70, and dated Oct. 8, 1892, above referred to, is still withheld, for the reason that such a course still appears to be justifiable and proper.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Jan. 13, 1894.

[No. 3.]

The Correspondence.

MR. WILLIS TO MR. GRESHAM.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, HONOLULU, Nov. 16, 1893.

SIR: In the forenoon of Monday, the 13th inst., by prearrangement, the Queen, accompanied by the Royal Chamberlain, Mr. Robertson, called at the legation. No one was present at the half-hour interview which followed, her Chamberlain having been taken to another room, and Consul-General Mills, who had invited her to come, remaining in the front of the house to prevent interruption.

After a formal greeting, the Queen was informed that the President of the United States had important communications to make to her, and she was asked whether she was willing to receive them alone and in confidence, assuring her that this was for her own interest and safety. She answered in the affirmative.

I then made known to her the President's sincere regret that through the unauthorized intervention of the United States, she had been obliged to surrender her sovereignty, and his hope that, with her consent and cooperation, the wrong done her and her people might be redressed. To this she bowed her acknowledgments.

I then said to her: "The President expects and believes that when reinstated, you will show forgiveness and magnanimity, that you will wish to be the Queen of all the people, both native and foreign born, that you will make haste to secure their love and loyalty and to establish peace, friendship, and good government."

To this she made no reply. After waiting a moment, I continued: "The President not only tenders you his sympathy, but wishes to help you. Before fully making known to you his purposes, I desire to know whether you are willing to answer certain questions which it is my duty to ask?"

She answered: "I am willing."

I then asked her: "Should you be restored to the throne, would you grant full amnesty as to life and property to all those persons who have been, or who are now, in the Provisional Government, or who have been instumental in the overthrow of your Government?"

She hesitated a moment, and then slowly and calmly answered: "There are certain laws of my Government by which I shall abide. My decisions would be as the law directs, that such persons should be beheaded and their property confiscated to the Government."

I then said, repeating very distinctly her words: "It is your feeling that these people should be beheaded and their property confiscated?"

She replied: "It is."

I then said to her: "Do you fully understand the meaning of every word which I have said to you, and of every word which you have said to me, and if so do you still have the same opinion?"

Her answer was: "I have understood and mean all I have said, but I might leave the decision of this to my Ministers."

To this I replied: "Suppose it was necessary to make a decision before you appointed any Ministers, and that you were asked to issue a royal proclamation of general amnesty, would you do it?"

She answered: "I have no legal right to do that and I would not do it." Pausing a moment she continued: "These people were the cause of the revolution and Constitution of 1887. There will never be any peace while they are here. They must be sent out of the country or punished and their property confiscated."

I then said: "I have no further communication to make to you now, and will have none until I hear from my Government, which will probably be three or four weeks."

Nothing was said for several minutes, when I asked her whether she was willing to give us the names of four of her most trusted friends, as I might, within a day or two, consider it my duty to hold a consultation with them in her presence. She assented and gave these names: J. O. Carter, John Richardson, Joseph Nawahi, and E. C. McFarlane.

I then inquired whether she had any fears of her safety at her present residence, "Washington square." She replied that she did have some fears; that, while she had trusty friends that guarded her house every night, they were armed only with clubs, and that men shabbily dressed had been often seen prowling about the adjoining premises, a schoolhouse, with large yard. I informed her that I was authorized by the President to offer her protection, either on one of our war ships or at the legation, and desired her to accept the offer at once. She declined, saying she believed it was best for her at present to remain at her own residence. I then said to her that at any moment, night or day, this offer of our Government was open to her acceptance.

The interview thereupon, after some personal remarks, was brought to a close.

Upon reflection I concluded not to hold any consultation at present with the Queen's friends, as they have no official position, and, furthermore, because I feared, if known to so many, her declarations might become public, to her great detriment if not danger, and to the interruption of the plans of our Government.

Mr. J. O. Carter is a brother of Mr. H. A. P. Carter, the former Hawaiian Minister to the United States, and is conceded to be a man of high character, integrity, and intelligence. He is about 50 years old. He has had no public experience. John Richardson is Mr. Carter, is of white parentage, is an unmarried man, about 42 years of age, and is engaged in the commission business. John Richardson is a young man of about 35 years old. He is a cousin of Samuel Parker, the half-caste, who was a member of the Queen's Cabinet at the time of the last revolution. He is a resident of Maui, being designated in the directory of 1889 as "Attorney at law, stock raiser, and proprietor Bismarck Livery Stable." Richardson is "half caste." Joseph Nawahi is a full-blooded native, practises law, as he told me, in the native courts, and has a moderate English education. He has served twenty years in the Legislature, but displays very little knowledge of the structure and philosophy of the Government which he so long represented. He is 54 years old, and is President of the native Hawaiian Political Club.

