea almost any desired temperature can be found. On two mountains there is perpetual snow.

The cool northeast trade winds blow for nine months of the year. Except when the south winds blow the humidity of the air is low.

The country at all elevations, and throughout the year, is healthy, the death rate among whites being exceptionally small. None of the fevers and other typical diseases of tropical countries are found there, and the diseases of the temperate zone are usually of a mild character.

The climate is so balmy and natural conditions so delightful that, by common acceptance, Hawaii is known as "The Paradise of the Pacific." Although spoken of as a "tropical country" it is barely on the edge of the tropics, and the same Arctic current that cools San Francisco gives Hawaii a climate many degrees cooler than in the same latitude in the Atlantic. It is a climate well suited to the physical and mental development of the Anglo Saxon.

PRODUCTS. The principal products are sugar, rice, coffee, bananas, pine apples, guavas and other tropical fruits, many of which grow wild.

SUGAR. The area cultivated with sugar cane is approximately 80,000 acres. The export of sugar in 1896 amounted to 221,000 tons. The output of sugar cannot be much increased, as most of the sugar lands are already occupied.

COFFEE. The cultivation of coffee is rapidly increasing. It will soon rival sugar in amount and value, as there are large areas of rich but yet uncultivated land, not available for sugar but peculiarly adapted to coffee. This product is the hope of the country, as it can be produced profitably by farmers with small capital.

BANANAS AND PINE APPLES. The principal supply of these fruits consumed on the Pacific Coast is from Hawaii. It is a growing trade.

THE RAINFALL varies greatly, ranging from fifty inches in some districts to 175 inches in others. Irrigation supplements the rainfall in the dryer section. Two-thirds of the sugar is produced by irrigation.

EDUCATION. There is a highly organized system of free public schools, modeled on that of the United States, in which the English language is taught. There are also a number of private boarding schools, and schools ranking with high schools in the United States.

The public school year is eight months, and all children between six and fourteen years of age are compelled, if physically able, to attend school.

All the Hawaiian born population of all nationalities can read and write English. The number of schools in 1896 was 187; number of teachers 426; number of scholars 12,616.

The schools are under the control of an unpaid board of five persons, appointed by the President.

The constitution prohibits the appropriation of public funds for sectarian or private schools.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES.

The financial status of the Republic is strong. The country is self-supporting, solvent and prosperous.

FINANCIAL STATUS JANUARY 1, 1897.

RECEIPTS.	The current cash on hand January 1, 1896, was.....	\$ 22,496.30	
	The current revenue for 1896 was:		
	From customs.....	656,895.82	
	" postoffice.....	77,488.94	
	" internal revenue.....	1,240,937.12	
	Total current revenue for 1896...		\$1,997,818.18
EXPENDITURES.	The current expenditures for 1896 were: General expenses....	\$1,651,631.33	
	Interest on all loans.....	236,459.59	
	Matured bonds paid.....	16,100.00	
	Total current expense for 1896...	\$1,904,190.92	
	Cash on hand December 31, 1896.....	\$ 93,627.26	
			\$1,997,818.18

This shows that after paying all running expenses, interest on all loans, and redeeming \$16,100 worth of bonds falling due, the Treasury closed the year with a cash surplus over \$71,000 greater than at the beginning.

TAXATION.

Revenue is raised by duties on imports, averaging 10 per cent ad-valorem; (except a few specific duties); and by internal taxes. The internal revenue is derived from rents of public lands, wharfage and water rates in Honolulu; a system of licenses for different kinds of business; a stamp duty on conveyances and legal documents; a tax of one per cent on all real and personal property, and a poll tax on male adults.

PUBLIC DEBT.

The bonded debt consists of 7 per cent bonds.....	\$ 1,500.	
6 per cent bonds.....	3,073,600.	
5 " " "	255,100.	
	<u>\$3,330,200.</u>	
Deposits in Postal Savings Bank..	\$ 882,345.29	
Total gross debt.....		\$4,212,545.29
Less bond proceeds, cash in Treasury	\$ 221,565.90	
And Postal Bank deposits...	111,371.04	
	<u>\$ 332,936.94</u>	
Total net debt January 1, 1897....		\$3,879,608.35

With the exception of \$222,000 five per cent bonds, which are redeemable in 1901, all of the debt can be taken up at any time.

Measures to refund the debt at four per cent, which were being taken, are being delayed, pending action on the annexation treaty, as the United States can, of course, refund at a still lower rate.

With the exception of \$1,000,000 held in London, practically all of the bonds are held in Hawaii.

PUBLIC LANDS.

The area of the public lands is 1,740,000 acres, of an estimated value in 1894 of \$4,389,550. The income from the rents of public lands during 1896 was \$137,773, an amount which can be largely increased.

A considerable portion of the public land is mountainous and waste, and much that is arable is under leases.

The policy of the government is to renew leases of only such portions of arable land as are in actual cultivation, cutting up all available farming lands into small farms and disposing of it on easy terms to actual settlers. It is mainly through this means that the coffee industry has become established.

A complete and extremely liberal land law has been enacted by the Republic, and is in operation under a Board of Land Commissioners.

The lands are being surveyed and roads constructed to them as rapidly as practicable.

Public lands suitable for coffee and fruit culture can be bought by actual settlers at from \$7 to \$20 an acre, on easy terms.

Land of similar quality can be purchased unconditionally from private parties at from \$25 to \$50 per acre.

POPULATION.

The census of 1896 shows the population to be 109,020.

In round numbers the different nationalities are represented as follows :

Native Hawaiians	31,000
Japanese	24,400
Portuguese	15,100
Chinese	21,600
Part Hawaiian and part foreign blood	8,400
Americans	3,000
British	2,200
German	1,400
Norwegian and French	479
All other nationalities	1,055

Expressed in percentage the population is as follows :

Native Hawaiian	28 per cent.
Japanese	22 " "
Chinese	20 " "
Americans, and Europeans by birth or descent	22 " "
Mixed blood	8 " "

FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

The Government of Hawaii was a monarchy until January, 1893, when Queen Liliuokalani attempted to abrogate the constitution and promulgate one increasing her power and disfranchising the whites.

The people thereupon overthrew the monarchy and established a Provisional Government, January the 17th, 1893.

Later a constitutional convention unanimously adopted a constitution declaring the Republic of Hawaii, on July 4, 1894.

THE EXECUTIVE consists of a President and four cabinet officers.

The President is Sanford Ballard Dole; fifty years of age; Hawaiian born, of American parentage; a graduate of Williams College; a lawyer by profession. He was a judge of the Supreme Court under the monarchy, which position he resigned to accept the leadership of the revolution which overturned the monarchy. He is respected and admired by all classes and factions in the community.

THE ELECTORATE consists of all male adult citizens who take an oath of renunciation of the monarchy and allegiance to the Republic. *Asiatics are not eligible to citizenship or to vote.*

The required qualifications of a voter for Representatives is ability to read and write Hawaiian or English and the payment of all taxes due; and for Senators, in addition thereto, an income of \$600 per annum, *or* the ownership of real estate worth \$1,500, *or* personal property worth \$3,000.

THE LEGISLATURE consists of a Senate elected for six years and a House of Representatives elected for two years, each consisting of fifteen members.

THE LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE is practically the same as in the United States. Each measure, in order to become law, has to pass three readings before each House and be signed by the President.

The committee system is the same as in American legislative bodies.

The President has the power of veto, which may be overridden by a two-thirds vote of each House.

CHARACTER OF LAWS. The foundation of the legal system of the country is the common law of England.

The penal law and practice is codified, and there are no penal offenses except those enumerated in the code.

The civil law, practice and procedure, is partially codified, and is, in general, as much like that of the several American States as the law of one State is like that of another.

The text books and law reports of England and the United States are cited as authority in the courts in the same manner that they are in this country.

The members of the Supreme and Circuit Court bars are nearly all Americans, or were educated in American law schools. The attorneys in the District Courts are mostly native Hawaiians, educated in Honolulu.

THE COURTS.

The main judicial system consists of District and Circuit Courts and a Supreme Court.

DISTRICT COURTS. There are about thirty District Courts. They have jurisdiction over civil matters involving not more than \$300, and over misdemeanors. They also commit, for trial by jury, persons accused of felony, exercising the functions of an American Grand Jury. The grand jury system has not been adopted.

An appeal lies from the District to the Circuit or Supreme Court.

CIRCUIT COURTS. There are four Circuit Courts, with appellate jurisdiction over appeals from the District Courts and original jurisdiction over all civil suits involving more than \$300; over persons committed for trial for felonies; in all equity, admiralty and probate

cases and over special proceedings such as habeas corpus, etc. Each Circuit Court is presided over by one judge. All jury trials are held in the Circuit Courts.

JURIES. The same class of cases are tried by jury as in the United States. Juries consist of twelve men, but nine can render a verdict in both civil and criminal cases. Jury can be waived in both civil and criminal cases, except capital cases.

THE SUPREME COURT consists of three judges, with exclusive jurisdiction to decide certain special proceedings and the validity of elections to the legislature; concurrent jurisdiction with the Circuit judges concerning habeas corpus and certain other special proceedings; and appellate jurisdiction over exceptions and appeals from District or Circuit Courts. Cases are tried promptly and the courts are ably and honestly conducted.

The judges are appointed by the President. District Judges for two years; Circuit Judges for four years, and Supreme Court judges for life.

TWENTY OBJECTIONS TO
 THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII
 ❁❁ AND REPLIES THERETO ❁❁

FIRST OBJECTION.*

It is unconstitutional because the general government is limited in its powers to those expressly conferred upon it by the Constitution.

The Constitution does not specifically grant power to annex territory, and therefore the power does not exist.

This objection is based upon what is known as the "Strict construction theory." It was believed in by Jefferson, when he annexed Louisiana in 1803; and he believed that an amendment to the Constitution was necessary in order to validate the treaty of annexation. He even drafted an amendment to the Constitution to this effect, but it never went beyond his Cabinet. Contemporary thought condemned the strict construction theory, as applied to annexation, and the Constitution has since then been repeatedly interpreted in favor of annexation by the Executive, Congress and the Supreme Court of the United States.

Interpretations of the Constitution by the Executive in favor of the power of annexation.

The instances in which the Executive has interpreted the Constitution in favor of annexation are eleven in number, viz.: By the negotiation of treaties for the annexation of Louisiana in 1803; Florida in 1819; California, New Mexico and Arizona in 1849; the so-called Gadsden purchase of the southern portion of New Mexico and Arizona in 1853, and Alaska in 1867, all of which were ratified by the Senate. Treaties were also negotiated by the Executive for the annexation of Texas in 1837 and 1843; Hawaii in 1854; San Domingo in 1870; Hawaii in 1893, and Hawaii again in 1897, which treaty is now pending before the Senate.

Interpretations of the Constitution by Congress in favor of the power of annexation.

The instances of Congressional action in favor of the power of annexation are :

1. The annexation of Texas in 1844, by joint resolution passed by a majority of the two houses of Congress.

2. A statute passed Aug. 18, 1856, by which any American citizen was authorized to take possession of any island on which guano was located, and, with the approval of the United States Government, upon taking certain preliminary action, to make the same United States territory.

3. By the ratification of the annexation of Midway island in the North Pacific, which had been accomplished by the Executive in 1867, by the appropriation of funds, with which to convert the same into a naval station.

The legislation referred to above, concerning the annexation of guano islands, is especially pertinent at the present time, when the Hawaiian Islands are under discussion, for the reason that we find that as long ago as 1856, Congress not only approved of insular annexation; but that, under that legislation, seventy islands and groups of islands were actually annexed to the United States; fifty-seven of them being in the Pacific Ocean and thirteen in the Carribean Sea. The first annexation under this statute was in 1856, and the last in 1884.

It may be claimed that the motive for annexing these Islands was simply to obtain the guano located thereon. Such undoubtedly was the motive; but the motive for annexing territory has no bearing upon the constitutionality thereof. The passage of the statute is a positive declaration by Congress that the annexation of territory, and insular territory at that, is constitutional, and that so slight a value accruing to the United States as the obtaining of a limited amount of fertilizing material, is a sufficient reason for the exercise of the power of annexation.

The Executive and Congressional action concerning Midway island is of especial interest, in that Midway island is at the western extremity of the same group of islands of which Hawaii is the easternmost; and also from the fact that the motive for the annexation of Midway was to secure a naval station in the North Pacific, which is one of the main reasons now urged for annexing Hawaii.

The query presents itself, why, if it was proper to annex the western end of the Hawaiian group in 1867, it is not now proper to annex the eastern end of the same group? Midway island is 1,200 miles west of Honolulu. Congress appropriated and there was spent the sum of \$50,000 in trying to make it into a naval station; a United States man-of-war was wrecked and three lives lost in the attempt, which was finally abandoned. The only reason that Midway was not developed into a full-fledged naval station was that it was found that the expense was far greater than originally supposed. It nevertheless remains United States territory, and a monument constructed by the Executive and Congress in favor of the constitutionality and propriety of insular annexation.

Interpretations of the Constitution by the Supreme Court of the United States, in favor of the power of annexation

The instances of interpretation by the Supreme Court of the United States of the constitutionality of annexation are four in number, viz., one in 1828, two in 1850, and one in 1889.

The first was in the case of the American Insurance company vs. Canter, to be found in 1 Peters, 542. The opinion was delivered by Chief Justice Marshall, in the course of which the following words were used:

"The Constitution confers absolutely on the Government of the Union the power of making wars and of making treaties. Consequently that Government possesses the power of acquiring territory, either by conquest or treaty."

The two decisions rendered in 1850 were by Chief Justice Taney. The decision in 1889 is the case of the Mormon church vs. the United

States, contained in 136 United States Reports, page 42. In the course of the decision, the court used the following words:

"The power to acquire territory is derived from the treaty-making power, and the power to declare and carry on war."

"The incidents of these powers are those of national sovereignty and belong to all independent governments."

The foregoing decisions base their conclusions some upon one point, some upon another; but they all agree that the constitutional power to annex territory exists absolutely; and the last decision is based upon the broad ground that "the power to make acquisitions of territory is an incident of national sovereignty."

It is submitted that the foregoing acts and decisions of the Executive, Congress, and the United States Supreme Court, covering a period of nearly a hundred years, are decisive in favor of the constitutional power of the United States Government to annex territory.

SECOND OBJECTION.

It is unconstitutional because Hawaii is not contiguous to the United States.

The opponents of the constitutionality of annexation, finding the precedents and reasoning strongly against them, have fallen back from the position that annexation is directly prohibited by the Constitution, to the claim that there are certain "implied prohibitions" in the Constitution, which are as binding as those which appear on its face, and that among these "implied prohibitions" is the one above stated.

The only reason presented why the annexation of non-contiguous territory is unconstitutional, is that the "people of the day" did not discuss nor contemplate the annexation of such territory.

We have seen by the authoritative decision of the Supreme Court in 1889, that the power to acquire territory is an incident of national sovereignty; that is to say, the United States has the right to acquire territory, or any other property, because it is a nation. It has the same rights and powers in this respect that any other nation has—that, for example, England has. There is manifestly no limitation upon the power of England to acquire territory. How, then, can there be any limitation upon the power of the United States to do so?

The fact that territory is contiguous or non-contiguous, is to be considered in reference to the policy or expediency of annexation, but it is submitted that both on principle and precedent there is all the constitutional power necessary to accomplish annexation in any case where annexation is deemed to be in the interest of this country.

The fact that territory is contiguous or non-contiguous can have no bearing upon the constitutionality of its acquisition; but simply goes to affect the *value* of the territory proposed to be annexed. On general principles, if it is contiguous, it is more easily governed and defended. But whether this is so or not depends upon circumstances. In these days distance is not a matter of miles, but of hours. When California was annexed, it was two months distant from the center of civilization in the United States. Honolulu today lies only ten and a half days from Washington.

As to the arguments presented in favor of the unconstitutionality of the annexation of non-contiguous territory, it is submitted that because our forefathers of 1776 did not discuss or contemplate any given proposition, is no reason, constitutional or otherwise, why their children should not discuss and contemplate any and every problem which is presented to them in 1897, upon its merits, whether their ancestors ever heard of such subject or not.

It is further submitted that the precedents in United States history are all against the unconstitutionality of the annexation of non-contiguous territory. Alaska is separated from the United States by a vast foreign territory. Midway Island is approximately three thousand miles from the American coast. The Aleutian Islands, reaching almost to the Asiatic coast, extend twelve hundred miles west of Alaska, and the guano islands are scattered all over the Pacific and the Caribbean Sea.

THIRD OBJECTION.

It is unconstitutional because its inhabitants are not homogeneous with the people of the United States.

This is another of the alleged "implied prohibitions." The same reasoning applied to the last objection applies to this one, to wit, that there is no constitutional feature involved, but it is simply a fact to be taken into consideration when the advisability of annexing any given territory is under consideration.

Is it conceivable that, regardless of the advantages of annexing any given territory, the people of the United States are absolutely prohibited from annexing such territory, simply because its inhabitants may not be up to the full American standard?

Again, it is submitted that the precedents are all opposed to the view advanced in the objection under consideration. For example, when Louisiana was annexed, its population consisted of a few thousand Frenchmen and several hundred thousand Indians, reaching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Oregon coast. To say nothing about the Indians, the Frenchmen were governed by the civil law of France, and to this day the foundation of the law of Louisiana is the civil law, and not the English common law.

Florida had a population of a few Spaniards and Indians. Texas, prior to the great influx of Americans, had a population solely of Mexicans, Spaniards and Indians. At the time of its annexation, California had an American population consisting of only a few traders and a military post, the great bulk of the population consisting of Mexicans and Indians, with a sprinkling of Spanish priests. Alaska had a few hundred Russians and some thirty or forty thousand Arctic Indians. Were these homogeneous populations? Were they up to the American standard of citizenship? If not, and if it is unconstitutional to annex territory unless the inhabitants of such territory are up to the American standard, then such annexations were void, for if this is a constitutional principle, it cannot be varied by circumstances.

It is submitted that there is no principle, direct, or implied, in the Constitution of the United States, which makes the title of the United States to the territories enumerated, depend upon the quality of the people living therein at the date of annexation.

