

# HOW HAWAII came under the FLAG



HAWAIIAN WOMAN  
MEXICAN ALMOND TREE

HONOLULU AND HARBOR

THE CARICAT

**F**ROM the moment that the white man settled in their country it became inevitable that the Hawaiians—a decadent race—must in the end come under an alien rule. The consummation was long in the making, and various conflicting factors influenced the process that culminated in the annexation of the islands to the United States. The final result was never seriously doubted, for although France, Great Britain and Russia displayed by overt acts and thinly hidden designs their strong desire to gain possession of the group, the United States, despite her reluctance to grasp the prize, made it clearly understood from the first, that she would not countenance the acquisition of Hawaii by any other power. In seeking new territories governments are moved by commercial or strategic considerations. It was the latter of these that excited the cupidity of the European nations. Aside from this advantage, Hawaii had nothing apparently to offer in the century following its discovery if we except sublime scenery and an ideal climate—insufficient conditions in themselves to induce any government to incur the pains and expense of acquisition. The natives never exacted from the soil a greater tribute than what sufficed to afford a bare subsistence. The early Caucasian settlers tried tobacco and other high-priced products without success, and it was not until the introduction of cane sugar in 1837—or rather, the development of the industry at a later date—that the Hawaiian group offered attractions of a commercial character. In the days of the Kamehameha dynasty—the golden age of Hawaiian history—the whites enjoyed the utmost consideration attaching to pioneers who had done much for the development of the country, while the British derived great influence from the marriage of one or two men of that nationality with members of the royal family. While each party would naturally have been gratified by the establishment of its country's flag in the islands, there was not any considerable sentiment in favor of a change among the white residents until the latter half of the nineteenth century, or if such a sentiment existed anywhere it was among the British, encouraged by the Paulet incident and other aggressive acts of their government. With the Americans the desire for annexation was a gradual outgrowth of commercial conditions and discontent with the miracle that marked the closing years of the monarchy. While each side from Captain Cook's discovery in 1778, Great Britain's pretensions were supported by the fact that the islands were formerly ceded to her at the time of Vancouver's visit in 1794, and the Union Jack raised over them, although the cession was never ratified by the British government. As an offset to these interests the Americans advanced three important considerations.

ROYAL POLITICIANS

The first whites to become domiciled in the islands were two American seamen, named Young and Davis. It was the former who, as prima minister to King Kamehameha the First, defeated the attempt of the Russian governor of Alaska to take possession of the Hawaiian Islands for his country in 1803. Almost 20 years before this event, Captain Kendrick, a Yankee skipper, had established a depot in Oahu for the collection of sandalwood, thus forming the nucleus of Hawaii's foreign trade. In 1813 Boston sent to the islands the first of the missionaries who introduced not only Christianity, but also public schools, hospitals and many other institutions of civilization. At the time that the missionaries first turned their attention to Hawaii, New England whalers began to make a rendezvous of the islands, and during the ensuing 80 years they remained an important center of the whaling trade. The growth of the industry induced President Monroe to appoint a commercial agent to Hawaii for the purpose of looking after the interests of American traders and seamen, and this step opened official relations between the United States and the islands. The British government soon followed suit by establishing a consulate at Honolulu and from that time the friction between the two nations was constant and frequent diplomatic differences occurred between their governments. In 1824 the Hawaiian monarch was compelled, whilst menaced by the guns of a warship, to sign a treaty with Great Britain. But though insisting upon the performance of all the obligations of a responsible, independent government, the powers displayed a disinclination to admit Hawaii among them as a civilized nation. In the hope of securing for his country the recognition it unquestionably deserved, King Kamehameha the III sent two delegates to the United States with a letter addressed to Daniel Webster, then secretary of state. The document made a strong appeal and among other arguments the king stated that government schools were established throughout the country and few of the younger generation were unable to read. A regular monarchical government was in existence of a limited and representative character. Com-

plete protection was afforded to the property and persons of all, and, in short, the government rendered all that was demanded of or rendered by the governments of sovereign and independent states." The royal correspondent concluded by calling attention to the growing importance of the Hawaiian islands to the marine traffic of the Pacific, and to the fact that at that time there were 1,400 American citizens resident in the islands, owning property valued at upwards of \$3,000,000. This letter was made the subject of a message to congress by President Tyler, who expressed his opinion that the United States should recognize the independence of Hawaii and that it should view with dissatisfaction "any attempt by another power, should such an attempt be threatened or feared, to take possession of the islands, colonize them and subvert the native government." This expression of policy, which warned the powers to keep hands off Hawaii, proved to be extremely timely. While the president was putting this declaration on paper, Lord George Paulet, in command of a British war vessel, raised his country's flag in Honolulu and deposed the reigning sovereign. Upon the protest of the United States, however, the British government immediately repudiated the action of its representative. A few years later the French attempted the seizure of the islands and their troops took forcible possession of the fort, the consulate house and the government buildings. The king of Hawaii again appealed to the United States and Secretary Webster immediately addressed a communication to the French minister at Washington, which wound up with the following significant statement: "The navy department will receive instructions to place and keep the naval armament of the United States in the Pacific in such a state of strength and preparation as shall be requisite for the preservation of the honor and dignity of the United States and the safety of the government of the Hawaiian Islands." Convinced that the United States would war for the independence of Hawaii, France quickly withdrew and from that time the designs of European nations against the islands ceased.