Upon being asked to name three of the most prominent native leaders, he gave the names of John E. Bush and R. W. Wilcox, and modestly added, "I am a leader." John E. Bush is a man of considerable ability, but his reputation is very bad. R. W. Wilcox is the notorious half-breed who engineered the revolution of 1889. Of all these men Carter and MacFarlane are the only two to whom the ministerial bureaus could be safely instrusted. In conversation with Sam Parker, and also with Joseph Nawahi, it was plainly evident that the Queen's implied condemnation of the Constitution of 1887 was fully endorsed by them.

From these and other facts which have been developed I feel satisfied that there will be a concerted movement, in the event of restoration, for the overthrow of that Constitution, which would mean the overthrow of constitutional and limited government and the absolute dominion of the Queen. The law referred to by the Queen is chapter VI., section 9 of the Penal Code, as follows:

"Whoever shall commit the crime of treason shall suffer the punishment of death, and all his property shall be confiscated to the Government."

There are under this law no degrees of treason. I hotting alone carries with it the death sentence.

I need hardly add in conclusion that the tension of feeling is so great that the prompt action is necessary to prevent disastrous consequences.

I send a cipher telegram asking that Mr. Blount's report be withheld for the present, and I send with it a telegram, not in cipher, as follows:

"Views of first party so extreme as to require further instructions." I am, &c.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

Under date Nov. 19, 1893, Mr. Willis transmits an explanation and apology of Mr. Charles Creighton for putting Mr. Blount's name on a cane presented to Claus Spreckels.

The next despatch from Mr. Willis [No. 8] is as follows:

MR. WILLIS TO SECRETARY GRESHAM.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, HONOLULU, Dec. 5, 1893.

To the Hon. W. Q. Gresham, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

SIR: On Nov. 24 the British war ship Champion arrived, Capt. Rooke commanding. He has about 250 men. On reaching here a telegraphic order was handed him which will detain him until the difficulties here are settled. On Saturday, Dec. 2, the Japanese cruiser Naniwa Kan, Capt. Mori commanding, arrived. She will also remain here until a settlement.

On Friday, Nov. 24, your letter appeared in the Honolulu papers, and created a great sensation. Crowds were gathered at all points on the streets discussing the news, but, although the excitement was so intense, I am glad to report that there was not a single breach of the peace. A public meeting was called for the following night of all friends of the Provisional Government. The meeting was held, the annexation papers stating that there were 1,500 present, and the royalist papers putting the number at between 700 and 800. The speakers were Mr. Hatch, Vice-President of the Provisional Government; Z. S. Spaulding, a large sugar planter, who was many years ago United States Consul here; Mr. W. R. Castle, a member of the Advisory Council; the Hon. A. F. Judd, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Mr. W. O. Smith. Mr. Smith is the editor of the Hawaiian *Star*, which holds very advanced views upon annexation and other political questions. I enclose an account of the meeting, from the Hawaiian *Gazette*. The meeting quietly dispersed at half past 8, and there was no disorder of any kind.

Yesterday a protest against the use of force by the United States against their persons or property was presented to me by several gentlemen who, like the other 1,40 signers, still claim allegiance to our Government. One of the gentlemen, the secretary of the American League, claims to represent 500 members of that body. I enclose a printed copy of the protest. It may become necessary hereafter to reply to this protest, as many of its signers are officially connected with the Provisional Government.

On the morning of Nov. 29 I received a letter from the Hon. Sanford B. Dole, Minister of Foreign Affairs, which letter I enclose, rescinding the privilege heretofore given to Admiral Skerrett of landing his troops for drilling purposes.

On Friday morning, Dec. 1, I acknowledged the receipt of his letter, and informed him that I had transmitted a copy of it to Admiral Irwin for his information and guidance.

In the afternoon of Nov. 29 I received a second communication from Minister Dole inquiring as to the authenticity of your letter to the President, and the intentions of our Government in connection therewith. I enclose a copy of Mr. Dole's letter and my answer. I should have stated that on the morning when information of your letter was received President Dole and Attorney-General Smith called upon me to know what the United States intended to do. I explained to them my inability at present to comply with their request. Since then native preparations for defence have been going on. The former palace, now known as the Executive building, has been fortified by bags of sand, both in front and around the various porticos. Guns and pistols have been placed in the hands of all who are willing to take them, whether Americans, foreigners, or natives, but herein lies one of the greatest dangers. Many of those who have received these weapons, like children with a new toy, are eager to use them. Lacking in intelligence and self-restraint, and having no property interests at stake, they are liable at any moment to break into mob violence.

The Japanese Consul-General, a most intelligent and capable man, called here last night to express his great fears that many of his people would become involved in trouble and disaster, as they have been supplied with arms and, against his protest, mustered into the volunteer service. There are over 10,000 Portuguese on the islands, of whom one-fourth are in Honolulu. There are over 1,000 in this city of military age. The nationality, however, which, in my judgment, is destined to give most anxiety here is the Japanese, and this because of their aspiration for suffrage.