FOURTH OBJECTION.

Whether the annexation of a non-homogenous people is constitutional or not, the population of Hawaii is unfit for incorporation into, and will be dangerous to the American political system.

Whether the Hawaiian population is unfit for incorporation into the American system, depends upon two things. First, the existing facts; and second, the outlook for the future.

First, as to the existing conditions in Hawaii. The foundation of Hawaiian law is the common law of England. The general statutes, court procedure and legal methods of Hawaii are as much like those of Illinois as those of Illinois are like those of Massachusetts. The laws of Hawaii are based upon—many of them copies of—those of the United States. The two statutes, for example, which Japan is now objecting to, as limiting Japanese immigration, are almost exact copies of the United States immigration laws restricting the immigration of contract laborers and undesirable persons. All legal documents are modeled on those in use in the United States. Most of the lawyers and judges are either from the United States or educated therein. The public school system is based upon that of the United States. There are one hundred and eighty-seven of them, taught by four hundred and twenty-six teachers, and containing 12,600 pupils, all taught in the English language. More than one-half the teachers are Americans. English is the official language of the schools and courts, and the common language of business. The railroads, cars, engines, waterworks, waterpipes, dynamos, telephones, fire apparatus, are all of American make. United States currency is the currency of the country. All Government and private bonds, notes and mortgages are made payable in United States money. Practically manhood suffrage among all Hawaiian citizens has existed since 1852. The Australian ballot system has been in operation since 1890. All American holidays, Washington's Birthday, Decoration day, Fourth of July and Thanksgiving day are as fully and enthusiastically celebrated in Hawaii as in any part of the United States. This is not the growth of a day, but of two generations, so that even to the native Hawaiian it appears to be the natural order of things.

The people of Hawaii as a whole, are energetic and industrious. They are annually producing and exporting more per capita than any other nation in the world. Moreover their chief export, sugar, is an article which has to compete in the markets of the world on the smallest possible margin of profit, and can be produced only by a combination of industry, economy, and keen business ability.

No people who are leading the world in the per capita export of manufactured products can be truthfully characterized as lazy, worthless or unreliable.

As a matter of fact there are no poor-houses, paupers, beggars or tramps in Hawaii.

To take the different nationalities up in detail :

THE NATIVE HAWAIIANS, only 33,000 in number, are a conservative, peaceful and generous people. They have had during the last twenty years, to struggle against the retrogressive tendencies of the reigning family; but in spite of that, a very large proportion of them

have stood out against such tendencies, and are supporters of the Republic and of annexation. The majority of the present House of Representatives, the first under the Republic, consists of pure-blood native Hawaiians, and the Speaker of the House is a native Hawaiian.

The Hawaiians are not Africans, but Polynesians. They are brown not black. There is not, and never has been any color line in Hawaii as against native Hawaiians, and they participate fully and on an equality with the white people in affairs political, social, religious and charitable. The two races freely intermarry one with the other, the results being shown in a present population of some 7000 of mixed blood. They are a race which will in the future, as they have in the past, easily and rapidly assimilate with and adopt American ways and methods.

THE PORTUGUESE have frequently been spoken of as being a bad element, and are even spoken of as not being Europeans. This is unjust and incorrect. Seven thousand of the so-called 15,000 Portuguese of Hawaii, are Hawaiian born, and all of them have been educated in the public schools, so that they speak English as readily as does the average American child. The criminal statistics show a smaller percentage of offenses committed by this class of Hawaiian population than by any other nationality in the country. They are a hard-working industrious, home-creating and home-loving people, who would be of advantage to any developing country. They constitute the best laboring element in Hawaii.

THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE are an undesirable population from a political standpoint, because they do not understand American principles of government. The Asiatic population of Hawaii consists largely, however, of laborers who are temporarily in the country for what they can make out of it. As soon as they accumulate a few hundred dollars they return home. Shut off the source of supply, and in ten years there will not be Asiatics enough left in Hawaii to have any appreciable effect.

Moreover, most of them are making as much or more money in Hawaii than they can in the United States, and they have no object in trying to come to this country. This is evidenced by the fact that prior to the passage of the Chinese exclusion act by Congress, there were as many Chinese in Hawaii as there now are, but practically none came to California. The Japanese are now free to come to California from Honolulu, but none come.

The treaty of annexation prohibits any further Chinese immigration from the date of the ratification of the treaty; prohibits emigration of the Chinese now in Hawaii to any other part of the United States, and the treaty with Japan, which goes into effect in 1899, allows the United States to regulate the immigration of Japanese laborers.

Individually, the Chinese and Japanese in Hawaii are industrious, peaceable citizens, and as long as they do not take part in the political control of the country, what danger can the comparatively small number there be to this country? They are not citizens, and by the Constitution of Hawaii, they are not eligible to become citizens; they are aliens in America and aliens in Hawaii; annexation will give them no rights which they do not now possess, either in Hawaii or in the United States.

The remaining inhabitants of Hawaii are some seven or eight thousand Americans, English and Germans; strong, virile men who have impressed their form of government upon the much larger population living there, and have acquired the ownership of more than three-fourths of all the property in the country. If they were able to do this against the hostility and in the face of an unfavorable monarchy, why is there is any reason to believe that they will be any less strong under the fostering influence of the republican Government of the United States?

No territory of the United States was ever annexed with so strong a leaven of Americanism in it as exists today in Hawaii.

As to the Future Prospects. Within a hundred years Hawaii possessed a population of 400,000 people, who were supported by the lax methods of cultivation then in effect. With the advanced methods of today, and the irrigation of the heretofore barren plains, there is no reason why Hawaii cannot support a population of a million as easily as it now does 100,000. With stability of Government will come immigration, development and growth, which will as certainly take place in Hawaii as it has in all the other territories heretofore annexed by the United States.

FIFTH OBJECTION.

We do not want Hawaii as a State with two more Senators.

The treaty does not provide for Statehood. Hawaii does not ask for it, and the United States does not grant it. The treaty of annexation provides that Hawaii shall come into the Union as a territory, and leaves the form of such territorial government absolutely in the hands of Congress. What more could Hawaii give or the United States ask? It is recognized that Hawaii does not now possess the population or the wealth to warrant Statehood, and there is no probability that it will possess such qualifications for some time to come. It will be a question for our successors and not for us to settle. They will be dealing with their own fortunes and fates, and not with ours. Can we not perform the duty of the hour as it is presented to us, and leave the future to our successors in the faith that they will be as wise and as patriotic as we are?

SIXTH OBJECTION.

Hawaii is an outlying territory and in time of war it will be a source of weakness to the United States.

Whether outlying territory is a source of weakness depends upon circumstances. When England owned territory in France, it was a source of weakness to her. Her ownership of Gibraltar is a source of strength. This objection involves somewhat of a technical military question. All of the military and naval authorities of the United States who have expressed themselves upon the subject, Generals Schofield and Alexander; Admirals Porter, Walker, Belknap, and Captain Mahan have declared that Hawaii would be a source of strength to the United States in case of war. They do not base their opinion upon any occult reasoning, only known to themselves, but upon a plain demonstration of facts, viz :

The distance from Hongkong on the west of Hawaii to Panama on the east, is 9,580 miles, as great a distance as from San Francisco

across the American continent, across the Atlantic, across the Mediterranean and across Turkey to the Persian border. The distance from Unalaska, the first port north of Hawaii, to Tahiti, the first port on the south, is 4,400 miles, a distance as great as from Greenland to the Amazon river. In all this vast territory there is only one spot where a ton of coal, a pound of bread or a drink of water can be obtained, and that spot is Hawaii.

The great powers having interests in the Pacific are so far distant from the Pacific coast of the United States that not one of them can operate against it with a naval force, unless they have a base of operations nearer than any which they now possess.

The navies of today are all steamers with limited coal-carrying capacity. There is not a war vessel in existence which can steam from any of the ports belonging to England, France, Russia, Spain, Japan or China to the Pacific coast and back again without renewing its coal supply. Hawaii is only four days steaming from San Francisco. In possession of Hawaii, any of the great powers mentioned would be within easy striking distance of the Pacific coast and its commerce. Shut out from Hawaii, all of them are forced back the entire width of the Pacific—a distance practically prohibitive of naval operations against the Pacific coast or its vicinity. Hawaii in the possession of any foreign power would be a menace and a danger to the Pacific coast and its commerce. With foreign countries barred out of Hawaii, the Pacific coast and its commerce is almost absolutely safe from naval attack. Vancouver has not been mentioned in this connection, for the reason that it is taken for granted that any foreign possession which can be reached from the mainland by United States troops would be taken in case of war, within a very short time after the commencement of hostilities.

SEVENTH OBJECTION.

It will necessitate heavy expenditures and a navy in order to protect Hawaii in time of war.

War between the United States and any foreign country may or may not require the fortification of Hawaii. But this question depends not in the remotest degree upon annexation. It depends upon whether the United States is to continue its policy of the past fifty years, to-wit, the barring out of all other nations from Hawaii. This policy was initiated by President Tyler in 1842, when he said that "it could not but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States at any attempt by another power to take possession."

It was reiterated by Daniel Webster a short time thereafter, when, upon being informed that the French were contemplating taking possession of the islands, he said :

"I trust the French will not take possession; but if they do, they will be dislodged, if my advice is taken, if the whole power of the Government is required to do it."

This policy has been reiterated by Presidents and Secretaries of State and other American statesmen during almost every Administration from that time to the present day.

In 1894, the House of Representatives formally adopted a resolution declaring that "intervention in Hawaii by any foreign power will

not be regarded with indifference," while the Senate adopted a resolution containing stronger language, to the effect, that such intervention "will be regarded as an act unfriendly to the United States."

This is the policy which will have to be defended. Annexation is only incidental to the policy of exclusion.

The policy can be defended either by guns or arguments. If it can be defended by arguments now, it can likewise be so defended after annexation. If it is to be defended by guns, annexation will facilitate such defense.

Having long ago decided that its policy concerning Hawaii should be to keep other countries out, the question now to be decided is, can that policy best be subserved by vesting the legal title in the United States, or by leaving Hawaii as an independent country?

If the title is vested in the United States, all possibility of future international complication will be at an end; and if the United States at any time hereafter decides that its policy of exclusion of other countries can be best be subserved by guns it can immediately proceed to fortify Hawaii. If, however, the title to Hawaii remains in a foreign Government, it is certain that in the future, as in the past, Hawaii will become involved with foreign countries, and continue to be a fertile source of international complications; and if the United States in the course of time should deem that its time-honored policy required the fortification of Hawaii, there might be found in control in Hawaii a Government inimical to the United States, which would prohibit fortifications. Annexation does not necessitate fortification, but if ever fortification is required, title will be an essential.

Title can be obtained now. What the future may bring forth no one can tell.

EIGHTH OBJECTION.

It will be a forerunner and form a precedent for a policy of unlimited annexation of territory.

Any party in the United States which may in the future desire a precedent for annexing any country whatsoever, will in the past history of the country find ample precedent for so doing without referring to Hawaii. The United States has annexed all kinds of territory, from the coral reefs and cocoanut groves of Key West to the icy barrier of northern Alaska; territories bordering on the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, the Pacific and the Arctic; islands of the Pacific and the Carribean Sea. Its possessions extend as far west of San Francisco as Maine is east of San Francisco, and as far north of Chicago as Florida is south of Chicago. So far as precedents are concerned, nothing more is required.

It is submitted, however, that the annexation of Hawaii will, if it is accomplished, forever stand unique. The area of Hawaii, approximately 7,000 square miles, is not inconsiderable. It is nearly as large as Massachusetts, and considerably larger than Connecticut and Rhode Island combined. But if it did not contain a hundred square miles, its value to the United States would remain practically the same.

Its foreign commerce is wonderfully large for a country of its size. It amounted to \$22,000,000 for the year 1896. But if it had no commerce, its value to the United States would be practically the same.

Its value to the United States consists in its unique position in the Pacific ocean. It is the one and only point which can be made a naval base of operations against the Pacific coast. As Captain Mahan has said, "it stands alone * * * having no rival, and admitting of no rival." In the Atlantic, on the other hand, there are a hundred islands scattered around the United States coast, any one of which can be made a base of operations. In order to secure immunity from attack on the Atlantic, all of these islands must be secured by the United States. In order to secure like immunity on the Pacific, Hawaii alone needs to be secured.

If there were numerous other islands in the Pacific, as there are in the Atlantic, then the annexation of Hawaii would offer a precedent for further extension of territory. As it is, the annexation of Hawaii will not be for the purpose of securing additional territory or additional commerce, but will simply be the securing of a strategical point for the protection of territory which the United States already owns. It will come precisely within the same principle that would be invoked did the Farallone Islands, thirty miles off the Golden Gate; or Long Island, off New York harbor, belong to some foreign country, and were they now proposed to be secured by the United States.

NINTH OBJECTION.

It is contrary to the Monroe Doctrine to acquire territory beyond the boundaries of the American continent.

This objection is made by those who do not understand what the Monroe Doctrine consists of. The Monroe doctrine is a limitation on European Powers, excluding them from participation in the affairs of the American continent and its outlying islands, but it places no limitation upon the United States.

Instead of Hawaii lying beyond the purview of the Monroe doctrine, there is no territory to which the Monroe doctrine more directly applies than to Hawaii, and in no other case has there been such continued insistence on the part of American statesmen of the application of the doctrine as in the case of Hawaii.

In addition to the immense number of general statements by American statesmen concerning American control over Hawaii, the following quotations are directly in point :

In 1881, Secretary of State Blaine, in writing to United States Minister Comly, at Honolulu, says :

"The situation of the Hawaiian Islands, giving them strategic control of the North Pacific, brings their possession within the range of questions of purely American policy, as much so as that of the Isthmus itself."

In 1894, Senator Morgan of Alabama, in a report to the Senate concerning the Hawaiian Islands, says :

"Observing the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, the United States, in the beginning of our relations with Hawaii, made a firm and distinct declaration of the purpose to prevent the absorption of Hawaii or the political control of the country by any foreign power."

TENTH OBJECTION.

A large portion of the Hawaiian voters have been disfranchised :

No vote has been taken in Hawaii upon the question of annexation; and it is un-American to annex a territory without a popular vote of its inhabitants.

It will be noted that this is the argument most resorted to by the ex-Queen Liliuokalani and her supporters. Their objection is not based upon opposition to the American Republic, but upon opposition to any Republic. They are selfishly seeking the restoration of the Monarchy for their own benefit, and as long as Hawaii remains independent, they hope for some internal discord or foreign complication which will restore them to power.

The reply to the objection is that no Hawaiian voters have been disfranchised, and that it is not un-American to annex territory without a vote of the inhabitants.

Whether it is un-American to annex territory without a popular vote, depends upon what has been done upon like occasions in the past. In the cases of the annexation of Louisiana, with its colony of intelligent Frenchmen; of Florida, with its Spaniards; of California, New Mexico, Arizona and Alaska, there was no semblance of a vote, and there is no indication that the subject was even so much as discussed by either of the contracting parties. All that was done or lawfully required to be done, was the agreement of the two Governments, and the act was complete without reference to either the people of the United States or of the territory proposed to be annexed.

The case of Texas is sometimes referred to as a precedent supporting a popular vote, but it is not. Texas was first proposed to be annexed by a treaty negotiated in 1837. After it failed of ratification, the same method was followed in 1843. In neither treaty was any vote of the people provided for. In 1844 a bill was introduced into the Senate, providing for the annexation of Texas and for the taking of a vote of her people, which bill was defeated. Shortly thereafter a joint resolution was introduced to effect the annexation of Texas, in which no mention was made of a popular vote, but which contemplated the completion of the annexation upon the acceptance of the terms of the joint resolution by the Texan Government. Immediately upon receiving the news of the passage of this resolution, the Texan Legislature accepted the terms of the resolution and the annexation was complete. Several months thereafter, the people of Texas adopted a State Constitution, which incidentally ratified the annexation. But such ratification was not necessary, as that had already been completed months before by the Legislature.

There is, therefore, no precedent, in any of the annexations of the past, for taking a popular vote upon the subject. Why, then, is it un-American to annex Hawaii without a popular vote?

There is less reason for taking a popular vote in the case of Hawaii than in any instance in the past, for the reason that there is not now and never has been any Hawaiian law requiring that a treaty of annexation should be submitted to the people; but, on the contrary, there is specifically incorporated into the Constitution of the Republic an article authorizing and directing the President, by and with the consent of the Senate, to negotiate and conclude a treaty of annexation with the United States.

Again, why in logic is there any more reason for requiring a popu-

lar vote on the part of the citizens of Hawaii than by the citizens of the United States? The citizens of the United States, as well as those of Hawaii assume responsibilities and obligations by reason of annexation. Why should the citizens of Hawaii be individually consulted, and those of the United States ignored?

Incidentally, however, as in the case of Texas, there has been a practical vote in Hawaii upon the subject of annexation, for every person who is now a voter in Hawaii has taken the oath to the Constitution of Hawaii, thereby ratifying and approving of annexation to the United States.

In support of the statement that no Hawaiian voter has been disfranchised, I would state that every person who was a voter under the monarchy has the privilege of voting under the Republic, with the sole difference that whereas under the monarchy he took an oath to support it, under the Republic he renounces the monarchy and takes an oath to support the Republic. There has been no disfranchisement of voters in Hawaii. The only persons who could vote under the monarchy and who cannot vote now, are those who have disfranchised themselves by refusing to accept the Republic.

The situation then is :

1. Neither the Constitution nor laws of the United States nor of Hawaii require a popular vote.

2. During fifty years, there have been four annexation treaties negotiated by Hawaii with the United States, viz. : in 1851, 1854, 1893 and 1897, in which, neither under the Monarchy, Provisional Government, nor the Republic, has any provision been made for a popular vote, either in the United States or Hawaii.

3. Six annexations of inhabited territory by the United States, during the past one hundred years, have been made without a popular vote being taken.

4. The Constitution of the United States, in general terms, and of Hawaii specifically, authorizes the respective Presidents and Senates to conclude a treaty of annexation.

Under these circumstances, what basis is there for claiming that an annexation treaty cannot be legally concluded except by popular vote?

If it is admitted that the legal right exists, and that the objection is based on a sentimental regard for the native Hawaiian, the native Hawaiian may well pray "deliver me from my friends"! America has given him a taste of American liberty and civilization. America wards lies the full freedom and the proud status of republican citizenship. Unless annexation take place, the only future for the native Hawaiian is retrogression to the status of the Asiatic coolie, who is already crowding him to the wall.

If the theoretical philanthropists of America who are lifting up their voices against annexation through sympathy for the native Hawaiian could descend out of the clouds long enough to ascertain the facts, they would learn that every native minister of the gospel; most of the better educated natives; almost without exception, all of the white ministers of the gospel; the representatives of the American Board of Foreign Missions; the Hawaiian Board of Missions; the practical educators; those who have for years contributed their time,

their money and their lives to the Hawaiian people ; who feel that their welfare is a sacred trust—all of these are working, hoping and praying for annexation as the one last hope of the native Hawaiian.

ELEVENTH OBJECTION.

A protectorate will secure to the United States all the advantages which will accrue under annexation, without involving the country in the responsibilities of ownership.

This is one of the problems which has confronted every American statesman who has been compelled to practically consider how best to maintain American control in Hawaii. It was the problem which faced President Pierce and Secretary of State Marcy in 1854; President Harrison and Secretary Foster in 1893, and President McKinley and Secretary Sherman in 1897. In each case, the alternative of protectorate or annexation was presented, and in each case, after full deliberation, the decision was against a protectorate and in favor of annexation. The reason is, that under a protectorate, the independent government of Hawaii would still be free to get into troubles with other governments, thereby creating international complications for the settlement of which the United States would be responsible; while under annexation, no international complications would arise, except such as might be created by the United States itself. The difference between a protectorate and annexation is, that under a protectorate, the United States would assume all the responsibilities, incident to ownership, without the power of control; while under annexation, it would assume no more responsibilities, and would acquire absolute control. Under a protectorate, Hawaii would still remain an incubator of international friction. Under annexation, it would be removed absolutely from international politics, as much so as is California or Florida.

TWELFTH OBJECTION.

It will be injurious to the beet sugar industry, as Hawaiian sugar will compete with beet sugar raised in the United States.

The only way in which Hawaiian sugar can injure beet sugar is by being produced in such quantities as to supplant the beet product of the United States, or by cutting the price so as to lower the price of beet sugar to its producers.

Hawaii can never produce enough sugar to supplant the beet or any other sugar in the United States. The sugar consumption of the United States was approximately two million tons during 1896, which consumption is rapidly increasing year by year. During 1896, Hawaii produced a little over two hundred thousand tons, or approximately one-tenth of the consumption of the United States. This is the highest output ever made by Hawaii, and is the best it has been able to do after twenty years of encouragement, under the reciprocity treaty with the United States.

All of the natural cane lands of Hawaii are already under cultivation.

The only remaining lands which can possibly be cultivated with sugar cane are those now dry and barren, which can only be cultivated by artificial irrigation, by pumping water to an elevation of from one

hundred and fifty to six hundred feet. It goes without saying that such irrigation must be limited in area and problematical in profits.

As to Hawaiian sugar cutting the price, sugar is a world product, and its price is determined by the world's price, which is fixed in New York and London. If the Hawaiian crop were cut off entirely, or doubled, it would not raise or lower the price of sugar in the United States one mill. It is sometimes suggested that Hawaiian sugar may more than equal the consumption of the Pacific coast, and that Hawaiian planters would lower their price rather than send it to New York. The reply to this is that the Pacific coast's consumption is only about seventy-five thousand tons per annum, and long ago the Hawaiian product far exceeded this. About one-third of the Hawaiian product for 1896-97 was sent to New York, and probably more than one-half of the crop of 1897-98 will be sent there.

Again, the Hawaiian cane sugar planters suffer under many disadvantages which the beet sugar producers do not. It takes from eighteen to twenty-two months to grow a crop of sugar cane in Hawaii, during the entire period of which it must be irrigated on most of the plantations every week or two. It takes the beet sugar planter only about six months to make a crop.

The cane sugar planter has to employ his laborers all the year around; the beet sugar planter discharges his laborers when the crop is made.

The cane sugar planter of Hawaii pays now somewhat less wages per month than does the beet sugar planter, although not as much less as is generally supposed, the average laborer in Hawaii costing the planter from fifteen to eighteen dollars per month. *Under annexation, the Asiatic supply of labor will be cut off*, and this slight advantage will be eliminated.

Again, it costs the Hawaiian cane planter approximately ten dollars a ton to get his sugar from the plantation to its market, while the beet sugar planter has his market at his door.

Taken all in all, the cane sugar planter of Hawaii stands on no more favorable basis than does the beet sugar planter of the United States, and there is no reason why their interests should clash, any more than do the interests of the corn planter of Kansas clash with those of the corn planter of Nebraska.

THIRTEENTH OBJECTION.

It will excite the jealousy of, and create complications with, foreign governments.

When the annexation treaty of 1893 was negotiated, no protest was made by any foreign country. None has been made now, except by Japan, and the reasons assigned by Japan for her protest are absolutely inconsistent with the traditional policy of the United States, that they shall control Hawaii.

The rapid development of Japanese pretensions in Hawaii since 1893 is a signal illustration of the danger of further postponing that which all American statesmen agree must at some time be done, viz: definitely and finally secure to the United States the control of Hawaii. This can never be done with as little friction as at present, and if it is further delayed, the increasing importance of the Pacific and the

interests of other nations therein, may at an early date cause other nations than Japan to also assume an attitude of hostility toward annexation. There is danger in delay. There can be little danger of foreign complication if immediate action is taken.

FOURTEENTH OBJECTION.

The government of Hawaii consists of foreign adventurers, who have no authority or jurisdiction over the country.

This was an objection made when the Provisional Government was first formed, and when its members were unknown to the world. The history of the Provisional Government and the Republic of Hawaii and its dealings with the world have refuted this charge. If anything more were needed as proof in the matter, it is furnished by a report from Minister Willis to Secretary Gresham, when he was in the midst of his attempt to restore the ex-Queen, and it was feared that the attempt might be forcibly resisted by the citizens of Honolulu. Mr. Willis wrote :

"Fortunately, the men at the head of the Provisional Government are acknowledged by all sides to be of the highest integrity and public spirit.

It is sufficient to say further, that of the so called "Foreign population," nearly 10,000 were born in, and are natives of Hawaii, with as much right to speak for Hawaii as the American born white man has to speak for the United States;

That the other so called "foreigners" have made Hawaii the land of their adoption; have acquired property, homes and political rights; have built up the country and made it what it is, and have as much right to speak for Hawaii as the multitude of European born American citizens who occupy every official position throughout the land, save that of president, have to legislate and speak for the United States;

That the President, two members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice, and a very large number of the leading officials of the Government, were born and have always resided in Hawaii; and that the other members of the Government are, almost without exception, old residents; while, without exception, the members of the Government are the leading business and professional men of the country; who have temporarily taken on the cares of public office until the Government can be established on a permanent basis, when they will only too willingly hand over its conduct to others. It would seem sufficient to meet the charge that they are adventurers seeking their own private benefit, to show that they are, by every means within their power, advancing a treaty which by its terms will legislate them out of office.

FIFTEENTH OBJECTION.

Annexation will be beneficial to the Sugar Trust.

No one has advanced any theory showing how the sugar trust will be benefited by annexation. As a matter of fact, no sugar refiner in the United States will be benefited by annexation, for the reason that it will place just so much more sugar upon the American market free of duty, to come into competition with the product of the American sugar refiner. There is no probability that a large quantity, if any, sugar will

be refined in Hawaii; but entry to other portions of the United States for high grade raw sugars will enable the sugar planters of Hawaii to place in the markets of the United States a light colored wholesome raw sugar which can compete with the refined product of the sugar trust. This Hawaiian sugar will be limited in amount to be sure, but to the extent to which it goes, it will compete with the product of the trust, with no compensating advantage to that organization.

SIXTEENTH OBJECTION.

Under the proposed treaty of annexation, the United States assumes the Hawaiian public debt without receiving in return the means or property with which to pay it.

This statement can only be made by one unfamiliar with the property and resources owned by the Hawaiian Government. The present net debt of the Republic of Hawaii is approximately \$3,900,000, and the schedule of its saleable property, exclusive of the public streets and roads, upon which not less than a million dollars have been expended, amounts to \$7,938,000, leaving a clear net profit to the United States in property acquired, of approximately \$4,000,000; all of the property owned by Hawaii being transferred by the terms of the annexation treaty to the United States. This does not include the revenues from customs, rents, postoffice etc. which largely exceed current expenses.

SEVENTEENTH OBJECTION.

There is leprosy in Hawaii.

This is, unfortunately, true. Nothing in the climatic conditions of Hawaii, however, caused the disease. It was brought from China about thirty years ago, and has attacked a large number of the natives, it being confined almost exclusively to them. There are not, however, as many lepers in Hawaii as there are in Norway, nor do there begin to be the numbers that there are in Japan, China, India and other Eastern countries. Moreover, Hawaii is the one country in the world dealing with the subject which rigorously segregates the victims of the disease. No cases are seen at large, and all of the patients are most carefully cared for by the local government. Moreover, I have yet to learn that the political relations existing between two countries will increase the danger arising from diseases existing in either. The local government of Hawaii will continue in the future, as in the past, to care for its own unfortunates, with no more expense nor danger to the people of the United States than there now is.

EIGHTEENTH OBJECTION.

The monarchy was overthrown through the agency of American troops.

This accusation is ancient history. If it were true, which is not admitted, it would have no more effect today upon the status of the Hawaiian Republic than does the fact that French troops assisted Washington to overthrow the British monarchy in America have any effect upon the present status of the American Republic.

Regardless of its origin, the Republic of Hawaii is today recognized by every sovereign government of the world as an independent nation, with all the rights and powers of any other sovereign or inde-

pendent nation, and this with the full knowledge that its constitution contains an article providing explicitly for annexation to the United States.

Concerning the truth of the charge mentioned, we have the positive statements of United States Minister Stevens and Capt. Wiltse of the United States Navy, who were on the ground at the time, that the American troops were not landed for such purpose, and did not take any part in the overthrow of the Monarchy. There has been a vast amount of controversy upon the subject, and in 1894, the United States Senate appointed a committee for the express purpose of investigating this very point, Senator Morgan, of Alabama, a Democrat, being the chairman of the committee. The committee made an exhaustive examination of the subject, and made a report to the Senate covering over two thousand pages of fine printed matter. The conclusion of the committee upon this point, formulated by Senator Morgan, is as follows :

"The committee, upon the evidence as it appears in their report (which they believe is a full, fair and impartial statement of the facts attending and precedent to the landing of the troops) agree that the purpose of Capt. Wiltse and of Minister Stevens were only those which were legitimate, viz.: the preservation of law and order to the extent of preventing a disturbance of the public peace, which might, in the absence of troops, injuriously affect the rights of the American citizens resident in Honolulu."

History will vindicate Minister Stevens and prove, what those who knew him best already know, that the United States never possessed a truer officer or a more patriotic citizen or one who more fearlessly met difficult and unexpected conditions and did his duty to his country.

NINETEENTH OBJECTION.

It is unlikely that the United States will go to war with any other country. But if it does, and it then wants Hawaii, there is time enough to take it.

• It is idle to discuss whether the United States will again go to war. It is a matter of opinion. Judging the future by the past, the chances are strongly that it will. Its might is not an insurance against war. Rome ruled the world, but war came. The intervening sea will not prevent it. England, the one isolated nation of Europe, has as many wars as all the rest of Europe put together.

The certainty that the United States would probably conquer in the end, is no guarantee against it. Small boys frequently fight big ones, expecting to be whipped. There can be no doubt concerning the ultimate result of a war with Spain; but it seems probable that Spain might welcome war with the United States, as the method by which she can get out of Cuba with the least injury to her national dignity and prestige.

There is no certainty that there *will* be war; but on the other hand there is no certainty that there *will not* be. Human nature has developed but has not radically changed. The nations of the world never spent more time or money in preparation for war than they are doing to-day.

It is not wise for a man to leave his doors unlocked when burglars are around, simply because none have been to his house. They may come when least expected.

Wars come nowadays, suddenly and unexpectedly. The nations are in such a state of preparation that they can accomplish in a week what formerly took months.

The Austro-Prussian war was finished, and Austria prostrated, in six weeks.

No sooner was war declared than Germany over-ran France and was victorious within four months.

Japan opened the war on China with an attack which destroyed a ship and a thousand men, and made formal declaration at her leisure.

Turkey and Greece each began hostilities without notice.

Any nation which attacks the United States by way of the west, will, as a military necessity, first occupy Hawaii as a base of operations.

The first intimation of war which the United States will have, may be the seizure of Hawaii; and, with its natural defensive possibilities, any strong maritime nation once entrenched in Hawaii can be evicted therefrom, if at all, only by vast expenditure and tremendous effort.

Gibraltar is a century long lesson of how much easier it is to let a warlike nation *in*, than is to get it *out* of, a strong position.

TWENTIETH OBJECTION.

The United States already has enough territory, people and problems. We want no more of them. Let well enough alone.

It has already been stated above, that *the chief reason for the annexation of Hawaii is to secure a vantage ground for the protection of what the United States already owns.* It is not primarily to secure new territory, promote shipping and increase commerce; but as a measure of precaution to prevent the acquisition by a foreign, and perhaps in the future, hostile power, of an acknowledged military stronghold, possessing peculiar strategic relations toward the territory and commerce of this country. In comparison with the benefit and advantage to the country of securing control of this strategic stronghold, what do the disadvantages amount to?

Even if all the people of Hawaii are not up to the highest ideal American standard, how can they harmfully affect the American people or government? They number 109,000. No more than are sometimes landed in New York in a single month. About one-tenth of one per cent. of the present population. Can any one seriously maintain that this insignificant, fractional addition of people, without the powers appurtenant to statehood—with only such limited territorial form of government as Congress pleases to grant—can to any appreciable extent injuriously affect the political life and fortunes of the American people? Can such claim be urged in good faith, when the dominant element in Hawaii, politically, socially and financially, is, and for years has been, so strongly American in its business, financial and political methods as to have converted an alien land and people into what is universally recognized as being "the most American spot on earth."

As to problems, what problems that the United States does not now have; will it have after annexation?

None arising from the people of Hawaii coming over here. If they wanted to come to America they could come now. But they have no reason for coming. They are more prosperous now than the people of the United States, and after annexation they will be more prosperous still.

The movement of population is already to, and not from, Hawaii, and annexation will greatly accelerate it.

The people of Hawaii will remain in Hawaii, and will themselves settle locally the local problems arising out of local conditions, with no more effect upon the political life and principles of the general government, than has a town election or local option agitation in Arizona.

As a territory, Hawaii will have no vote in national affairs; and with the trend of existing feeling against admitting new states, the time for discussing statehood is so far in the future that it is beyond the domain of practical life.

Financially, no problem will be created. Hawaii is more than self supporting.

Internationally, no problems will be created. On the contrary, an international problem which has made demands upon the time and attention of American statesmen for two generations—the problem of “How to keep other nations out of Hawaii”—will be solved and written off the books.

From a military standpoint no problems will be created. On the contrary the military situation will be simplified. Military experts, American and foreign, unite in acknowledging that Hawaii is a strategic point of the first importance, ranking with Gibraltar and the Suez canal.

If it is ever deemed essential to American interests to fortify Hawaii, it will certainly be far easier to do so if it belongs to and is already occupied by the United States, than if it belongs to another, and possibly hostile government.

This objection is made by those who think that the United States is sufficient unto itself. That it does not need to take a part in affairs beyond its borders, and that danger lies in every direction beyond them.

The day when the United States can, hibernating, live off itself, has passed. In this end of the nineteenth century a “hermit nation” is no longer possible. The United States resurrected Japan from that status, but it cannot assume the role itself.

No man lives unto himself, neither can a nation. No nation can stand still. It must either progress or retrograde.

For a number of years the apparent paradox was seen of the United States, growing and developing faster than anything known in history, while paying but slight attention to her international relations, either political or commercial.

The manifest reason was that it possessed a vast undeveloped area which afforded within its borders, full scope for all surplus energy and capital that, in the kindred country of England, has spread itself over every quarter of the globe,

That condition no longer exists. The unoccupied territory has been taken up, and while much remains to be done, the creative energy

of the American people can no longer be confined within the borders of the Union. Production has so outrun consumption in both agricultural and manufactured products that foreign markets must be secured or stagnation will ensue.

Foreign trade means foreign interests which must be protected. It means rivalries and jealousies with other exporting nations in which the American citizen must have the support of his government.

The day has gone by when the United States can ignore its international relations, privileges and obligations. Whether it will or no, the logic of events is forcing the American people and their government to take their place as one of the great "international nations," and incidentally thereto, to adopt such means as are necessary to sustain the position.

Opinions of Presidents of the United States Concerning the Control or Annexation of Hawaii.

JOHN TYLER.

United States Opposition to Foreign Control.

On December 31, 1842, President Tyler sent a special message to the Senate, relating to the Hawaiian Islands, from which the following extracts are made.

After speaking of the development of the Island Government and the importance of the islands to shipping, he continues :

"It cannot but be in conformity with the interest and wishes of the Government and the people of the United States that this community * * * should be respected, and all its rights strictly and conscientiously regarded. * * * Far remote from the dominions of European Powers, its growth and prosperity as an independent state may yet be in a high degree useful to all whose trade is extended to those regions, while its near approach to this continent, and the intercourse which American vessels have with it—such vessels constituting five-sixths of all which annually visit it—*could not but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States at any attempt by another power, should such attempt be threatened or feared, to take possession of the islands, colonize them, and subvert the native government.*"

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 847.)

MILLARD FILLMORE.

President Fillmore reiterated this sentiment in stronger language in 1850-'1. See dispatches of Secretaries Clayton and Webster quoted below.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Approval of Annexation.