Mr. Irwin, a brother of Admiral Irwin, arrived here yesterday from Japan. He has for many years been the Minister of this country at Japan, and negotiated most of the contracts now pending. He is here, he tells me, to protect these contracts. He reports the Emperor of Japan as unwilling to interfere with these islands because of the large interests of our Government. When the contract period is over the Emperor thinks the Japanese should be accorded the right of suffrage, but admits the propriety of a high educational and property qualification. As there are now 22,000 Japanese here, every intelligent observer concedes that this question of suffrage will soon be a very important one.

As to the Queen's safety I do not have any fear at present. There is a telephone in my sleeping room, and I have authorized her people to call me up at any hour of the night or day. She also has the privilege, as stated in previous despatches, of coming here or of going on one of our war vessels.

Aside from my communication to her in regard to her safety, I have had nothing to say to the Queen, or to her representatives since the interview reported in despatch No. 3 of Nov. 14. There have been various newspaper hints as to the fact of the interview, but none has the slightest foundation in fact. She asks further inquiries as to the Queen's understanding of the English tongue, and find that she is perfectly familiar with it, having been a classmate of Chief Justice Judd and other prominent citizens.

I received your cipher telegram. My telegram to you was purposely indefinite and obscure, for reasons which you doubtless now understand. I send a cipher telegram to-day by the steamer Oceanic, covering several of the points as above set forth.

After a careful study of my instructions and of all the surroundings I felt it to be my duty to take no further steps until I heard from you and the President. With sentiments of profound regard I am, &c., ALBERT S. WILLIS.

MEETING OF CITIZENS.

Enclosed in connection with this despatch is a report of the meeting of citizens, headed as follows:

A Great Meeting.—The Drill Shed Filled with Enthusiastic Men.—An Immense Throng Turns Out.—The People's Voice Is Raised in Indignant Protest against Cleveland and Gresham.—Prominent Men Talk to an Audience with Their Patriotic Utterances and Show the Fallacy of Restoring Monarchy.—Text of the Speeches in Full.

The report opens as follows:

Enthusiasm, cheers and indignation at Gresham's late action, American patriotism and love of liberty were the feelings strung up to the highest pitch of excitement were the features of Saturday evening's mass meeting. Over 1,200 loyal men were present and a dissenting voice among them—men who were not only ready and willing, but anxious to express their sentiments on the question now so near the hearts of all loyal Americans. At 7 o'clock the crowd was expected and an immense crowd came. By 7:30 o'clock the hall was crowded and from that time until 8:30 many citizens came in. When the meeting was over the surging crowd of humanity quietly melted away, each one talking to his companion, whether friend or stranger, about the situation. On one side of the hall a platform had been erected for the speakers and on it were seated Vice-President F. M. Hatch, Col. Z. S. Spalding, W. R. Castle, Chief Justice A. F. Judd, P. C. Jones, W. C. Wilder, and W. O. Smith.

Then follow full reports of the speeches, which have in part already been published, and the resolutions adopted as follows:

Resolved, That we have read with surprise and regret the recommendation of the Secretary of State of the United States to the President to restore the monarchy lately existing in Hawaii.

Resolved, That we condemn the assumption of the Secretary that the right of the Provisional Government to exist was terminated by his refusal to transmit to the Senate the treaty of union pending between the two countries at the time of his assumption, that the Provisional Government had at that very time submitted the question of its continued existence to the arbitrament of the President of the United States.

Resolved, That we support to the best of our ability the Provisional Government in resisting any attack upon it which may be made contrary to the usage of nations.

At the close of the speeches the report says:

This ended the speeches for the evening. Mr. Hatch again read the resolution and asked all those in favor of it to signify it. A mighty "aye" that almost shook the building went up. The contrary minded were then called for, and a deathlike stillness was the result, some one called for three cheers for the Provisional Government, and they were given with a will, and with a last tiger the meeting broke up, and one of the most enthusiastic as well as one of the largest assemblages Honolulu has ever witnessed was over.

A protest of citizens followed.

MINISTER WILLIS ADDRESSED BY THE PEOPLE.

HONOLULU, Dec. 1, 1893.

To His Excellency, Albert S. Willis, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America:

SIR: The undersigned, American residents of Honolulu, in the island of Oahu, one of the Hawaiian Islands, respectfully represent to your Excellency that they are citizens of the United States of America, and have done nothing whereby to forfeit or waive their full legal and constitutional rights as such citizens.

That the undersigned made their residences and homes and acquired and own property in the Hawaiian Islands, relying on the rights secured and guaranteed by the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852 and 1865, which rights were confirmed and enlarged by the Constitution of 1887.

That on the 14th day of January last the undersigned learned that it was the determination of Liliuokalani, then Hawaiian sovereign, to disregard and annul the rights of life, liberty, and property guaranteed, secured, confirmed, and enlarged by the said Hawaiian Constitutions, and that she publicly proclaimed her determination to repudiate the obligations imposed upon her by virtue of her oath of office as such sovereign to support and maintain the Constitution of the Hawaiian Islands and publicly announced her intention to govern this country pursuant to her arbitrary despotic will to be proclaimed by a public manifesto which she called a new Constitution.

That a meeting of many citizens of Honolulu was held upon the afternoon of said day, which was attended by John F. Colburn, then Minister of the Interior, and Arthur P. Peterson, then Attorney-General, by whom it was then publicly stated that such was the determination and intention of said Liliuokalani, and that, if assisted by the citizens, they would oppose the same.

That on said 14th day of January, the legally constituted authorities of the Hawaiian Islands were undoubtedly and avowedly incapable of controlling the elements of the anarchy which was projected and intended by said Liliuokalani or of preventing impending mob violence or of keeping the public peace.

That in consequence and by reason of the premises, a Committee of Public Safety was chosen at said meeting, and on the following Monday, at a mass meeting of the citizens of Honolulu, the said committee was authorized to take measures requisite for the public safety; that in conformity therewith, on the 17th day of said January, the present Government of the Hawaiian Islands was established and proclaimed and has since governed and controlled the Hawaiian Islands, having been recognized by all foreign representatives in Honolulu, and having diplomatic and consular representatives abroad, especially in the United States of America, who have been and still are recognized and treated as the only accredited representatives of the said Government.

That a treaty of annexation was negotiated with said Government by and in behalf of the United States Government, and that no public notice has been given to the undersigned of any intention on the part of the United States Government to break off diplomatic relations with the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, or to do any acts of war or hostility to the said Government.

That no such act or attitude or hostility can now be done without endangering the lives and property of the undersigned, and of their families, relatives, and friends in the Hawaiian Islands.

That owing to the insular situation of this country there would be no opportunity for the undersigned to take such steps and do such things as would secure the safety of the lives of themselves, their wives and children, and of their property, in case of such acts of war or hostility.

And the undersigned hereby solemnly and respectfully protest to your Excellency and to Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, and to Walter Q. Gresham, Secretary of State, and to Hilary A. Herbert, Secretary of the Navy, and to Rear-Admiral John Irwin, commanding the United States naval forces now in the waters of the Hawaiian Islands, and to all others concerned, that any attempt to overthrow or hostility to, if taken, attempted, or announced in the time of profound peace now existing between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, or without any full, formal, and timely announcement thereof, will and would cause all concerned in authorizing the same to be held responsible for all the consequences that may ensue therefrom, not only before Almighty God and in the forum of conscience, but by all sanctioned rules and observances of civilized nations in their dealing with each other, and will and would be in violation of the rights of the undersigned, secured and belonging to them as citizens of the United States of America.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants and fellow citizens.

Next in order comes a letter of Mr. Dole withdrawing the consent previously given for the landing of United States marines to drill whenever required.

MR. DOLE TO MR. WILLIS.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HONOLULU, H. I., Nov. 29, 1893.

SIR: On the 7th of August last permission was given by the Government through the office of the American Legation to Rear Admiral J. S. Skerrett, commanding United States naval force, Pacific station, at his request, to land the crews of the ships under his command for battalion drill when desired. The Government now wishes to rescind the said privilege in its indefinite character, and to return to the former practice, under which a request was made at each occasion when the privilege of landing men under arms was desired.

I have the honor to request that this modification of the present arrangement be transmitted through your office to Rear Admiral Irwin, commanding the United States naval force, Pacific station.

With sentiments of the highest consideration and esteem, I have, &c.,

SANFORD B. DOLE, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Then follow Mr. Dole's inquiry about the authenticity of Secretary Gresham's letter of Oct. 18, already published, and Mr. Willis's reply that the letter is a "domestic transaction not the subject of diplomatic representation."

After the Queen Is Restored.

METHOD OF PROCEDURE PROPOSED BY THE QUEEN AND HER ADVISERS.

Mr. Willis's next despatch is interesting and new. It is as follows:

MR. WILLIS TO MR. GRESHAM.

[No. 10. Confidential.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, HONOLULU, H. I., Dec. 3, 1893.

SIR: On the morning of Dec. 3, C. B. Wilson, who was the Marshal of the Queen at the time of her dethronement, called upon me. I asked him what business he was in? He said he was doing nothing; he was "awaiting results." I asked "what results?" He said, "The restoration of the Queen." I asked him where he got any such information. He said "Nowhere," but he hoped for it. I then turned the conversation to other subjects.

As he was leaving he drew from his pocket a document and gave it to me, saying that he did not know whether it was proper or not, and left. Upon examining the paper, I found that it was a detailed method of procedure upon the restoration of the Queen, a copy of which I enclose.