President Pierce desired the annexation of Hawaii, and authorized the negotiation of the treaty of annexation of 1854. See treaty in full, hereunder.

(See dispatch of Secretary Marcy to U. S. Minister Gregg, April 4, 1854. Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 929.)

First Attempt at Reciprocity.

A treaty of reciprocity was negotiated between the United States and Hawaii under President Pierce, but was not confirmed by the Senate,

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 944.)

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Foreign Control Highly Injurious to United States.

President Buchanan, in his dispatch as Secretary of State, September 3, 1849, quoted below, stated that English or French control of Hawaii would be "highly injurious" to the interests of the United States.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Reciprocity Advocated as Leading to Annexation.

The following is an extract from the annual message of President Johnson to the 40th Congress, December 19, 1868 :

"I am aware that upon the question of fruther extending our possessions it is apprehended by some that our political system cannot successfully be applied to an area more extended than our continent ; but *the conviction is rapidly gaining ground in the American mind* that, with the increased facilities for intercommunication between all portions of the earth, the principles of free government, as embraced in our Constitution, if faithfully maintained and carried out, would prove of sufficient strength and breadth to comprehend within their sphere and influence the civilized nations of the world.

"The attention of the Senate and of Congress is again respectfully invited to the treaty for the establishment of commercial reciprocity with the Hawaiian Kingdom, entered into last year, and already ratified by that Government. The attitude of the United States towards these islands is not very different from that in which they stand towards the West Indies. It is known and felt by the Hawaiian Government and people that their institutions are feeble and precarious ; that *the United States, being so near a neighbor, would be unwilling to see the islands pass under foreign control.* Their prosperity is continually disturbed by expectations and alarms of unfriendly political proceedings, as well from the United States as from other foreign powers. *A reciprocity treaty, while it could not materially diminish the revenues of the United States, would be a guarantee of the good will and forbearance of all nations until the people of the islands shall of themselves, at no distant day, voluntarily apply for admission into the Union.*"

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 954.)

U. S. GRANT.

The annexation of Hawaii was favored by President Grant.

(See dispatch Sec'y State Seward to Minister McCook, Sept. 12, 1867, quoted hereunder.)

Question of Annexation Submitted to Senate.

In February, 1871, *Mr. Pierce*, American Minister to Honolulu, wrote, *recommending the subject of annexation* to the attention of the President. President Grant thereupon sent to the Senate a confidential message, accompanied by Mr. Pierce's statement. The message is as follows :

To the Senate of the United States :

"I transmit confidentially, for the information and consideration of the Senate, a copy of a dispatch of the 25th of February last, relative to the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, addressed to the Department of State by Henry A. Pierce, minister resident of the United States at Honolulu. Although I do not deem it advisable to express any opinion or to make any recommendation in regard to the subject at this juncture, the views of the Senate, if it should be deemed proper to express them, would be very acceptable with reference to any future course which there might be a disposition to adopt.

"U. S. GRANT.

"WASHINGTON, April 5, 1871."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 824.)

NOTE—The dispatch from Mr. Pierce is given hereafter under the heading, "Statements of American Ministers at Honolulu," &c.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR,

President Arthur was in full sympathy with the Americanizing of Hawaii. See Secretary Blaine's dispatches of December 1, 1881, quoted below.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Annexation Treaty Negotiated and Advocated.

In February, 1893, President Harrison caused an annexation treaty to be negotiated with Hawaii. The following is the message accompanying the treaty upon its transmission to the Senate for confirmation :

" To the Senate :

" I transmit herewith, with a view to its ratification, a treaty of annexation concluded on the 14th day of February, 1893, between Hon. John W. Foster, Secretary of State, who was duly empowered to act in that behalf on the part of the United States, and Lorrin A. Thurston, W. R. Castle, W. C. Wilder, C. I. Carter, and Joseph Marsden, the commissioners on the part of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

" The treaty, it will be observed, does not attempt to deal in detail with the questions that grow out of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. The commissioners representing the Hawaiian Government have consented to leave to the future and to the just and benevolent purposes of the United States the adjustment of all such questions.

" I do not deem it necessary to discuss at any length the conditions which have resulted in this decisive action.

" It has been the policy of the administration not only to respect, but to encourage the continuance of an independent government in the Hawaiian Islands so long as it afforded suitable guarantees for the protection of life and property, and maintained a stability and strength that gave adequate security against the domination of any other power. The moral support of this Government has continually manifested itself in the most friendly diplomatic relations, and in many acts of courtesy to the Hawaiian rulers.

" The overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this Government, but had its origin in what seems to have been a reactionary and revolutionary policy on the part of Queen Liliuokalani, which put in serious peril not only the large and preponderating interests of the United States in the islands, but all foreign interests, and, indeed, the decent administration of civil affairs and the peace of the islands.

" It is quite evident that the monarchy had become effete and the Queen's government so weak and inadequate as to be the prey of designing and unscrupulous persons. The restoration of Queen Liliuokalani to her throne is undesirable, if not impossible, and unless actively supported by the United States would be accompanied by serious disaster and the disorganization of all business interests. *The influence and interest of the United States in the islands must be increased and not diminished.*

" *Only two courses are now open ; one the establishment of a protectorate by the United States, and the other, annexation full and complete. I think the latter course, which has been adopted in the treaty, will be highly promotive of the best interests of the Hawaiian people, and is the only one that will adequately secure the interests of the United States.* These interests are not wholly selfish. *It is essential that none of the great powers shall secure these islands. Such a possession would not consist with our safety and with the peace of the world.*

" This view of the situation is so apparent and conclusive that no protest has been heard from any government against proceedings looking to annexation. Every foreign representative at Honolulu promptly acknowledged the provisional government, and I think there is a general concurrence in the opinion that the deposed queen ought not to be restored. Prompt action upon this treaty is very desirable.

" If it meets the approval of the Senate peace and good order will be secured in the islands under existing laws until such time as Congress can provide by legislation a permanent form of government for the islands. This legislation should be, and I do not doubt will be, not only just to the natives and all other residents and citizens of the islands, but should be characterized by great liberality and a high regard to the rights of all the people and of all foreigners domiciled there.

"The correspondence which accompanies the treaty will put the Senate in possession of all the facts known to the Executive.

"BENJ. HARRISON.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, *February 15, 1893.*"

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 1005.)

The Treaty of Annexation is hereinafter contained.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Annexation Treaty Negotiated and Advocated.

On June 15, 1897, President McKinley caused an annexation treaty to be negotiated with the Republic of Hawaii.

Message to the Senate.

The following is the message accompanying the treaty upon its transmission to the Senate for confirmation:

"To the Senate of the United States:

"I transmit herewith to the Senate, in order that, after due consideration, the constitutional function of advice and consent may be exercised by that body, a treaty for the annexation of the Republic of Hawaii to the United States, signed in this capital by the plenipotentiaries of the parties on the 16th of June instant.

"For better understanding of the subject I transmit in addition a report of the Secretary of State, briefly reviewing the negotiation which has led to this important result.

ANNEXATION NECESSARY SEQUEL OF HISTORICAL EVENTS.

The incorporation of the Hawaiian Islands into the body politic of the United States is the necessary and fitting sequel to the change of events which, from a very early period in our history, has controlled the intercourse and prescribed the association of the United States and the Hawaiian Islands. The predominance of American interest in that neighboring territory was first asserted in 1820, by sending to the islands a representative agent of the United States. It found further expression by the signature of a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with the king in 1826—the first international compact negotiated by Hawaii. It was signally announced in 1843, when the intervention of the United States caused the British Government to disavow the seizure of the Sandwich Islands by a British naval commander, and to recognize them by treaty as an independent state, renouncing forever any purpose of annexing the islands or exerting a protectorate over them.

CESSION OF HAWAII IN 1851.

"In 1851 the cession of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the United States was formally offered, and although not then accepted, this Government proclaimed its duty to preserve alike the honor and dignity of the United States and the safety of the government of the Hawaiian Islands. From this time until the outbreak of the war in 1861 the policy of the United States toward Hawaii and of the Hawaiian sovereignty toward the United States was exemplified by continued negotiations for annexation or for a reserved commercial union.

RECIPROCITY TREATY OF 1875 AND 1884.

The latter alternative was at length accomplished by the reciprocity treaty of 1875, the provisions of which were renewed and expanded by the convention of 1884, embracing the perpetual cession to the United States of the harbor of Pearl River in the Island of Oahu.

REFUSAL OF JOINT ACTION WITH GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN IN 1888.

"In 1888 a proposal for the joint guaranty of the neutrality of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States, Germany and Great Britain was declined on the announced ground that the relation of the United States to the islands was sufficient for the end in view.

CONTINUOUS POLICY EXCLUSION OF ALL FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

In brief, from 1820 to 1893 the course of the United States toward the Hawaiian Islands has consistently favored their autonomous welfare with the exclusion of all foreign influence save our own, to the extent of upholding eventual annexation as the necessary outcome of that policy.

ANNEXATION A CONSUMMATION, NOT A CHANGE.

"Not only is the union of the Hawaiian territory to the United States no new scheme, but it is the inevitable consequence of the relation steadfastly maintained with that mid-Pacific domain for three-quarters of a century. Its accomplishment, despite successive denials and postponements, has been merely a question of time. While its failure in 1893, may not be a cause of congratulation, it is certainly a proof of the disinterestedness of the United States, the delay of four years having abundantly sufficed to establish the right and the ability of the Republic of Hawaii to enter, as a sovereign contractant, upon a conventional union with the United States, thus realizing a purpose held by the Hawaiian people and proclaimed by successive Hawaiian governments through some twenty years of their virtual dependence upon the benevolent protection of the United States. *Under such circumstances, annexation is not a change; It is a consummation.*

DETAILS OF FORM OF GOVERNMENT LEFT TO CONGRESS.

"The report of the Secretary of State explains the character and course of the recent negotiation and the features of the treaty itself. The organic and administrative details of incorporation are necessarily left to the wisdom of the Congress, and I cannot doubt, when the function of the constitutional treaty-making power shall have been accomplished, the duty of the national legislature in the case will be performed with the largest regard for the interests of this rich insular domain and for the welfare of the inhabitants thereof.

"WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

"Executive Mansion, Washington, June 16, 1897."

[Secretary Sherman's report to President McKinley accompanying the Treaty is hereinafter contained.]

Opinions of Secretaries of State of the United States concerning the
Control or Annexation of Hawaii.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

First Public Statement of Superior Interest of United States in Hawaii.

Upon application of the Hawaiian Government for recognition by the United States, Secretary of State Webster replied on December 19, 1842, that the matter had been submitted to the President (Tyler) and

"The President is of opinion that the interests of all the commercial nations require that that government (Hawaii) shall not be interfered with by foreign powers. * * * *The United States * * * are more interested in the fate of the islands and of their government than any other nation can be,* and this consideration induces the President to be quite willing to declare, as the sense of the Government of the United States, that the government of the Sandwich Islands ought to be respected; that no power ought either to take possession of the islands as a conquest or for the purpose of colonization, and that no power ought to seek for any undue control over the existing government, or any exclusive privileges or preferences in matters of commerce."

(Appendix 2 For Rel. of the U. S., 1894, p. 44.)

Webster's views were elaborated in 1851, hereafter quoted.

H. S. LEGARE.

Advocated Force to Keep European Powers Out.

June 13, 1843, Secretary of State Legare sent a dispatch to Edward Everett, U. S. Minister at London, in which the relations of the United States to Hawaii are mentioned, by reason of the then recent seizure of the Islands by England. In this connection he says:

"It is well known that * * * we have no wish to plant or to acquire colonies abroad. *Yet there is something so entirely peculiar in the relations between this little commonwealth Hawaii and ourselves that we might even feel justified, consistently with our own principles, in interfering by force to prevent its falling into the hands of one of the great powers of Europe.* These relations spring out of the local situation, the history, and the character and institutions of the Hawaiian Islands, as well as out of the declarations formally made by this Government during the course of the last session of Congress, to which I beg leave to call your particular attention.

"If the attempts now making by ourselves, as well as other Christian powers, to open the markets of China to a more general commerce be successful, there can be no doubt but that a great part of that commerce will find its way over the Isthmus. In that event *it will be impossible to overrate the importance of the Hawaiian group as a stage in the long voyage between Asia and America.* But without anticipating events which, however, seem inevitable, and even approaching, the actual demands of an immense navigation make the free use of these roadsteads and ports indispensable to us. * * * It seems doubtful whether even the undisputed possession of the Oregon Territory and the use of the Columbia River, or indeed anything short of the acquisition of California (if that were possible), would be sufficient indemnity to us for the loss of these harbors."

(Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, Vol. 2, p. 921.)

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Occupation by England or France Highly Injurious to United States.

On the 3d of September, 1849, Secretary of State Buchanan sent a dispatch to the U. S. Minister resident at Honolulu, TenEyck, concerning the relations between Hawaii and the United States, in view

of the then threatening conduct of the French against Hawaii, in which the following words are used :

"We ardently desire that the Hawaiian Islands may maintain their independence. *It would be highly injurious to our interests if, tempted by their weakness, they should be seized by Great Britain or France; more especially so since our recent acquisitions from Mexico on the Pacific Ocean.*"

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 897.)

JOHN M. CLAYTON.

United States Could Never Allow Hawaii to be Controlled by Any Other Power.

In a dispatch from Secretary Clayton to U. S. Minister Rives at Paris, July 5, 1850, referring to the differences between the French and Hawaiian Governments, he made the following statement :

"The Department will be slow to believe that the French have any intention to adopt, with reference to the Sandwich Islands, the same policy which they have pursued in regard to Tahiti. If, however, in your judgment it should be warranted by circumstances, you may take a proper opportunity to intimate to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France that *the situation of the Sandwich Islands, in respect to our possessions on the Pacific and the bonds commercial and of other descriptions between them and the United States, are such that we could never with indifference allow them to pass under the dominion or exclusive control of any other power.*"

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 895.)

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Action by France Would Seriously Disturb Friendly Relations with United States.

Upon receipt of a communication by Mr. Severance (quoted below under the heading "Opinions of American Ministers at Honolulu," &c.), Secretary of State Webster on June 18, 1851, again addressed U. S. Minister Rives at Paris instructing him to immediately inform the French Government that the further enforcement of the French demands against Hawaii—

"would be tantamount to a subjugation of the islands to the dominion of France. *A step like this could not fail to be viewed by the Government and people of the United States with a dissatisfaction which would tend seriously to disturb our existing friendly relations with the French Government.*"

Reparation Requested for Hawaii, Indicating U. S. Claim of Right to Protect Hawaii.

And he is further instructed to make such representations to France—

"as will induce that Government to desist from measures incompatible with the sovereignty and independence of the Hawaiian Islands, and to make amends for the acts which the French agents have already committed there in contravention of the law of nations and of the treaty between the Hawaiian Government and France."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 905-6.)

Declaration of Policy.—United States can never Consent to Occupation by, or Hostile Demands of, European Powers.

Secretary of State Webster, replying to U. S. Minister Severance at Honolulu, on July 14, 1851, says, after reciting that the demands of France were improper and "could only end in rendering the islands and their Government a prey to the stronger commercial nations of the world :"

"It cannot be expected that the Government of the United States could look on a course of things leading to such a result with indifference.

"The Hawaiian Islands are ten times nearer to the United States than to any of the powers of Europe. Five-sixths of all their commercial intercourse is with the United States, and these considerations, together with others of a more general character, have fixed the course which the Government of the United States will pursue in regard to them. The annunciation of this policy will not surprise the governments of Europe, nor be thought to be unreasonable by the nations of the civilized world, and that policy is that while the Government of the United States, itself faithful to its original assurance, scrupulously regards the independence of the Hawaiian Islands, it can never consent to see those islands taken possession of by either of the great commercial powers of Europe, nor can it consent that demands manifestly unjust and derogatory and inconsistent with a bona fide independence, shall be enforced against that Government."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 908.)

Copy Furnished Diplomatic Corps at Washington.

A copy of the above letter from Secretary Webster to Minister Severance was, simultaneously with its dispatch, furnished to all the members of the Diplomatic Corps in Washington, in circular form, which caused offense to the French Government, but they nevertheless acquiesced in its terms, and desisted from the course of aggression which they had been following.

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 913.)

Force Advocate to Keep France Out,

At this time the French were so threatening in Hawaii that the Hawaiian Government requested the American consul, E. H. Allen to go personally to Washington and represent the state of affairs, which he did. Upon making his statement to Secretary Webster the latter replied :

"I trust the French will not take possession; but if they do, they will be dislodged, if my advice is taken, if the whole power of the government is required to do it."

W. L. MARCY.

Inevitably Hawaii must be Controlled by the United States.

Secretary of State W. L. Marcy addressed a communication on December 16, 1853, to Mr. John Mason, U. S. Minister to France, in which he states that during the recent disturbances in Hawaii—

"the question of transferring the sovereignty of these islands to the United States was much discussed."

He further states that the British and French Ministers had both called upon him (Marcy) and tried to induce him to agree—

*"that this Government would take no measures to acquire the sovereignty of these islands or accept it if voluntarily offered to the the United States. * * * Their ministers, particularly the Minister of France, labored to impress me with the belief that such a transfer would be forcibly resisted. * * **

Annexation Forshadowed.

*"The object in addressing you at present is to request you to look into this matter and ascertain, if possible, * * * what would probably be the course of France in case of an attempt on the part of the United States to add these islands to our territorial possessions by negotiation or other peaceable means.*

"I do not think the present Hawaiian Government can long remain in the hands of the present rulers or under the control of the native inhabitants of these

islands, and both England and France are apprised of our determination not to allow them to be owned by or to fall under the protection of either of these powers or of any other European nation.

"It seems to be inevitable that they must come under the control of this Government, and it would be but reasonable and fair that these powers should acquiesce in such a disposition of them, provided the transference was effected by fair means."
(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 914.)

Instructions of Marcy to Negotiate Annexation Treaty.

On the 4th of April, 1854, Secretary of State Marcy sent a dispatch to David L. Gregg, U. S. Minister at Honolulu, giving special instructions on the subject of annexation, viz :

"In your general instructions you were furnished with the views of this Government in regard to any change in the political affairs of the Sandwich Islands. The President was aware, when those instructions were prepared, that the question of transferring the sovereignty of those islands to the United States had been raised, and favorably received by many influential individuals residing therein. It was foreseen that at some period, not far distant, such a change would take place, and that the Hawaiian Islands would come under the protectorate of or be transferred to some foreign power. You were informed that it was not the policy of the United States to accelerate such a change; but if, in the course of events, it became unavoidable, this Government would much prefer to acquire the sovereignty of these islands for the United States, rather than to see it transferred to any other power. If any foreign connection is to be formed, the geographical position of these islands indicates that it should be with us. Our commerce with them far exceeds that of all other countries; our citizens are embarked in the most important business concerns of that country, and some of them hold important public positions. In view of the large American interests there established and the intimate commercial relations existing at this time, it might be well regarded as the duty of this Government to prevent these islands from becoming the appendage of any other foreign power.

"It appears by your dispatches lately received at this Department that the ruling authorities of the Hawaiian Government have been convinced of their inability to sustain themselves any longer as an independent State, and are prepared to throw themselves upon our protection or to seek incorporation into our political system. Fears are entertained by those who favor such a measure that if the United States should manifest a disinclination to receive the proffered sovereignty of this country, the people would seek elsewhere a less desirable connection or be given over to anarchy.

"The information contained in your last dispatch, No. 10, dated the 7th of February, renders it highly probable that the ruling powers of that Government will have presented to you, as our diplomatic agent, an offer of the sovereignty of their country to the United States. The President has deemed it proper that you should be furnished with instructions for the guidance of your conduct in such an emergency. With this dispatch you will be furnished with a full power to treat with the present authorities of the Hawaiian Government for the transfer of the Sandwich Islands to the United States. This can only be done by a convention or treaty, which will not be valid until it is ratified by the Senate of the United States.

Protectorate Disapproved.

"No intimation has ever been given to this Government as to the terms or conditions which will be likely to be annexed to the tender of the sovereignty. It is presumed, however, that something more than a mere protectorate is contemplated. A protectorate tendered to and accepted by the United States would not change the sovereignty of the country. In that case this Government would take upon itself heavy and responsible duties for which it could hardly expect compensating advantages.

"I understand that the measure proposed by the people, and that in which the present rulers are disposed to concur, is 'annexation' as distinguished from protection; and that it is their intention that these islands shall become a part of our territories and be under the control of this Government as fully as any other of its territorial possessions. In any convention you may make it is expected that the rights to be acquired by the United States should be clearly defined.

"Should the sovereignty of these islands be transferred to the United States, the present government would, as a matter of course, be superseded, or, at least, be subjected to the Federal authority of this country."

Annuities to the amount of \$100,000 per annum were authorized to be paid to the King and chiefs.

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaii, p. 929.)

Discussion of Terms of Annexation.

On January 31, 1855, Secretary Marcy wrote to Mr. Gregg that the President did not approve of Hawaii immediately becoming a State, but thought it should come in as a Territory.

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 941.)

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Annexation Overtures to be Confidentially Received.

In reply to a dispatch from U. S. Minister McCook, suggesting the possibility of the annexation of Hawaii, Secretary Seward wrote to him, July 13, 1867:

"You are at liberty to sound the proper authority on the large subject mentioned in your note (annexation) and ascertain probable conditions. You may confidentially receive overtures and communicate the same to me.

"I will act upon your suggestion in that relation in regard to a party now here. (The Hawaiian Minister at Washington.)"

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 948.)

Annexation Deemed Desirable by U. S. Government.

In a dispatch to U. S. Minister McCook at Honolulu, of September, 12, 1867, Secretary Seward says:

"Circumstances have transpired here which induce a belief that a strong interest, based upon a desire for annexation of the Sandwich Islands, will be active in opposing a ratification of the reciprocity treaty. It will be argued that the reciprocity will tend to hinder and defeat an *early annexation*, to which the people of the Sandwich Islands are supposed to be now strongly inclined. * * *

Second. You will be governed in all your proceedings by a proper respect and courtesy to the Government and people of the Sandwich Islands; but it is proper that you should know, for your own information, that a *lawful and peaceful annexation of the islands to the United States, with the consent of the people of the Sandwich Islands, is deemed desirable by this Government; and that if the policy of annexation should really conflict with the policy of reciprocity, annexation is in every case to be preferred.*

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 951.)

HAMILTON FISH.

Control of Hawaii Discussed.

In a dispatch from Secretary Fish to the American Minister at Honolulu, March 25, 1873, the following occurs:

"The position of the Sandwich Islands as an outpost *fronting and commanding the whole of our possessions on the Pacific Ocean*, gives to the future of those Islands a peculiar interest to the Government and people of the United States. It is very clear that this Government cannot be expected to assent to their transfer from their present control to that of any powerful maritime or commercial nation.

MILITARY SURVEILLANCE BY BERMUDA MUST NOT BE REPEATED IN THE PACIFIC.

"Such transfer to a maritime power would threaten a military surveillance in the Pacific similar to that which Bermuda has afforded in the Atlantic—the latter

has been submitted to from necessity, inasmuch as it was congenial with our Government—but we desire no additional similar outposts in the hands of those who may at some future time use them to our disadvantage.

CONSIDERATION OF HAWAII'S FUTURE FORCED ON UNITED STATES.

"The condition of the Government of Hawaii and its evident tendency to decay and dissolution force upon us the earnest consideration of its future—possibly its near future.

"There seems to be a strong desire on the part of many persons in the islands, representing large interests and great wealth, to become annexed to the United States. And while there are, as I have already said, many and influential persons in this country who question the policy of any insular acquisitions, perhaps even of any extension of territorial limits :

POLICY OF WISE FORESIGHT TO ACQUIRE HAWAII.

there are also those of influence and of wise foresight who see a future that must extend the jurisdiction and the limits of this nation, and that will require a resting spot in mid-ocean, between the Pacific coast and the vast domains of Asia, which are now opening to commerce and Christian civilization.

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 827.)

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Hawaii the key of the American Pacific.

In 1881, the British Government having made certain demands upon the Hawaiian Government, arising out of the reciprocity treaty with the United States, negotiated in 1876, Mr. Blaine, in a dispatch dated December 1, 1881, to U. S. Minister Comly at Honolulu, used the following language :

"This Government firmly believes that the position of the Hawaiian Islands as the key to the dominion of the American Pacific demands their benevolent neutrality, to which end it will earnestly co-operate with the native Government. And if, through any cause; the maintenance of such a position of benevolent neutrality should be found by Hawaii to be impracticable,

AN AVOWEDLY AMERICAN SOLUTION.

this Government would then unhesitatingly meet the altered situation by seeking an avowedly American solution for the grave issues presented."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 831.)

In a further dispatch he said ;

"The government of the United States * * * has always avowed, and now repeats, that under no circumstances will it permit the transfer of the territory or sovereignty of these islands to any of the great European powers. It is needless to restate the reasons upon which that determination rests. It is too obvious for argument that the possession of these islands by a great maritime power would not only be a dangerous diminution of the just and necessary influence of the United States in the waters of the Pacific, but in the case of international difficulty it would be a positive threat to interests too large and important to be lightly risked."

Hawaii's Relations to the United States.

In a confidential dispatch to U. S. Minister Comly at Honolulu, December 1, 1881, Mr. Blaine says :

EARLY EXTINCTION OF NATIVES—TRANSFER OF POWER TO OTHERS.

"In my formal instruction of this date I have reviewed the general question of the relationship between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, and the position of the latter, both as an integral part of the American system and as the key to the commerce of the North Pacific. As that instruction was written for communication to the Hawaiian secretary of state, I touched but lightly on the essential question of the gradual and seemingly inevitable decadence and extinction of the native race and its replacement by another, to which the powers of Government would necessarily descend.

THOMAS F. BAYARD.

The Reciprocity treaty with Hawaii was negotiated in 1875 under Secretary Fish. An extension of the treaty was negotiated by Secretary Frelinghuysen, and finally carried into effect under Thos. F. Bayard, Secretary of State in Mr. Cleveland's first administration. In an interview published in the Philadelphia Ledger, February 1, 1897, Mr. Bayard discusses the objects and intent of these treaties. Among other things he states that he was "greatly impressed with the special advantages which our exclusive rights in the Islands gave us, and would have preferred to extend the period of its duration so that our commercial interests there would have ample time to develop, and American control of the Islands, in a perfectly natural and legitimate way, would be assured by the normal growth of mercantile and political relations." He further states that the British Minister requested that the United States join England and Germany in a guaranty of the neutrality of Hawaii, which Mr. Bayard declined to do, February 15, 1888. Continuing, Mr. Bayard says:

"I held that there could be no comparison between our rights in the Hawaiian Islands, as secured by the treaties of 1875 and 1887, with those of other nations, and I would not consent that the United States should be put upon an equality with them * * * *We had an interest in Hawaii that no other country could have. A political union would logically and naturally follow, in course of time, the commercial union and dependence which were thus assured. * * * It was my idea that the policy originating in the Fish treaty of the Grant administration in 1875 should be permitted to work out its proper results. The obvious course was to wait quietly and patiently and let the Islands fill up with American planters and American industries until they should be wholly identified in business interests and political sympathies with the United States. It was simply a matter of waiting until the apple should ripen and fall. Unfortunately, nothing was done by Congress in pursuance of this easy, legitimate and perfectly feasible process of acquisition.*" * * *

"A single glance at the census returns of Hawaii for half a generation past exhibits this alarming diminution of the indigenous element, amounting to 1½ per cent per annum of the population. Meanwhile the industrial and productive development of Hawaii is on the increase, and the native classes, never sufficiently numerous to develop the full resources of the islands, have been supplemented by an adventitious labor element, from China mainly, until the rice and sugar fields are largely tilled by aliens. *The worst of this state of things* is that it must inevitably keep on in increasing ratio, the native classes growing smaller, the insular production larger, and the immigration to supply the want of labor greater every year.

[HAWAII COMMERCIALLY A DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA.]

'I have shown in a previous instruction how entirely Hawaii is a part of the productive and commercial system of the American States. So far as the staple growths and imports of the islands go, *the reciprocity treaty makes them practically members of an American zollverein, an outlying district of the State of California.* So far as political structure and independence of action are concerned, Hawaii is as remote from our control as China.

PERPETUITY OF NATIVES BASIS OF INDEPENDENCE.

"This contradiction is only explicable by assuming what is the fact, that thirty years ago, having the choice between material annexation and commercial assimilation of the islands, the United States chose the less responsible alternative. The soundness of the choice, however, entirely depends on the perpetuity of the rule of the native race as an independent Government, and that imperiled, the whole framework of our relations to Hawaii is changed, if not destroyed.

"The decline of the native Hawaiian element in the presence of newer and sturdier growths must be accepted as an inevitable fact, in view of the teachings of ethnological history. *And as retrogression in the development of the Islands, cannot be admitted without serious detriment to American interests* in the North Pacific, the problem of a replenishment of the vital forces of Hawaii presents itself for intelligent solution in an American sense—not in an Asiatic or a British sense.

ANNEXATION WOULD CAUSE AMERICAN COLONIZATION.

"*There is little doubt that were the Hawaiian Islands, by annexation or district protection, a part of the territory of the Union, their fertile resources for the growth of rice and sugar would not only be controlled by American capital, but so profitable a field of labor would attract intelligent workers thither from the United States.*

"Throughout the continent, north and south, wherever a foothold is found for American enterprise, it is quickly occupied, and this spirit of adventure, which seeks its outlet in the mines of South America and the railroads of Mexico, would not be slow to avail itself of openings for assured and profitable enterprise even in mid-ocean."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 977.)

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Secretary of State Foster made a report accompanying the treaty of annexation negotiated by him February 15, 1893, in which he says :

"The policy of the United States has been consistently and constantly declared against any foreign aggression in Hawaii inimical to the necessarily paramount rights and interests of the American people there, and the uniform contemplation of their annexation as a contingent necessity. But beyond that it is shown that annexation has been on more than one occasion avowed as a policy and attempted as a fact."

(Ib., Vol. 1, p. 136.)

Duty of the United States to Annex.

In an address to to the National Geographic Society, March 26, 1897, Mr. Foster said :

"It is, in my opinion, the plain duty of the United States to annex Hawaii to its territory. And in a matter which involves the interests and destiny of a great

nation of 70,000,000 people no mere technical questions of procedure should be allowed to embarrass our action. * * *

ANNEXATION PRESENTS NO DIFFICULTIES—PROTECTORATE IMPRACTICABLE.

"To my mind annexation presents no political or administrative difficulties. * * * I do regard the suggestion of a protectorate as practicable. We cannot assume it without becoming responsible for the government of the islands and we should not become responsible for the government unless we can * * * control its management. Such a system would bring no end of complications with foreign powers and in domestic affairs.

EITHER ANNEX OR LET ALONE.

"We must either annex the islands or leave them free to make such other alliance as they may choose or as destiny may determine."

JOHN SHERMAN.

Report Accompanying Annexation Treaty of 1897.

Secretary of State Sherman made a report to the President accompanying the treaty of annexation negotiated by him June 15, 1897, as follows:

The President:

"The undersigned, Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President for submission to the Senate, should it be deemed for the public interests to do so, a treaty signed in the city of Washington on the 16th instant by the undersigned and by the duly empowered representatives of the Republic of Hawaii, whereby the islands constituting the said republic and all their dependencies are fully and absolutely ceded to the United States of America forever.

"It does not seem necessary to the present purpose of the undersigned to review the incidents of 1893, when a similar treaty of cession was signed on February 14, and submitted to the Senate, being subsequently withdrawn by the President on the 9th of March following. The negotiation which has culminated in the treaty now submitted has not been a mere resumption of the negotiation of 1893, but was initiated and has been conducted upon independent lines. Then an abrupt revolutionary movement had brought about the dethronement of the late Queen and set up instead of the heretofore titular monarchy a provisional government for the control and management of public affairs and the protection of the public peace, such government to exist only until terms of union with the United States should have been negotiated and agreed upon. Thus self-constituted, its promoters claimed for it only a de facto existence until the purpose of annexation in which it took rise should be accomplished.

REPUBLIC EVOLVED FROM PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

"As time passed and the plan of union with the United States became an uncertain contingency the organization of the Hawaiian commonwealth underwent necessary changes, the temporary character of its first government gave place to a permanent scheme under a constitution framed by the representatives of the electors of the islands, and the government, administered by an executive council, not chosen by suffrage, but self appointed, was succeeded by an elective and parliamentary regime, and the ability of the new government to hold—as the Republic of Hawaii—an independent place in the family of sovereign states, preserving order at home and fulfilling international obligations abroad, has been put to the proof.

REPUBLIC OF HAWAII A RECOGNIZED SOVEREIGN STATE.

"Recognized by the powers of the earth, sending and receiving envoys, enforcing respect for the law and maintaining peace within its island borders, Hawaii sends to the United States, not a commission representing a successful revolution, but the accredited plenipotentiary of a constituted and firmly established sovereign State. However sufficient may have been the authority of the commissioners with whom the United States government treated in 1893, and however satisfied the President may then have been of their power to offer the domain of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, the fact remains that what they then tendered was a territory rather than an established government, a country whose administration had been cast down by a bloodless but complete revolution, and a community in a state of political transition.

HAWAIIAN CONSTITUTION AUTHORIZES ANNEXATION.

"Now, however, the Republic of Hawaii approaches the United States as an equal, and points for its authority to that provision of Article 32 of the Constitution promulgated July 24, 1894, whereby the President, with the approval of the Cabinet is expressly authorized and empowered to make a treaty of political or commercial union between the Republic of Hawaii and the United States of America, subject to the ratification of the Senate.

SIMPLE COMMERCIAL UNION IMPRACTICABLE.

"The present negotiation is, therefore, as has been said, not a mere renewal of the tender of Hawaiian territory made in 1893, but has responded to the purpose declared in the Hawaiian constitution, and the conferences of the plenipotentiaries have been directed to weighing the advantages of the political and the commercial union alternately proposed, and relatively considering the scope and extent thereof.

"It soon appeared to the negotiators that a purely commercial union on the lines of the German Zollverein could not satisfy the problems of the administration in Hawaii and of the political associations between the islands and the United States. Such a commercial union would on the one hand deprive the Hawaiian government of its chief source of revenue from customs duties by placing its territory in a relation of free exchange with the territory of the United States, its main market of purchase and supply, while on the other hand it would entail upon Hawaii the maintenance of an internal revenue system on a par with that of the United States or else involve the organization of a corresponding branch of our revenue service within a foreign jurisdiction.

"We have had with Hawaii since 1875 a treaty of commercial union, which practically assimilates the two territories with regard to many of their most important productions, and excludes other nations from enjoyment of its privileges, yet, although that treaty has outlived other less favored reciprocity schemes, its permanency has at times been gravely imperiled. Under such circumstances, to enter upon the radical experiment of a complete commercial union between Hawaii and the United States as independently sovereign states, without assurances of permanency and with perpetual subjection to the vicissitudes of public sentiment in the two countries, was not to be thought of.

POLITICAL PROTECTORATE IMPRACTICABLE.

"Turning then to the various practical forms of the political union, the several phases of a protectorate, an offensive and defensive alliance and a national guaranty were passed in review. In all of these the independence of the subordinated state is the distinguishing feature, and with it the assumption by the paramount state of responsibility without domain. This disparity of the relative interests and the distance separating the two countries could not fail to render any form of protective association, either unduly burdensome, or illusory in its benefits, so far as the protecting state is concerned, while any attempt to counteract this by tributary dependence or a measure of suzerain control would be a retrograde movement toward a feudal or colonial establishment alike inexpedient and incompatible with our national policy.

ANNEXATION ONLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTION.

"There remained, therefore, the annexation of the islands and their complete absorption into the political system of the United States as the only solution satisfying all the given conditions and promising permanency and mutual benefit. The present treaty has been framed on that basis, thus substantially reverting to the original proposal of 1893, and necessarily adopting many of the features of that arrangement. As to most of these, the negotiators have been constrained and limited by the constitutional powers of the Government of the United States.