I endeavored to have him call on the same afternoon, but he could not be found. On the following morning, Mr. Mills, whom I asked to find him, saw him at about 10 o'clock, and he said he would come immediately to see me, and started toward the legation. He did not reach here for half an hour. My opinion is that he consulted several parties before coming here. Upon reaching the legation an interview followed, a copy of which I enclose.

It will be seen that, although claiming to be the attorney for the Queen, a claim which is doubtful, he finally admitted that the paper submitted to and approved by the Queen, by her attorney, and by all the members of her former Ministry, all of whom had received copies.

Analysis of the list of special advisers, whether native or foreign, is not encouraging to the friends of good government or of American interests. The Americans, who for over half a century held a commanding place in the councils of State, are ignored, and other nationalities, English especially, are placed in charge. This is true both of the special list of advisers and of the supplementary list. If these lists had been selected by Wilson himself no special importance would attach to them, but it would seem from the facts that it is a list which has been approved after consultation with leading royalists, and most probably with the approval of the Queen. With high regard, I am &c.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

The enclosures are as follows:

THE PROPOSED COURSE OF PROCEDURE.

Immediately on receiving information, officially or otherwise, that Queen Dowager Liliuokalani, the Queen, Government as of the 17th day of January, 1893, is to be restored to its former prestige as the permanent government of the Hawaiian Islands, her Majesty's Cabinet, as of said date, will be called at a Cabinet meeting for the purpose of considering on and preparing a course of action to be pursued under the circumstances, which meeting will be held at such time as will be the best means of securing protection to her Majesty and her Government and the security of life and property generally to the residents of the kingdom and foreigners resident therein, and the peace of the islands, together with such other matters incident to the restoration as her Majesty's Cabinet may deem necessary and advisable, so that the laws of the kingdom may and can be constitutionally enforced, and all unnecessary bloodshed and loss of life through possible contingencies prevented.

These possible events should be provided for by the discussion of matters of such complicated nature and of such far-reaching consequences, in a calm and sober way, prior to the actual time for the contingent to be looked for, and if carefully and calmly reasoned out the highest success should be the result, while if left to the last moment for discussion and action, hasty conclusions may bring disappointment, failure, and possibly even serious disaster.

After her Majesty's Cabinet have decided upon a plan and course of procedure, they will invite to their counsels in a body the following list of tried and trusty friends of the monarchy and nation to act with as advisers and assistants on all matters taking place during the interval of time between the Government to the standing from which they were so unjustly forced until the natural order and tranquillity of former times can be once more established, and her Majesty's Government be once more recognized as the lawful and regular Government of the Hawaiian people.

These persons named as advisers and assistants will meet with her Majesty in the purpose of considering, suggesting, and amending if necessary, and finally approving and adopting the plans laid before them by the Cabinet for the attainment of the previously mentioned objects, and after final action by the united meeting the Cabinet will proceed to lay the result before her Majesty for approval, the advisers and assistants making a meeting assembled to await the return of her Majesty's Cabinet after their meeting with her Majesty.

On their return they shall report the result of their conference with her Majesty to the meeting, and the joint meeting will then consider and approve it. Upon which, having by vote placed the execution of the approved plans in the hands of the executive, the meeting will adjourn, and the Queen's Cabinet, they, in the mean time, to place themselves individually in its hands for orders or for counsel as the Executive may require or direct.

The preceding propositions are made in the event of the United States Government, through its officials, causing and compelling the Provisional Government to surrender its authority, and proceeding to the restoration of her Majesty's Government as it was on the 17th day of January, 1893, possibly coupled with a request or a recommendation to mercy and leniency on behalf of those who took part in or participate in the overthrow of the Queen's Government on that date.

In the event of such restoration taking place, in order that the details may be properly attended to, and that an assurance may be given that law and order will be maintained, and that the constitutional government of her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani be once more established on an assured basis, the following important details must be carried out, while at the same time having due regard to all recommendations of leniency made by the United States Government.

(I) It is understood that, in accordance with instructions from the home Government, the United states Commander-in-Chief should be requested by her Majesty's Government to bring ashore a force his forces on shore in quarters to be provided for them in her Majesty's Government has been fully reorganized, and feels itself in a proper condition to maintain law and order; and that, in accordance with an assurance given to them on the 17th day of January, 1893, by her Majesty's Government, and all other since obtained by them or which have been in their possession since, and surrender all their officers and men to him as prisoners to be subsequently turned over to her Majesty's Government, to be dealt with by a court specially appointed for that purpose; also turnover of Government forms and munitions of war, prisoners, &c., by the United states Government to her Majesty's Government.

Detail for consideration and adoption.

I. Proclamation by the Queen's Government of their reassumption of the control of the Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

II. Appointment of Commander-in-Chief and staff.

III. Proclamation of martial law and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.

IV. Calling on all loyal citizens and well wishers of the Government to register their names for service at office; enrollment of volunteers.