ORGANIC PROVISIONS OF GOVERNMENT RESERVED FOR ACTION OF CONGRESS.

"As in previous instances, when the United States has acquired territory by treaty, it has been necessary to preserve all the organic provisions for the action of Congress. If this was requisite in the case of the transfer to the United States of a part of the domain of a titular sovereign, as in the cession of Louisiana by France, of Florida by Spain, or of Alaska by Russia, it is the more requisite when the act is not cession, but union, involving the complete incorporation of an alien sovereignty into the body politic of the United States.

"For this the only precedent of our political history is found in the uncompleted treaty concluded during President Grant's administration, November 29, 1869, for the annexation of the Dominican Republic to the United States.

"Following that example, the treaty now signed by the plenipotentiaries of the United States and the Republic of Hawaii reserves to the Congress of the United States the determination of all questions affecting the form of government of the annexed territory, the citizenship and elective franchise of its inhabitants and the manner in which the laws of the United States are to be extended to the islands.

HAWAIIAN TREATIES ABROGATED.

"In order that this independence of the Congress shall be complete and unquestionable, and pursuant to the recognized doctrine of public law, that treaties expire with the independent life of the contracting state, there has been introduced, out of abundant caution, an express proviso for the determination of all treaties heretofore concluded by Hawaii with foreign nations, and the extension to the islands of the treaties of the United States.

"This leaves Congress free to deal with such especial regulation of the contract labor system of the islands as circumstances may require. There being no general provision of existing statutes to prescribe the form of government for newly incorporated territory, it was necessary to stipulate, as in the Dominican precedent, for continuing the existing machinery of the government and laws in the Hawaiian Islands until provision shall be made by law for the government, as a territory of the United States, of the domain thus incorporated into the Union; but, having in view the peculiar status created in Hawaii by laws enacted in execution of treaties heretofore concluded between Hawaii and other countries, only such Hawaiian laws are thus provisionally continued as shall not be incompatible with the Constitution or the laws of the United States, or with the provisions of this treaty.

PROHIBITION OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

"It will be noticed that express stipulation is made prohibiting the coming of Chinese laborers from the Hawaiian Islands to any other part of our national territory. This provision was proper and necessary in view of the Chinese exclusion acts, and it behooved the negotiators to see to it that this treaty, which in turn is to become, in due constitutional course, a supreme law of the land, shall not alter or amend existing law in this most important regard.

"JOHN SHERMAN.

"Department of State, Washington, June 15, 1897."

Opinions of American Ministers at Honolulu, London and Paris Concerning the Control or Annexation of Hawaii.

EDWARD EVERETT.

English Seizure of Hawaii Prevented French Occupation.

Edward Everett, U. S. Minister at London, sent a dispatch to the U. S. State Department, relating to the seizure of Hawaii by the English, and their subsequent restoration thereof. In the course of the dispatch he says:

"There is now reason to think that the occupation of the islands by Lord George Paulet was a fortunate event, inasmuch as it prevented them from being taken possession of by a French squadron, which (it is said) was on its way for that purpose. Had France got possession of the islands she would certainly have retained them.

ENGLAND'S RECOGNITION OF HAWAII DUE TO IGNORANCE OF SEIZURE.

Had intelligence been received here of Lord George Paulet's occupation of them before her promise was given to recognize them, England, I think, would not have given them up. As it is, an understanding between the great European powers, amounting in effect, if not in form, to a guaranty of their independence, is likely to take place. *This is the only state of things with which the United States could be content. As it will be brought about without involving us in any compacts with other powers, * * **

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 926.)

J. TURRILL.

Protest Against French Aggression.

On August 18, 1849, the French Admiral Tromelin made demand for settlement of certain alleged grievances against the Hawaiian Government, with a threat to use force if not complied with.

Mr. Turrill, U. S. Consul at Honolulu, thereupon addressed a communication to him, in which he used the following language :

"The demands which have been made upon this Government are, in my judgment, in direct opposition to the plain provisions of the treaty, and the enforcing them in the manner indicated would be a palpable violation of the law of nations.

"As the course you have advised me that circumstances may induce you to pursue must of necessity *seriously affect the great American interests* connected with these islands, it becomes my imperative duty, as a representative of the United States, to interpose my solemn protest against it, which I now do, and I shall lose no time in communicating to the President of the United States the facts and circumstances attending this case."

Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 884.)

French Admiral Replies, None of United States' Business.

To this Admiral Tromelin replied, expressing surprise at the communication received, saying :

"The policy of the American Government made it your duty to not interfere officially in our affairs with the administration of His Majesty Kamehameha III, for you know as well as I do that the United States of America has made it to themselves a law of not mixing ever in the affairs of other nations, and especially those of France."

(*Ibid.*, p. 884.)

French Action Injurious to American Interests.

To this Mr. Turrill replied :

"You are right in supposing it not to be the policy of the United States to mix in the affairs of other nations. But when a case like the one under consideration occurs, and I clearly see that the course military power is to take against this weak nation *must greatly injure my countrymen and seriously embarrass the extensive American commerce* connected with these islands, it becomes my duty so far to interfere officially as to interpose my protest; and in doing so I doubt not my course will meet the entire approbation of the President of the United States."

(*Ibid.*, p. 885.)

LUTHER SEVERANCE.

Provisional Cession of Hawaii to United States.

The French aggressions in Honolulu being renewed in 1851, the King, on the 10th day of March, 1851, executed a document reciting his inability to withstand the aggressions of the French, and placing the country—

"under the protection and safeguard of the United States of America until some arrangements can be made to place our said relations with France upon a footing compatible with my rights as an independent sovereign, * * * or, if such arrangements be found impracticable, then it is our wish and pleasure that the *protection aforesaid under the United States of America be perpetual.*

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

This was delivered to U. S. Minister Severance.

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 897.)

Annexation Desired by Hawaii.

In a dispatch from Mr. Severance to Secretary of State Webster, dated March 11th, 1851, giving at length a statement concerning the situation, Mr. Severance says :

" * * * the King, with the approbation of his chiefs, and I believe nearly all the principal officers of the Government, have it in contemplation to take down the Hawaiian flag and run up that of the United States. *They contemplate annexation to our Republic and have already consulted me about it.* * * *

"The popular representative body recently elected by native votes is for the most part composed of natives of the United States, and so is the executive part of the Government, as well as the judiciary, at least in the high courts. * * * *Three-fourths, at least, of the business done here is by Americans, and they already own much of the real estate.* * * * If the action of the French should precipitate a movement here, I shall be called on, perhaps, to protect the American flag. *I was indeed requested to go and see the King on Monday night, and in the presence of the council to give him assurance of protection should he raise the American flag instead of his own ; but I preferred to keep away, so as to avoid all appearance of intrigue to bring about a result which, however desirable, and as many believe ultimately inevitable, must still be attended with difficulties and embarrassments.*" * * *

After referring to the French and their possible further attack, he continues :

"The natives look upon them as enemies, and if they come again on a like errand we shall be again appealed to for protection and *the subject of annexation will come up again with added force.*"

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel. concerning Hawaiian Islands, pp. 897-8.)

Referring to the document executed by the King, above referred to, Mr. Severance continues that he has not committed himself other than to say—

"that if the King cedes the islands to the United States and puts up the American flag, I will do what I can to protect it for the time being, until the pleasure of my Government shall be known. Leaning upon us as they do, and sympathizing with them under aggravated wrongs and repeated insults, I could not tell them we should reject their proffered allegiance, and stand passive while they, with the American flag in their hands, should be trampled under foot by the French."

Distance no Objection to Annexation.

Continuing, Mr. Severance says that arrangements are being made for steam navigation with San Francisco :

"With these steamers and a telegraph from San Francisco to Washington we can communicate with you in about a week; so *I hope you will not object to a political connection on account of distance.* Nor are we so far from the centripetal force of our Republic as to be in danger of being thrown off in a tangent. *We must not take the islands in virtue of the 'manifest destiny' principle, but can we not accept their voluntary offer? Who has a right to forbid the bays?*"

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 903.)

DAVID L. GREGG.

Treaty of Annexation Negotiated.

Acting under instructions from Mr. Marcy, U. S. Minister Gregg negotiated a treaty of annexation with the Hawaiian Government.

It was completed ready for signature, August 7, 1854, but before it was signed the King, Kamehameha III, died, and his successor, Kamehameha IV, declined to ratify it.

This treaty of annexation and the dispatches concerning it are to be found in—

Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 935.

It is hereinafter contained.

JAMES McBRIDE.

English Control would be Injustice to Americans.

In a dispatch from U. S. Minister McBride, at Honolulu, to Secretary Seward, dated October 9, 1863, he sets forth the growing power of the English, and the tendency of the King and Government of Hawaii to Anglicize everything in connection with the Government, and the danger that the country would come under British control.

Upon this subject he says :

"It would be a flagrant injustice to American citizens, after they have labored for the good of these islands for the last forty years, after they have brought these people out of barbarism and taught them civilization, science, and religion; in a word, made them an intelligent and Christian nation and have done all that has been done in the development of the resources of the country, and given it a world-wide popularity, to be either driven out or so treated and harassed as to make it necessary for their interests to sacrifice their property and leave, which is believed would be the case provided the English obtain greater influence with the King than they now have; which influence it is the desire of Americans here and for the interests of the American Government to avert. Some merchants and planters are contracting their business, so that they may not suffer so heavy a loss in the event of the change which seems probable at no very distant day."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 943.)

EDWARD McCOOK.

Hawaii Absolutely Necessary to United States in Case of War.

In a dispatch to Secretary Seward, dated September 3, 1866, U. S. Minister McCook, at Honolulu, after giving a general resume of conditions of the Islands, says :

"Geographically these islands occupy the same important relative position towards the Pacific that the Bermudas do towards the Atlantic coast of the United States, a position which makes them important to the English, convenient to the French, and, in the event of war with either of those powers, absolutely necessary to the United States. Destitute of both army and navy, the Hawaiian Government is without the power to resist aggression, to compel belligerents to respect the neutrality of her ports. Equally destitute of financial resources, they are without the means of indemnifying those who may suffer through their weakness.

SPIRIT OF COUNTRY WHOLLY AMERICAN AND FAVORABLE TO ANNEXATION.

"The spirit of this whole people is heartily republican and thoroughly American. The King, his half dozen half-civilized nobles, as many cabinet ministers, and the Lord Bishop of Honolulu (Staley) constitute the entire aristocratic element of the country, either in fact or in feeling. And when this dynasty ends, as end it will probably within the next year, I am sure that if the American Government indicates the slightest desire to test in these islands the last Napoleonic conception in the way of territorial extension you will find the people here with great unanimity 'demanding by votes, freely expressed, annexation to the United States.

(Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., Vol. 2, concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 947.)

Annexation Favored.

A reciprocity treaty was in process of negotiation between Hawaii and the United States, under President Johnson, in 1867. U. S. Minister McCook at Honolulu, June 7, 1867, writes to Secretary Seward :

"Should the treaty be ratified, I will feel that I have possibly accomplished all I can accomplish in my present position, and will probably wish to return to my home in Colorado, unless you should favor the absolute acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands, in which event I would like to conduct the negotiations. *I think their sovereignty could be purchased from the present King, and feel sure that the people of the United States would receive such a purchase with universal acclamation.*"

(Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., Vol. 2, concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 947.)

HENRY A. PIERCE.

The Dispatch Concerning Annexation which Grant Submitted for Confidential Consideration of the Senate.

On February 25, 1871, Mr. Henry A. Pierce, then U. S. Minister at Honolulu, wrote to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish a dispatch concerning annexation, which, upon reference to President Grant, was deemed by him so important that he forwarded it to the Senate, accompanied by a confidential special message recommending it to the consideration of the Senate.

The dispatch from Mr. Pierce is as follows :

ANNEXATION ULTIMATE DESTINY OF HAWAII.

"Impressed with the importance of the subject now presented for consideration, I beg leave to suggest the inquiry whether the period has not arrived making it proper, wise, and sagacious for the United States Government to again consider the project of annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the territory of the republic. *That such is to be the political destiny of this archipelago seems a foregone conclusion in the opinion of all who have given attention to the subject in this country, the United States, England, France, and Germany.*

"A majority of the aborigines, creoles, and naturalized foreigners of this country, as I am credibly informed, are favorable, even anxious for the consummation of the measure named.

"The event of the decease of the present sovereign of Hawaii, leaving no heirs or successor to the throne, and the consequent election to be made by the legislative assembly of a king, and new stirps for a royal family, will produce a crisis in political affairs which, it is thought, will be availed of as a propitious occasion to inaugurate measures for annexation of the islands to the United States, the same to be affected as the manifest will and choice of the majority of the Hawaiian people; and through means proper, peaceful and honorable.

"It is evident, however, no steps will be taken to accomplish the object named without the proper sanction or approbation of the United States Government in approval thereof.

AMERICAN SENTIMENT IN HAWAII.

"The Hawaiian people for fifty years have been under educational instruction of American missionaries, and the civilizing influence of New England people, commercial and maritime. Hence they are Puritan and democratic in their ideas and tendencies, modified by a tropical climate. Their favorite songs and airs are American.

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States has made the project of annexation to our Union more popular than ever, both here and in the United States.

DECREASE OF NATIVES.

"The native population is fast disappearing; the number existing is now estimated at 45,000, having decreased about 15,000 since the census of 1866. The number of foreigners in addition is between 5,000 and 6,000, two-thirds of whom are from the United States, and they own more than that proportion of the foreign capital, as represented in the agriculture, commerce, navigation, and whale fisheries of the kingdom.

FOREIGNERS TO SUCCEED. IF NOT AMERICANS, WHO?

"*This country and sovereignty will soon be left to the possession of foreigners, to unlineal hands, no sons of theirs succeeding.* To what foreign nation shall

these islands belong if not to the great Republic? At the present, those of foreign nationalities hold all the important offices of Government, and control legislation, the judiciary, etc. Well disposed as the Government now is toward the United States and its resident citizens here, in course of time it may be otherwise, as was the case during our civil war.

POINTS WHICH SHOULD INFLUENCE U. S. POLICY.

"I now proceed to state some points of a mere general character, which should influence the United States Government in their decision of the policy of acquiring possession of this archipelago;

NECESSITY AS NAVAL DEPOT.

their geographical position occupying, as it does, an important central, strategical point, in the North Pacific Ocean, valuable, perhaps necessary, to the United States for a naval depot and coaling station, and to shelter and protect our commerce and navigation, which in this hemisphere is destined to increase enormously from our intercourse with the 500,000,000 population of China, Japan, and Australia. Humboldt predicted that the commerce on the Pacific would, in time, rival that on the Atlantic. A future generation, no doubt, will see the prophecy fulfilled.

"The immense injury inflicted on American navigation and commerce by Great Britain in the war of 1812-1814, through her possessions of Bermuda and other West India Islands, as also that suffered by the English from French privateers from the Isle of France, during the wars between those nations, are instances in proof of the necessity of anticipating and preventing, when we can, similar evils that may issue from these islands if held by other powers.

COMMERCIAL VALUE.

Their proximity to the Pacific States of the Union, fine climate and soil, and tropical productions of sugar, coffee, rice, fruits, hides, goat-skins, salt, cotton, fine wool, etc., required by the West, in exchange for flour, grain, lumber, shooks, and manufactures of cotton, wool, iron, and other articles, are evidence of the commercial value of one to the other region.

EUROPEAN POWERS MAY SEIZE IN TIME OF WAR.

"Is it probable that any European power who may hereafter be at war with the United States will refrain from taking possession of this weak Kingdom, in view of the great injury that could be done to our commerce through their acquisition of them?"

PALMERSTON'S VIEW OF DESTINY OF HAWAII.

"Prince Alexander and Lott Kamehameha (the former subsequently became the fourth Hawaiian King and the latter the fifth) and Dr. G. P. Judd, my informant, visited England in 1850 as Hawaiian commissioners.

"Lord Palmerston, at their interview with him, said, in substance, 'that the British government desired the Hawaiian people to maintain proper government and preserve national independence. If they were unable to do so, he recommended receiving a protectorate government under the United States or by becoming an integral part of that nation. Such,' he thought, 'was the destiny of the Hawaiian Islands arising from their proximity to the States of California and Oregon, and natural dependence on those markets for exports and imports, together with probable extinction of the Hawaiian aboriginal population and its substitution by immigration from the United States.' That advice seems sound and prophetic.

HISTORICAL FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS.

"The following historical events in relation to these islands are thought worthy of revival in recollection:

"February 25, 1843.—Lord George Paulet, of Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Carysfort*, obtained, by forceful measures, cession of the Hawaiian Islands, to the Government of Great Britain, July 31, 1843. They were restored to their original sovereignty by the British Admiral Thomas.

"November 28, 1843.—Joint convention of the English and French Governments, which acknowledged the independence of this archipelago, and reciprocally promised never to take possession of any part of same. The United States Government was invited to be a party to the above, but declined.

"August, 1849.—Admiral Tromelin, with a French naval force, after making demands on the Hawaiian Government impossible to be complied with, took unre-

sisted possession of the fort and government buildings in Honolulu, and blockaded the harbor. After a few weeks' occupation of the place, the French departed, leaving political affairs as they were previous to their arrival.

"January, 1851.—A French naval force again appeared at Honolulu, and threatened bombardment and destruction of the town."

DEED OF CESSION TO UNITED STATES.

"The King, Kamehameha III, with the Government, fearing it would be carried into effect, and in mortal dread of being brought under French rule, similar to that placed by the latter over Tahiti, of the Society Islands, executed a deed of cession of all the Hawaiian Islands and their sovereignty forever in favor of the United States of America." * * *

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 825.)

Annexation under Discussion in Hawaii.

In a dispatch to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, February 17, 1873, U. S. Minister Henry A. Pierce, at Honolulu, writes as follows:

"Annexation of these islands to the United States and a reciprocity treaty between the two countries are the two important topics of conversation and warm discussion among Government officials and foreign residents.

"A large majority of the latter favor the first-named project, while the former advocate reciprocity. All are convinced, however, that some measure should be taken by the Hawaiian Government to effectually stay the decline in the prosperity of the country, evidenced in decreasing exports, revenue, population, whale fishery, and an increasing public debt.