V. Surrender of all arms and ammunition in private hands and the prohibition of all sale and transfer of arms and ammunition other than by direction of the Commander-in-Chief.

VI. Taking possession of all Government buildings and other places necessary by the Queen's forces, and placing guards therein.

VII. Proclamation prohibiting the departure of coasting vessels or other vessels to the other islands.

VIII. Reappointment of all officials, and the filling of vacancies.

IX. Arrest of all persons implicated or concerned in the late overthrow.

X. Custody and care of all prisoners made under authority of the above paragraph, and those handed over by the United states forces.

XI. Receiving of all arms and munitions of war and other Government property surrendered to United States forces by the P. G. forces.

XII. Despatch vessels to the other islands to proclaim the Queen's Government and make all necessary changes and arrests.

We hereby certify that the above thirteen (13) pages have this day been compared with the original (pen-written four (4) pages, and are an exact copy both in words and punctuation.

Witness our hands this 5th day of December, 1893, at 2:30 P. M. ALBERT S. WILLIS, U. S. and M. P. L. S. A.

JULIUS MILLS, Consul-General U. S.

Enclosed in this despatch is also a report of an interview with Marshal Wilson, as follows:

Q.—In the paper you left with me yesterday mention is made of certain parties to be invited to your council. You did not give any list? A.—I have the list in my pocket.

Q.—Did you intend to leave it with me the other day? A.—No.

Q.—Have you any objection to my reading it? A.—No.

(Reading)—Prince David, Prince Cupid, S. Parker, C. P. Jones, J. H. Boyd. Q.—Who is J. H. Boyd? A.—Clerk in the Interior Department. (Reading)—J. Richardson, A. Fernandez.

Q.—That is Mr. Richardson of Maui? A.—Yes. Richardson and Fernandez are selected. They would be called upon to be present. (Reading) J. Nawahi.

Q.—Then among those that would be called upon to be present at any meeting would be Richardson and Fernandez? A.—Yes.

(Reading)—J. F. Colburn, C. White, the Hon. Alex Robertson.

Q.—What does the round mark mean near the name? A.—That they have been Government officers.

(Reading)—W. R. Holt, P. D. Kellett. He has a round mark. A.—He is a clerk.

(Reading)—W. A. Kinney, Kaunamano, C. Malo. A.—He is not an officer, the mark ought to be rubbed out.

(Reading)—F. Woods. A.—He is a Government officer.

(Reading)—C. Notley (no mark), J. Cummins, J. E. Bush, J. Richardson, J. Richards, J. Government, J. E. Hopkins (he is marked V), Bergemann, O. E. Boardman. A.—He was deputy collector of customs.

(Reading)—J. Tessa, A. S. Defrez, S. Dwight, J. D. Holt—he has a round mark. A.—He is a Government officer.

(Reading)—H. Poor, J. L. Kaulukou—he has a round mark—Maui, E. Smith, Karl Widemann. There only other names that have check V marks opposite them are John Richardson, A. Fernandez, Kellett, Samuel K. Pua, Kaloanana, C. L. Hopkins, J. E. Bush, J. L. Kaulukou. A.—These are the only ones.

Q.—I see you have a second list? A.—Yes, that is the foreign list.

(Reading)—J. O. Carter (check), F. A. Schaefer (check), John G. Phillips (check), J. H. Quinn (check), Dr. George Trousseau (check), J. Campbell (check), C. J. McCarty (check), T. R. Lucas (check), R. More (check). A.—These were the foreign members.

(Reading)—F. Neuman, McIntyre, W. H. Rommell, C. W. Ashford, R. F. Bickerton. Is that the Judge? A.—Yes.

(Reading)—J. W. Robertson, Daniel Logan, Lloyd A. P. Peterson, R. Narvie, Rickard, Fred Harrison, W. F. Love, Major Seward, W. Cunningham, E. K. Cooke, H. A. McKinney, A. F. Cleghorn, W. G. Irwin, J. B. Castle, Jas. H. Boyd, Jas. Campbell, Wodehouse, Thos. Lack, W. A. Whiting, Crowley, L. G. Levey, C. H. Berger, J. Kenyon, Capt. John Ross, Geo. F. Ross, sr., E. E. Thomas, E. B. Walker, Capt. Wilhelm, Widemann. These are foreign names that you had picked? A.—Yes.

Q.—Did you pick them yourself? A.—I picked them out to propose to the Cabinet.

Q.—Do you know Mr. Kenyon? A.—Kenyon, who was my former secretary and clerk, did the typewriting from the copy I furnished him.

Q.—Do I understand that you drew up this without consultation with any person? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Did you have any intimation from any person in the world that the Queen would be restored? A.—I had not.

Q.—This is your own work entirely? A.—It is.

Q.—You are a pretty good lawyer if you drew this up. This is your verbiage? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Have you ever studied law? A.—No.