OVERTHROW OF GOVERNMENT, ESTABLISHMENT OF REPUBLIC AND ANNEXATION FORESHADOWED.

"*Annexation of the islands to the United States will never, in my opinion, be adopted or presented as a Government measure, however much the people as a whole may desire it. The glitter of the crown, love of power, and emoluments of office have too many attractions to prevent it. Should the great interests of the country, however, demand that 'annexation' shall be attempted, the planters, merchants, and foreigners generally will induce the people to overthrow the Government, establish a republic, and then ask the United States for admittance into its Union.* My opinion has recently been frequently asked in regard to probable success of the two measures proposed. I have said that if annexation or a reciprocity treaty is proposed on the part of Hawaii to the United States, that the subject will, in either case, be profoundly considered and decided upon.

KING WILLING TO SELL OUT.

"Those favoring the former measure think it can be carried if the King's consent thereto is first obtained (and endeavors will be made to that end), provided the United States will, for and in consideration of said cession, pension off His Majesty and all the chiefs of royal blood with the aggregate sum per annum of \$125,000, and pay off the Hawaiian national debt, now amounting to about \$250,000, and bestow upon the cause and for the benefit of education, public schools, and the nation's hospitals (three of the later in number) the proprietorship and revenues of the crown and public lands. The value of said lands is at present estimated at about \$1,000,000. It includes, however, the public buildings, waterworks, wharf property, fish ponds, etc. The income of the crown lands, now inuring to the sovereign, amounts to about \$25,000 per annum. The public, or Government, waterworks give about \$15,000 per annum, wharf property about the same, notwithstanding the free use of them granted to steamship lines.

U. S. GOVERNMENT SHOULD DECLARE ITS POLICY.

"*Many persons are lukewarm on the subject of annexation to the United States solely for the reason that they fear repulse by the United States Government. I think the latter should declare its policy and object in regard to this important subject.* This nation is bewildered and suffering to some degree, not knowing how to shape its own policy in connection with its hopes and expectations in regard to the United States."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 961.)

The Kalakaua Election Riot.

In a dispatch to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, U. S. Minister Pierce describes the riot in Honolulu, at the time of and consequent upon the election of Kalakaua as King, which was suppressed by United States troops.

American War Vessels Should Always be Maintained at Honolulu.

He concludes:

"Hereafter a United States vessel of war should always be stationed at these islands under a system of reliefs. *A time may arrive when the United States Government will find it necessary for the interests of our nation and its resident citizens here to take possession of this country by military occupation.*"

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 970.)

Reciprocity Urged to bind Hawaii to the United States.

Mr. Pierce, to Secretary Fish, urges the negotiation of a treaty of reciprocity between the two countries, and concludes:

"In view of the best interests of the United States in their relations with these islands, I take the liberty to express the hope that a liberal commercial treaty may soon be inaugurated by the two countries, feeling confident that such act would result to the equal benefit of both nations in a pecuniary sense, and, *moreover, be the means of binding this archipelago to the United States by the chains of self-interest, never to be severed.*"

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 971.)

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Increase of Annexation Sentiment in Hawaii.

U. S. Minister John L. Stevens, at Honolulu, on February 8, 1892, says in a dispatch to Secretary of State Blaine, after describing the situation in Honolulu:

"*There are increasing indications that the annexation sentiment is growing among the business men as well as with the less responsible of the foreign and native population of the island. The present political situation is feverish, and I see no prospect of its being permanently otherwise until these islands become a part of the American Union or a possession of Great Britain. The intelligent and responsible men here, unaided by outside support, are too few in numbers to control in political affairs and to secure good government. There are indications that even the 'Liberals,' just beaten at the election, though composed of a majority of the popular vote, are about to declare for annexation, at least their leaders, their chief newspaper having already published editorials to this effect.*"

NEW DEPARTURE NECESSARY—PROTECTORATE IMPRACTICABLE—ANNEXATION ONLY REMEDY.

"At a future time, after the proposed treaty shall have been ratified, I shall deem it my official duty to give a more elaborate statement of facts and reasons why a 'new departure' by the United States as to Hawaii is rapidly becoming a necessity, that a 'protectorate' is impracticable, and that *annexation must be the future remedy, or else Great Britain will be furnished with circumstances and opportunity to get a hold on these islands which will cause future serious embarrassment to the United States.*"

"At this time there seems to be no immediate prospect of its being safe to have the harbor of Honolulu left without an American vessel of war. Last week a British gunboat arrived here, and it is said will remain here for an indefinite period."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 989.)

Revolutionary Movement for Annexation.

On March 8, 1892, U. S. Minister Stevens, in a dispatch to Secretary Blaine, states that there are indications of a revolutionary attempt to overthrow the Queen and establish a republic, with a view of ultimate annexation to the United States, and asks for instructions

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 990.)

NOTE.—(The revolution indicated was not by the persons who afterwards carried out the revolution of 1893, but was being gotten up by an almost exclusively native combination, under the leadership of a half-white, Wilcox. They were politically hostile to the persons organizing the successful revolution of 1893, and since 1893 have been rabid royalists.)

Superior Interests in Hawaii the Avowed Policy of the United States.

Mr. Stevens sent a dispatch to Secretary of State Foster, November 20, 1892, in which he states:

"An intelligent and impartial examination of the facts can hardly fail to lead to the conclusion that the relations and policy of the United States toward Hawaii will soon demand some change, if not the adoption of decisive measures, with the aim to secure American interests and future supremacy by encouraging Hawaiian development and aiding to promote responsible government in these islands. It is unnecessary for me to allude to the deep interest and the settled policy of the United States Government in respect to these island, from the official days of John Quincy Adams and of Daniel Webster to the present time. In all that period, we have avowed the superiority of our interests to those of all other nations, and have always refused to embarrass our freedom of action by any alliance or arrangement with other powers as to the ultimate possession and government of the islands."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 996.)

Analysis of Conditions.

He then proceeds to give an analysis of the situation, referring to the commercial and naval importance of the Islands, its Government, existing business status, and recommends that:

EITHER ANNEXATION OR CUSTOMS UNION.

"One of two courses seems to me absolutely necessary to be followed, either bold and vigorous measures for annexation, or a 'customs union,' an ocean cable from the California coast to Honolulu, Pearl Harbor perpetually ceded to the United States, with an implied but not necessarily stipulated American protectorate over the islands.

REASONS WHY ANNEXATION PREFERABLE.

I believe the former to be the better, that which will prove much the more advantageous to the islands, and the cheapest and least embarrassing in the end for the United States. If it was wise for the United States, through Secretary Marcy, thirty-eight years ago, to offer to expend \$100,000 to secure a treaty of annexation, it certainly cannot be chimerical or unwise to expend \$100,000 to secure annexation in the near future. *Today the United States has five times the wealth she possessed in 1854, and the reasons now existing for annexation are much stronger than they were then.* * * * A perpetual customs union and the acquisition of Pearl Harbor, with an implied protectorate, must be regarded as the only allowable alternative. This would require the continual presence in the Harbor of Honolulu of a United States vessel of war and the constant watchfulness of the United States Minister while the present bungling, unsettled, and expensive political rule would go on, retarding the development of the islands, leaving at the end of twenty-five years more embarrassment to annexation than exists today, the property far less valuable, and the population less American than they would be if annexation were soon realized. * * *

"OBJECTIONS TO CUSTOMS UNION.

"To give Hawaii a highly favorable treaty while she remains outside the American Union would necessarily give the same advantages to hostile foreigners, those who would continue to antagonize our commercial and political interests here, as well as those of American blood and sympathies. * * * Besides, so long as the islands retain their own independent government there remains the possibility that England or the Canadian Dominion might secure one of the Hawaiian harbors for a coaling station. Annexation excludes all dangers of this kind.

DECISION SHOULD BE MADE AS TO WHICH POLICY TO FOLLOW.

"Which of the two lines of policy and action shall be adopted our statesmen and our Government must decide. *Certain it is that the interests of the United States and the welfare of these islands will not permit the continuance of the existing state and tendency of things.* Having for so many years extended a helping hand to the islands and encouraging the American residents and their friends at home to the extent we have, we cannot refrain now from aiding them with vigorous measures, without injury to ourselves and those of our 'kith and kin,' and without neglecting American opportunities that never seemed so obvious and pressing as they do now."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, pp. 1002-3.)

Opinions of U. S. Military and Naval Officers Concerning the Control or Annexation of Hawaii.

GEN. J. M. SCHOFIELD AND GEN. B. S. ALEXANDER.

Report on Defensive Capabilities of Hawaii in Case of War.

On June 24, 1872, Secretary of War Wm. W. Belknap issued confidential instructions to Generals Schofield and Alexander to go to Honolulu and investigate its defensive capabilities, in the event of war between the United States and some other maritime nation.

Their report is lengthy and contains the following:

"* * * We ascertained from the officers of the U. S. Navy, from maps and from seafaring men that Honolulu is the only good commercial harbor in the whole group of the Sandwich Islands.

"An enemy could take up his position outside of the entrance to the harbor and command the entire anchorage, as well as the town of Honolulu itself. *This harbor would, therefore, be of no use to us as a harbor of refuge in a war with a powerful maritime nation.*

PEARL RIVER ONLY HARBOR THAT CAN BE PROTECTED IN TIME OF WAR.

"*With one exception there is no harbor on the islands that can be made to satisfy all the conditions necessary for a harbor of refuge in time of war. This is the harbor of Ewa or Pearl River, situated on the Island of Oahu, about 7 miles west of Honolulu.*

"Pearl River is a fine sheet of deep water extending inland about six miles from its mouth, where it could be completely defended by shore batteries. The depth of water after passing the bar is ample for any vessel.

"Pearl River is not a true river; it partakes more of the character of an estuary. It is divided into three portions called 'locks'—the east lock, the middle lock, and the west lock, the three together affording some 30 miles of water front, with deep water in the channels. * * *

EASILY DEFENDED—WATER—LAND—PROVISIONS.

"If the coral barrier were removed, Pearl River harbor would seem to have all, or nearly all, the necessary properties to enable it to be converted into a good harbor of refuge. It could be completely defended by inexpensive batteries on

either or both shores, firing across a narrow channel of entrance. Its waters are deep enough for the largest vessels of war, and its 'locks,' particularly around Rabbitt Island, are spacious enough for a large number of vessels to ride at anchor in perfect security against all storms. Its shores are suitable for building proper establishments for sheltering the necessary supplies for a naval establishment, such as magazines of ammunition, provisions, coal, spars, rigging, etc., while the island of Oahu, upon which it is situated, could furnish fresh provisions, meats, fruits, and vegetables in large quantities. * * *

IF MADE A NAVAL STATION JURISDICTION SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO THE UNITED STATES.

"In case it should become the policy of the Government of the United States to obtain the possession of this harbor for naval purposes, jurisdiction over all the waters of Pearl River, with the adjacent shores to the distance of 4 miles from any anchorage, should be ceded to the United States by the Hawaiian Government.

"This would be necessary in order to enable the Government to defend its depots and anchorages in time of war by works located on its own territory. Such a cession of jurisdiction would embrace a parallelogram of about 10 by 12 miles. * * *

ACTION MUST BE IN ADVANCE OF WAR.

"It is to be observed that if the United States are ever to have a harbor of refuge and naval station in the Hawaiian Islands in the event of war, *the harbor must be prepared in advance* by the removal of the Pearl River bar.

"When war has begun it will be too late to make this harbor available, and there is no other suitable harbor on these islands."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, pp. 963-6.)

GEO. BROWN.

Hawaiian Sentiment in Favor of Annexation.

Admiral Geo. Brown, September 6, 1892, in a dispatch to Secretary of the Navy Tracy, says:

"There is a strong sentiment existing in Hawaii, among the native Hawaiians as well as among the Americans and Germans, in favor of a change in the form of government, looking toward the ultimate annexation of the islands to the United States. * * *

"It is thought that the Queen will consent to abdicate in favor of a republican form of government if she can be assured that a suitable provision will be made for her in the way of a permanent pecuniary settlement." * * *

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 991.)

G. C. WILTSE.

Growing Annexation Sentiment.

Capt. G. C. Wiltse, October 12, 1892, in a dispatch to Secretary of the Navy Tracy, says:

"There is a large and growing sentiment, particularly among the planters, in favor of annexation to the United States, but I am informed that the leaders do not think an opportune moment will arrive for some time to come. However, everything seems to point toward an eventual request for annexation."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 993.)

CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN.

Favors Annexation.

(*Ib.*, Vol. 1, p. 113, and the Forum, Mar., 1893:)

"The United States finds herself compelled to make a decision * * * whether we wish to or no, we *must* make the decision. * * *

"To any one viewing a map that shows the full extent of the Pacific, * * * two circumstances will be strikingly and immediately apparent. He will see at a glance that the Sandwich Islands stand by themselves in a state of comparative isolation, amid a vast expanse of sea; and, again, that they form the center of a large circle whose radius is approximately the distance from Honolulu to San Francisco. * * * this is substantially the same distance as from Honolulu to the Gilbert, Marshall, Samoan, and Society islands, all under European control except Samoa, in which we have a part influence. * * *

REMARKABLE STRATEGICAL POSITION OF HAWAII.

"To have a central position such as this, and to be alone, having no rival and admitting no rival, * * * are conditions that at once fix the attention of the strategist. * * * But to this striking combination is to be added the remarkable relations borne * * * to the great commercial routes traversing this vast expanse. * * *

"Too much stress cannot be laid upon the immense disadvantage to us of any maritime enemy having a coaling station well within 2,500 miles, as this is, of every point of our coast line from Puget Sound to Mexico. Were there many others available we might find it difficult to exclude from all. There is, however, but the one. Shut out from the Sandwich Islands as a coal base, an enemy is thrown back for supplies of fuel to distances of 3,500 or 4,000 miles—or between 7,000 and 8,000 going and coming—an impediment to sustained maritime operations well nigh prohibitive. * * * *It is rarely that so important a factor in the attack or defence of a coast line—of a sea frontier—is concentrated in a single position, and the circumstance renders doubly imperative upon us to secure it if we righteously can.*"

STATEMENT OF GEN. SCHOFIELD.

FAILURE TO ANNEX WOULD BE A CRIME.

"I went to the Hawaiian Islands 20 years ago. The annexation question was up then. My business was to look the question over from the military point of view. I made a report that while I regarded annexation as inevitable, and but a matter of time, the conditions were not ripe for it then. * * *

"There can be no doubt now about the time for annexation, or that it should be the outcome of the present negotiations. Annexation may not be the immediate step; but it is near at hand and is a foregone conclusion, whether it is put off a little while by a protectorate or until a commission further ascertains the conditions favorable to it."

"In regard to the question of suffrage, the General said there would be no trouble. If annexed, all those who are citizens now would of course become citizens of the United States. The Chinese and Japanese, who are not citizens there now, would be excluded. * * *

"On thing is plain enough, the Hawaiian people must have protection from some quarter. If they cannot get it from the United States, they will have to reach out for it in some other direction. * * * *To fail those people now would be a crime.*"

(N. Y. Tribune, March 15, 1893, p. 2.)

In 1875 General J. M. Schofield, then commanding the Division of the Pacific, gave his views to Congress, through Mr. Luttrell, concerning the reciprocity treaty, then pending before Congress, as follows:

"The Hawaiian Islands constitute the only natural outpost to the defences of the Pacific coast. In possession of a foreign naval power, in time of war, as a depot from which to fit out hostile expeditions against this coast and our commerce on the Pacific Ocean, they would afford the means of incalculable injury to the United States. If the absolute neutrality of the islands could always be insured, that would suffice; but they have not, and never can have, the power to maintain their own neutrality, and now their necessities force them to seek alliance with some nation which can relieve their embarrassment. The British Empire * * * stands ready to enter into such an alliance, and thus complete its chain of naval stations from Australia to British Columbia. We cannot refuse the islands the little aid they need and at the same time deny their right to seek it elsewhere. The time has come when we must secure forever the desired control over those islands or let it pass into other hands. The financial interest to the United States involved

in this treaty is very small, and if it were much greater it would still be insignificant when compared to the importance of such a military and naval station to the national security and welfare."

ADMIRAL, BELKNAP.

OVERTHROW OF MONARCHY EXPECTED.

"The revolution in the Hawaiian Islands, resulting in the deposition of the Queen and the establishment of a provisional government, is an event not unexpected to diplomatic, naval, and consular officers who have had any acquaintance or familiarity with the course of affairs in that island Kingdom for the past twenty years.

ANNEXATION OF MOMENTOUS INTEREST AND VITAL IMPORTANCE.

"To the people of the United States the present situation is of momentous interest and of vital importance. Indeed, it would seem that nature had established that group to be ultimately occupied as an outpost, as it were, of the great Republic on its western border, and that the time had now come for the fulfillment of such design.

"A glance at a chart of the Pacific will indicate to the most casual observer the great importance and inestimable value of those islands as a strategic point and commercial centre. Situated in mid-north Pacific, the group looks out on every hand toward grand opportunities of trade, political aggrandizement, and polyglot intercourse."

* * * * *

"The group now seeks annexation to the United States; the consummation of such wish would inure to the benefit of both peoples commercially and politically. Annex the islands, constitute them a territory, and reciprocal trade will double within ten years. Let the islanders feel that they are once and forever under the folds of the American flag, as part and parcel of the great Republic, and a development will take place in the group that will at once surprise its people and the world.

FAILURE TO ANNEX WOULD BE FOLLY.

"Not to take the fruit within our grasp and annex the group now begging us to take it in would be folly indeed—a mistake of the gravest character, both for the statesmen of the day, and for the men among us of high commercial aims and great enterprises.

"Our statesmen should act in this matter in the spirit and resolve that secured to us the vast Louisiana purchase, the annexation of Texas, and the acquisition of California. The administration that secures to the United States the 'coign of vantage' in the possession of those beautiful islands will score a great measure of beneficent achievement to the credit side of its account."

* * * * *

SHOULD ANNEX EVEN AT HAZARD OF WAR.

"We want no joint protectorate, no occupation there by any European power, no Pacific Egypt. We need the group as part and parcel of the United States, and should take what is offered us, even at the hazard of war.

"Westward the star of empire takes its way. Let the Monroe doctrine stay not its hand until it holds Hawaii securely within its grasp.

"In this matter the undersigned speaks from personal knowledge, gained through official visits to the islands in 1874 and 1882." * * *

(Sen. Com. of F. R. on H., Vol. 1, p. 169, and Boston Herald, January 31, 1893.)

Acts of the United States Congress Concerning the Control or
Annexation of Hawaii.

The Grant Reciprocity Treaty, 1874.

A Reciprocity Treaty was negotiated by Secretary Fish under President Grant.

The Political Clause.

The vital feature of the Treaty to the United States is in article IV, which provides that so long as the treaty exists, Hawaii—

“will not lease or otherwise dispose of or create any lien upon any port harbor or other territory * * * or grant any special privilege or right of use therein to any other government” * * *

nor make any reciprocity treaty with any other Government.

The Pearl River Clause.

A renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty for seven years was concluded November 9, 1887, by President Cleveland.

The extended Treaty also gives the United States :

* * * “The exclusive right to enter the harbor of Pearl River, in the Island of Oahu, and to establish and maintain there a coaling and repair station for the use of vessels of the United States, and to that end the United States may improve the entrance of said harbor and do all things needful to the purpose aforesaid.”

(The full Treaty is printed in Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., relating to Hawaii, p. 978-9, and hereunder.)

Resolution of U. S. House of Representatives.

(February 7, 1894.)

“Resolved, * * * That foreign intervention in the political affairs of the (Hawaiian) Islands will not be regarded with indifference by the Government of the United States.”

(Cong. Record, 53d Cong., 2d Sessn, p. 2001.)

Resolution of U. S. Senate.

(May 31, 1894.)

“Resolved, That * * * any intervention in the political affairs of these islands (Hawaii) by any other government will be regarded as an act unfriendly to the United States.”

(Cong. Record, 53d Cong., 2d Sessn., p. 5499.)

*Report of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Concerning
Hawaii.*

The Senate Committee of Foreign Relations was, by resolution of the Senate, instructed to enquire into and report upon matters arising out of the revolution in Hawaii of January, 1893.

On February 26th, 1894, an elaborate report was filed by the Chairman, Senator John T. Morgan, from which the following extracts are made :

HAWAII AN AMERICAN STATE.

"Hawaii is an American State, and is embraced in the American commercial and military system.

"This fact has been frequently and firmly stated by our government, and is the ground on which is rested that peculiar and far-reaching declaration so often and so earnestly made, that the United States will not admit the right of any foreign government to acquire any interest or control in the Hawaiian Islands that is in any way prejudicial, or even threatening, toward the interests of the United States or her people." * * *

(Report Sen. Com. on For. Rel. on Hawaii, Vol. I, p. 2.)

WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

"Observing the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, the United States, in the beginning of our relations with Hawaii, made a firm and distinct declaration of the purpose to prevent the absorption of Hawaii or the political control of that country by any foreign power.

"Without stating the reasons for this policy, which included very important commercial and military considerations, the attitude of the United States toward Hawaii was, in moral effect, that of a friendly protectorate.

"It has been a settled policy of the United States that if it should turn out that Hawaii, for any cause, should not be able to maintain an independent government, that country would be encouraged in its tendency to gravitate toward political union with this country." * * *

(*Ib.*, p. 20.)

"Annexation is a question of long standing which has been under favorable consideration by the kings and people of Hawaii and the government and people of the United States for more than fifty years.

"It is well understood, and its importance increases with every new event of any consequence in Hawaii, and with the falling in of every island in the Pacific Ocean that is captured by the great maritime powers of Europe." * * *

(*Ib.*, p. 28.)

Senators Sherman, Frye, Dolph, and Davis, of Minnesota, added to this report the following words:

"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 proceed to set forth certain points wherein they differ from him and elaborate others. In this connection they say:

"The question of the rightfulness of the revolution, of the lawfulness of the means by which the deposition and abdication of the queen were effected, and the right of the Provisional Government to exist and to continue to exist was conclusively settled, as the report so forcibly states, against the queen and in favor of the Provisional Government, by the act of the administration of President Harrison recognizing such Provisional Government; by the negotiation by that administration with such Provisional Government of a treaty of annexation to the United States; by accrediting diplomatic representation by such administration and by the present administration to such Provisional Government." * * *

(*Ib.*, pp. 33, 34.)

Senators Turpie and Butler, of South Carolina, added to the report the following words:

* * * "I am heartily in favor of the acquisition of those islands (Hawaii) by the Government of the United States; and in the proper case and on an appropriate occasion I should earnestly advocate the same." * * *

(*Ib.*, p. 36.)

Official Acts of Hawaii, concerning the Control or Annexation of
Hawaii to the United States.

Cession of Hawaii to United States.

Kamehameha III executed and delivered to the American Minister in Honolulu a provisional cession of Hawaii to the United States, on March 10, 1851.

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaii, p. 897.)

Ratification of Cession to United States.

June 21, 1851, a joint resolution was passed by the two Houses of the Hawaiian Legislature, authorizing the King, in his discretion, to place the Kingdom under the protection of some foreign state. This was in confirmation of the provisional cession of the country to the United States, above quoted, which was dated the 10th of March, 1851.

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 934.)

Annexation Treaty Negotiated.

A formal treaty annexing Hawaii to the United States was negotiated in 1854 by Kamehameha III and U. S. Minister Gregg, under the instructions of Secretary Marcy. The draft was agreed to, but the King died before the final copy was signed.

(*Ib.*, p. 932-5.)

The Reciprocity Treaty.

In 1875 Hawaii made a treaty with the United States never to cede any port or territory to any other government as long as the treaty of reciprocity lasted. (The treaty is hereinafter contained.)

(*Ib.*, p. 972.)

The Pearl River Treaty.

November 9, 1887, Hawaii granted to the United States the exclusive use of Pearl Harbor for a Naval and Repair Station. (The treaty is hereinafter contained.)

(*Ib.*, 978.)

Hawaiian Constitution Provides for Annexation.

The Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii, adopted July 4, 1894, provides, Article 32, that—

“The President, with the approval of the Cabinet, is hereby expressly authorized and empowered to make a treaty of political or commercial union between the Republic of Hawaii and the United States of America, subject to the ratification of the Senate.”

(President's Message, Senate Ex. Document No. 156, p. 13, 53d Congress, 2d Session.)

Hawaiian Legislature Unanimously Votes for Annexation.

The following Joint Resolution was unanimously adopted by both the Senate and House of Representatives of the Legislature of the Republic of Hawaii, May 27, 1896 :

"Whereas it has heretofore been the announced policy both of the Provisional Government and of the Republic of Hawaii to advocate the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States of America ; and

"Whereas the Legislature of the Republic of Hawaii is now in regular session assembled, and will soon adjourn for a considerable period ; and

"Whereas it is fitting that the elected Representatives of the people should place themselves on record as to the present state of feeling among themselves and their constituents on this subject ;

"*Be It Resolved* by the Senate and the House of Representatives, that the Legislature of the Republic of Hawaii continues to be, as heretofore, firmly and steadfastly in favor of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States of America, and in advocating such policy they feel assured that they are expressing not only their own sentiments but those of the voters of this Republic."

"Approved this 27th day of May, A. D. 1896.

(Laws of the Rep. of Hawaii, 1896, p. 274.)

Treaty of Annexation of Hawaii, Negotiated in 1854, Under President Pierce, Secretary of State Marcy.

His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands, being convinced that plans have been, and still are, on foot hostile to his sovereignty and to the peace of his Kingdom, which His Majesty is without power to resist, and against which it is his imperative duty to provide, in order to prevent the evils of anarchy and to secure the rights and prosperity of his subjects, and having in conscientious regard thereto, as well as to the general interests of his Kingdom, present and future, sought to incorporate his Kingdom into the Union of the United States, as the means best calculated to attain these ends and perpetuate the blessings of freedom and equal rights to himself, his chiefs, and his people; and the Government of the United States, being actuated solely by the desire to add to their security and prosperity and to meet the wishes of His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands, and of his Government, have determined to accomplish by treaty objects so important to their mutual and permanent welfare.

ARTICLE I.

His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands, acting in conformity with the power vested in him by the constitution of his Kingdom, and with the wishes of his chiefs and people, and of the heads of every department of his Government, cedes to the United States his Kingdom, with all its territories, to be held by them in full sovereignty, subject only to the same constitutional provisions as the other States of the American Union. This cession includes all public lots and squares, Government lands, mines and minerals, salt lakes and springs, fish ponds, public edifices, fortifications, barracks, forts, ports and harbors, reefs, docks, and magazines, arms, armaments and accouterments, public archives, and funds, claims, debts, taxes and dues existing, available, and unpaid at the date of the exchange for the ratifications of this treaty.

ARTICLE II.

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

ARTICLES III.

His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands, his chiefs and subjects of every class, shall continue in the enjoyment of all their existing personal and private rights—civil, political, and religious—to the utmost extent that is possible under the Federal Constitution, and shall possess and forever enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizens of the United States, on terms of perfect equality, in all respects, with other American citizens.

ARTICLE IV.

The decision of the board of land commissioners made and not appealed from, at the date of the final ratification of this treaty, shall be and remain forever valid and undisturbed, and all titles to real estate which are now, or shall have then been declared valid under the laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom, shall be held to be equally valid by the United States, and measures shall be adopted by the United States for the speedy and final adjudication of all unsettled claims to land in conformity with the laws and usages under which they may have originated.

ARTICLE V.

All engagements of whatever kind, affecting the rights of corporations or individuals, validly contracted, and lawfully incumbent upon the King's Government or the Hawaiian nation to pay and discharge, shall be respected and fulfilled in as prompt, full, and complete a manner as they would have been respected and fulfilled had no change of sovereignty taken place.

ARTICLE VI.

The public lands hereby ceded shall be subject to the laws regulating the public lands in other parts of the United States, liable, however, to such alterations and changes as Congress may from time to time enact. The grants of land for the promotion of education heretofore made by the Government of the King of the Hawaiian Islands shall be confirmed by the United States, which in addition thereto, shall grant and set apart for the purposes of common schools, seminaries of learning, and universities so much of the public lands and of the proceeds thereof as may be equal proportionally to the grants for such purposes in any of the States of the Union.

ARTICLE VII.

The laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom, so far as they are compatible with republican institutions and conformable to the Constitution of the United States, shall be and remain in full force and effect until modified, changed, or repealed by the legislative authority of the State contemplated by this treaty.

ARTICLE VIII.

In consideration of the cession made by this treaty, and in compensation to all who may suffer or incur loss consequent thereon, the United States shall pay the aggregate sum of three hundred thousand dollars (\$300,000) as annuities to the King, the Queen, the crown prince, those standing next in succession to the throne the chiefs, and all other persons whom the King may wish to compensate or reward, to be apportioned as may be determined by His Majesty the King, and his privy council of state, which amounts to be apportioned as aforesaid, shall be paid ratably without deduction or offset on any ground or in any shape whatever, to the parties severally named in such apportionment, at Honolulu on the first day of July of each successive year so long as they may live. It is, however, expressly agreed upon that on the demise of His present Majesty the annuity of the immediate heir to the throne shall then be increased to the same amount before allowed and paid to the King himself.

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

ARTICLE IX.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty the President of the United States shall appoint a commissioner, who shall receive in due form, in the name of the United States, the transfer of the sovereignty and territories of the Hawaiian Islands; also all public property, archives, and other things hereinbefore stipulated to be conveyed, and who shall exercise all executive authority in said islands necessary to the preservation of peace and order, and to the proper execution of the laws, until the State contemplated in this treaty can be duly or-

ganized and admitted as such State; and until the arrival of such commissioner, all departments of His Majesty's Government shall continue as now constituted.

ARTICLE X.

This treaty shall be ratified by the respective high contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at the city of Honolulu within eight months from the date hereof, or sooner, if possible, but it is agreed that this period may be extended by mutual consent of the two parties.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, plenipotentiaries of His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands and of the United States of America, have signed three originals of this treaty of annexation in Hawaiian and three in English, and have thereunto affixed our respective official seals.

Done at Honolulu this— day of—, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four.

SEPARATE AND SECRET ARTICLE.

Whereas it is desirable to guard against the exigencies declared in the preamble to the foregoing treaty, and to secure the King of the Hawaiian Islands, his chiefs and all who reside under his jurisdiction from the dangers therein referred to and expressed, it is hereby provided and expressly agreed that at any time before the final exchange of the ratifications of said treaty, if the same shall be duly ratified on the part of His Majesty the King and satisfactory notice thereof given to the commissioner of the United States, it shall be competent for His Majesty, by proclamation, to declare his islands annexed to the American Union, subject to the provisions of such treaty as negotiated; and the commissioner of the United States, for the time being, shall receive and accept the transfer of the jurisdiction of the said islands, in the name of the United States, and protect and defend them by the armed forces of the United States, as a part of the American Union, holding the same for and in behalf of his Government and exercising the jurisdiction provided for in said treaty, with the understanding, however, that in case the said treaty is not finally ratified, or other arrangement made by the free consent and to the mutual satisfaction of the contracting parties, the sovereignty of the islands shall immediately revert, without prejudice, to His Majesty, or his immediate heir, in the same condition as before the transfer thereof; and it is further understood and agreed that this article shall be as binding for all the ends and purposes herein expressed as if it formed a part of the foregoing treaty.

Reciprocity Treaty of 1875.

ARTICLE I.

For and in consideration of the rights and privileges granted by His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands in the next succeeding article of this convention, and as an equivalent therefor, the United States of America hereby agree to admit all the articles named in the following schedule, the same being the growth and manufacture or produce of the Hawaiian Islands, into all the ports of the United States free of duty.

(SCHEDULE.)

* * * * *

ARTICLE II.

For and in consideration of the rights and privileges granted by the United States of America in the preceding article of this convention, and as an equivalent therefor, His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands hereby agrees to admit all the articles named in the following schedule, the same being the growth, manufacture, or produce of the United States of America, into all the ports of the Hawaiian Islands free of duty.

(SCHEDULE.)

* * * * *

ARTICLE III.

The evidence that articles proposed to be admitted into the ports of the United States of America, or the ports of the Hawaiian Islands, free of duty, under the

first and second articles of this convention, are the growth, manufacture, or produce of the United States of America or of the Hawaiian Islands, respectively, shall be established under such rules and regulatious and conditions for the protection of the revenue as the two Governments may from time to time respectively prescribe.

ARTICLE IV.

No export duty or charges shall be imposed in the Hawaiian Islands, or in the United States, upon any of the articles proposed to be admitted into the ports of the United States or the ports of the Hawaiian Islands free of duty under the first and second articles of this convention. *It is argeed, on the part of His Hawaiian Majesty, that, so long as this treaty shall remain in force, he will not lease or otherwise dispose of or create any lien upon any port, harbor, or other territory in his dominions, or grant any special privilege or rights of use therein, to any other power, state, or government, nor make any treaty by which any other nation shall obtain the same privileges, relative to the admission of any articles free of duty, hereby secured to the United States.*

ARTICLE V.

The present convention shall take effect as soon as it shall have been approved and proclaimed by His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands, and shall have been ratified and duly proclaimed on the part of the Government of the United States, but not until a law to carry it into operation shall have been passed by the Congress of the United States of America. Such assent having been given, and the ratifications of the convention having been exchanged as provided in Article VI, the convention shall remain in force for seven years from the date at which it may come into operation; and further, until the expiration of twelve months after either of the high contracting parties shall give notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same, each of the high contracting parties being at liberty to give such notice to the other at the end of the said term of seven years, or at any time thereafter.

ARTICLE VI.

The present convention shall be duly ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Washington City, within eighteen months from the date hereof, or earlier if possible.

In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries of the high contracting parties have signed this present convention, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done in duplicate, at Washington, the thirtieth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five.

PEARL RIVER CLAUSE.

(On the 9th of November, 1887, the Reciprocity Treaty was extended for seven years and the following clause added to it.)

"His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands grants to the Government of the United States the exclusive right to enter the harbor of Pearl River, in the island of Oahu, and to establish and maintain there a coaling and repair station for the use of vessels of the United States, and to that end the United States may improve the entrance to said harbor and do all other things needful to the purpose aforesaid."

Treaty of Annexation of Hawaii, Negotiated in 1893, under President Harrison, Secretary of State Foster.

The United States of America and the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, in view of the natural dependence of those Islands upon the United States, of their geographical proximity thereto, of the intimate part taken by the citizens of the United States in their implanting the seeds of Christian civilization, of the long continuance of their exclusive reciprocal commercial relations whereby their mutual interests have been developed, and the preponderant and paramount share thus acquired by the United States and the citizens in their 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. * * *

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.

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.

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 any 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.

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 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 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 date of the exchange of the ratification 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.

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 President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the one part, and by the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands 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 their seals.

Done in duplicate at the city of Washington this fourteenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three.

Treaty of Annexation of Hawaii, negotiated in 1897, under President McKinley, Secretary of State Sherman.

The United States and the Republic of Hawaii, 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.

To this end the high contracting parties have conferred full powers and authority upon their respectively appointed plenipotentiaries, to-wit :

The President of the United States, John Sherman, Secretary of State of the United States.

The President of the Republic of Hawaii, Francis March Hatch, Lorrin A. Thurston, and William A. Kinney.

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 territory of and appertaining to the 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 revenues 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.

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 fulfillment 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 the 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 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 reasonable and practicable, recommend to Congress such legislation for the Territory of Hawaii as they shall deem necessary or proper.

ARTICLE VII.

This treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the one part; and by the President of the Republic of Hawaii, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, in accordance with the Constitution of said Republic, 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 have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate at the city of Washington, this sixteenth day of June, one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-seven.

JOHN SHERMAN.	[SEAL.]
FRANCIS MARCH HATCH.	[SEAL.]
LORRIN A. THURSTON.	[SEAL.]
WILLIAM A. KINNEY.	[SEAL.]