Q.—Did anybody see this? A.—Mr. Peterson.

Q.—Did he aid you? A.—No.

Q.—Who else saw it? A.—Peterson, Paul Neumann, and Lorrin Andrews.

Q.—When did the Queen see this? A.—The day before your arrival. She saw the original four months ago.

Q.—This has been a long pending matter, then? A.—Yes.

Q.—Did you have any authority from the Queen to do it? A.—No.

Q.—Did she approve of all this? A.—Yes.

Q.—Who was present? A.—My wife.

Q.—Yourself and your wife were present when you submitted to the Queen the document which is of which this is a copy—and she approved it? A.—Yes.

Q.—What do you mean by saying "to be dealt with by a court especially appointed for that purpose? Was it to be within or without the law? A.—A court under martial law.

Q.—I see one of your details calls for the suspension of the habeas corpus. Is martial law meant? A.—Yes.

Q.—What is meant in clause 5 by "prohibiting the departure of sailing vessels?" A.—To prevent carrying news to excite the people on the other islands.

Q.—Do you know how long martial law is to be in force—how long—martial law ought to last? A.—No.

Q.—What do you mean by the "reappointment of officials and filling of vacancies?" A.—I mean to give the same appointments of those who had been dismissed by the Provisional Government.

Q.—What do you mean by "filling the vacancies?" Take the case of Mr. Peterson—would you consider all those offices vacated? A.—Yes.

Q.—Section 10—how about the arrest of "all persons concerned in the late movement?" A.—We propose to arrest all leaders in the movement.

Mr. Willis—I look this paper. I do not intend that you should draw any inference whatever from that. I am surprised to hear you say you are the sole author of this paper. It appears to me that you had some consultation with others. It seems strange that you should have written this without any knowledge of what is in the minds of others. But let me say, I do not misunderstand me. I now return the paper. I did not know at the time what its contents were. I wished to inquire from you in regard to the authorship, &c. I would not have read it if I had known its contents.

Q.—You say you gave a copy to Mr Paul Neumann. Is he now the Queen's attorney? A.—He is now and always has been. I gave also a copy to Mr. Peterson and other members of the Cabinet.

After the Corwin Arrived.

After some other despatches of no public interest, the correspondence comes down to the receipt of the instructions by the Corwin.

MR. WILLIS TO MR. GRESHAM.

[No. 12.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, HONOLULU, H. I., Dec. 14, 1893.

SIR: Your cipher telegram of the 2d inst. was delivered to me by Capt. Munger of the revenue cutter Corwin this Thursday morning, Dec. 14, at about 6:30 o'clock. I gave it to Admiral Irwin within a half hour. He and his secretary have been engaged in deciphering it up to this time, 3 P. M. The steamship Mariposa was to leave at 12 M., but the agents voluntarily offered to detain her until 5 P. M., which offer I accepted, in the hope that after reading your telegram I might answer it. In view of the length of time required to translate the naval cipher, I thought it most respectfully to renew the suggestion made in my despatch No. 9 of Dec. 5, that the State Department cipher or the one which I heretofore enclosed to you be hereafter used.

The excitement consequent upon the unexpected arrival of the Corwin is intense throughout the city. The President's message, which was published this morning, has increased the excitement, but I hope no immediate outbreak will occur. With high regards, very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

[No. 14—Confidential.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, HONOLULU, H. I., Dec. 18, 1893.

Hon. W. Q. Gresham, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Your cipher instructions of Dec. 2 were received, as translated at 3 P. M., Thursday, the 14th inst. An arrangement was immediately made for an interview with the Queen for Saturday, Dec. 16, at 10 A. M. Mr. J. O. Carter was invited to be present. Mr. Carter, as stated in my despatch No. 3 of Nov. 14, is a brother of the late Mr. H. A. P. Carter, who was the Hawaiian Minister to the United States. He is the President and manager of the incorporated company of "C. Brewer & Co.," which does a large general mercantile and commission business, and is agent for a number of large sugar plantations. He is conceded by all factions to be a man of great intelligence and strict integrity. He is a native Hawaiian, but of American parentage.

At the appointed hour the Queen and Mr. Carter came, and the interview was, with their consent, reported stenographically by Mr. Mills, your Consul-General, who produces the report, verified by the Queen and Mr. Carter. I also send a copy of a part of the interview with the Queen reported in my despatch No. 3 of Nov. 14, which is also verified by the Queen, marked "A."

Mr. Mills's report includes all that was said. It will be observed that no restrictions were placed upon the Queen's conference with Mr. Carter, the object being to secure a full and unreserved expression of views. This interview was held at the legation. Very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

WILLIS PREVAILS ON THE QUEEN TO GRANT AMNESTY AS TO LIFE AND PROPERTY.

It took the Queen over a month to get over her idea of beheading all of the members of the Provisional Government. Her first interview with Mr. Willis occurred on Nov. 13. The second took place on Dec. 16, and in the mean time she had been in conference with Mr. J. O. Carter, the brother of the ex-Minister, and the effect of his influence is shown when she again appeared before the United States Minister. Mr. Carter accompanied her to the legation, and the stenographic report of the conference shows plainly how he prompted her to manifest a disposition less resentful than she had formerly maintained. The extracts from the report of the conversation are interesting as showing the feeling of the Queen at the second interview.

Mr. Willis—You still adhere to your judgment that all of those persons should be punished according to the law under the Constitution of 1887, which is, that they should be punished with capital punishment and their property confiscated?

The Queen—I feel that if any change should be made that they must not be permitted to remain in the country and that their property should be confiscated.

Mr. Carter—You do rescind so much of that interview as pronounced upon them the death penalty?

The Queen—I do in that respect.

Mr. Carter—You feel that their remaining in the country would be a constant source of trouble to you and your people?

The Queen—I do. I feel, also, that if they were sent away they should never be permitted to return—they or their children.

Mr. Carter—Unless you exercised clemency. Or would you pronounce definitely against them now?

The Queen—I feel so; that they should be permanently banished and their children.

After a further conversation, in which the Queen said that she would personally, still I feel there may be some clemency, and that clemency should be that they should not remain in the country.

Mr. Willis—That is the extent of the clemency that they should be removed from the country instead of being punished according to the laws of the country with death?

The Queen—Yes.

Mr. Willis—In the limitation which you now make as to your clemency, do you include their children, or just the parents? Last Saturday you said: "They and their children." Do you still adhere to that judgment?

The Queen—I do.

Mr. Willis—Both parents and children should be permanently removed from the country and their property confiscated?

The Queen—I do, and their property confiscated.

Then Mr. Willis read to the Queen the instructions given him by the President, saying that it would be expected that she would grant amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, and also quoted from a cipher despatch to the effect that if the Queen would not assent, the President would cease interference in her behalf. The Queen wanted to know whether President Cleveland would protect her from any trouble in the future if she should grant the proposed amnesty, but Mr. Willis very diplomatically replied:

"That is a question of domestic policy of the country which you have to decide largely for yourself." The interview then came to a close.

Under date of Dec. 20, 1893, Minister Willis, in a confidential despatch to Secretary Gresham, gives a detailed account of his action as follows:

WILLIS GETS THE PLEDGE FROM THE QUEEN.

"My despatch No. 3 of Nov. 14 set forth my inability to secure satisfactory guarantees from the Queen into the points indicated. I felt that was done you had directed me to take no further steps, but to inform you of the result, which I did by a cipher telegram, as well as by the despatch referred to. Your cipher instruction, in reply thereto, dated Dec. 2, and received by me Dec. 14 by the revenue cutter Corwin, reiterated the duty which had been already enjoined upon me to secure these guarantees.

"I accordingly renewed my efforts in that direction, and finally, on last Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock, as hereinbefore stated, I secured from the Queen the written pledge and agreement, which was the prerequisite of my further actions.

"Having received this pledge, I was then for the first time in a position to make known to the Provisional Government the decision of the President upon the questions that had been submitted to him by the protest of the Queen, which protest had been acknowledged and accepted by the Provisional Government through its President, Mr. Dole, the immediate effect of which was, according to the statement of Mr. Damon, another honored member of the Provisional Government, the Queen's temporary surrender of her throne.

"You will observe that, in presenting the decision of the President, I have used the language authorized by yourself in your instructions to me upon the subject. In my opening statement I thought proper to explain what was known to you and doubtless to the Provisional Government, that the secrecy which had been observed by our Government was in the interest of the peace and safety of the community.

"The President's attention had been called by you to the evidence contained in Mr. Blount's report, showing the extraordinary complications and dangers surrounding this community, among which were the racial prejudices, the intense feeling consequent upon the dethronement of the constitutional sovereign, the presence of so many different nationalities—Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Americans, and English—in such large numbers and with such diverse traits and interests that the possibility that the Japanese, now numbering more than one-fifth of the male population of the islands, might take advantage of the condition of affairs to demand suffrage, and through it obtain control of the Government, together with the discontent of the native Hawaiians at the loss of their Government and of the rights secured under it.

"In addition to these facts, I was fully apprised by you in your personal conversations of the presence here of many lawless and disorderly characters, owing allegiance to neither party, who would gladly take advantage of the excitement and general derangement of affairs to indulge in rapine and mob violence, and also of the conflict between the active responsible representatives of the Provisional Government and certain men who were not officially connected with it, but who had undertaken to dictate its policy. The danger from this last source I found, upon arriving here, was much greater than you had supposed.

"As I stated to you in my despatch No. 2 of Nov. 10, the President and members of the Provisional Government and a large per cent. of those who support them are men of high character and of large material interests in the islands. These men have been inclined to a conservative course toward the Hawaiians. They had placed