NATIVE GRASS BUT IN THE WOODS

Meanwhile Hawaii was making rapid strides along the path of civilization and prosperity. The whole trade of the Pacific was at its height and the Hawaiian Islands had become a depot for the deposit and transshipment of the product of the fisheries. In response to the demands of the gold seekers of "forty-nine," Hawaii was raising and shipping wheat, flour and potatoes in large quantities. Today she is depending upon California for these things, so that an interruption to the sailings from San Francisco threatens a bread famine in Honolulu. The sugar industry, after 15 years of development, has assumed considerable importance and it began to be evident that its natural market was the United States and that its future prosperity would depend upon tariff concessions on the part of this country. Thus the course of commerce pointed to the inevitable goal of annexation.

Hawaiian sugar is necessarily a high-priced product. It cannot, like the low-grade product of the Philippines, find a market in China and Japan. The greater part of it is raised on irrigated lands by the most highly paid coolie labor in the world. Under such conditions no great extension of the industry could be hoped for unless Hawaiian sugar might enter America on favored terms. Consequently the islanders, many of whom began to contemplate the prospect of a closer bond, made every effort to secure a reciprocity arrangement with the United States. In 1855 a treaty of that character was drawn by Commissioner Lee on behalf of Hawaii and Secretary of State Marcy, but it failed on ratification by the senate. Again in 1857 a similar treaty was made and recommended to congress by President Johnson, but it met with the same fate. Whilst, of course, there were strong interests opposed to the introduction of Hawaii's sugar on competitive terms, it would appear that the chief motive underlying the defeat of these measures was a fear on the part of the friends of Hawaii that the grant of reciprocity might prevent or retard annexation. That such an idea was entertained by the administration is evidenced by the following paragraph from a letter of Secretary Seward to the United States minister at Hawaii: "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 gov-

ernment; and if the policy of annexation should really conflict with the policy of reciprocity, annexation is in every case to be preferred."

Here then was a condition of affairs calculated to stimulate the annexation movement. There appeared to be no prospect of the passage of the desired reciprocity treaty. The government of the United States expressed a wish to acquire Hawaii and intimated that its people must look to annexation for relief from their commercial difficulties. The situation in 1855 should be borne in mind when considering the situation in 1893-94.

The annexation sentiment in the islands now took the concrete form of a political movement which derived a strong impetus from the unsettled condition of the country following upon the death in 1872 of Kamehameha, the fifth and last of the dynasty. The succession was disputed and eventually decided by the legislature in favor of Kalakaua, a man of great political influence, but also of dissolute habits and no talent for government. His election was signalized by a riot—the first in the memory of the oldest American resident, but the forerunner of many similar occurrences. During the reign of this incompetent debauchee the country, carried forward on the tidal wave of commercial expansion, continued to prosper. The long contemplated reciprocity treaty was at length passed—in 1875—with a consequent boom in the sugar business, and the Hawaiian government evinced its gratitude by the cession to America of Pearl harbor, a splendid anchorage about seven miles north of Honolulu, needing little improvement to make it one of the finest naval stations in the world. Surveys were made and favorable recommendations forwarded to congress, but the necessary work was not performed. When the war with Spain broke out, some 20 years later, the government appreciated the previous neglect in this matter.

From the inception of his reign, King Kalakaua abandoned himself to drunkenness and all manner of profligacy. The citizens were not greatly concerned about the private habits of this degenerate, but when he filled the places of state with creatures of a similar type to himself the community was aroused to action. The popular protest took the form of a demand for the dismissal of the entire cabinet and the grant of a new constitution. The movement was

supported by the whites and the better classes of half castes and natives, and had the approval of all the foreign representatives. Alarmed by the determined attitude of the citizens, the feeble minded monarch granted all of their demands. The new constitution extended the suffrage to all foreigners after one year's residence and upon taking the oath of allegiance. The king's power of absolute veto was annulled and the responsibility for the administration was placed upon his cabinet, which was subject to change by vote of the legislature. This body was to be elected by the votes of citizens having certain property qualifications, and none of its members could be eligible for civil office.

In 1891 King Kalakaua died and was succeeded by his sister, Liliuokalani, who at a later date became a familiar figure in America.

Although Queen Liliuokalani swore at her coronation to maintain the constitution, her earliest act was the dismissal of the cabinet in violation of it, and her attitude from the first clearly indicated a determination to reestablish absolute monarchy. During the early years of her reign her husband, General Dominis, a native of Boston, exercised some restraint over her, but after his death she devoted herself to plans for the subversion of the constitutional government. In this project she found efficient agents in the representatives of the Louisiana Lottery company and an opium syndicate who appeared in Honolulu at this time seeking concessions. These two men contrived, by the lavish use of money, to corrupt the legislature, and in 1893 the bills proposed by the queen were passed, and franchises were granted to the vile interests that had engineered this rape of the popular rights. The amended constitution excluded from the suffrage all white men save those who had native wives. It practically reestablished absolutism by making the members of the house of nobles and the council of state subject to appointment by the crown.

The queen and her abettors had lost no opportunity to play on race prejudice, and they were not a little disconcerted to find a large and influential native element arrayed against them in the popular demonstration that immediately followed the extraordinary action of the legislature. At a large public mass meeting a "committee of safety" was appointed to secure the permanent

maintenance of law and the protection of life, liberty and property in Hawaii." Riots and incendiarism broke out in the city, and United States marines were landed. The committee declared that by abrogating the constitution the queen had virtually abdicated, and they appointed a provisional government to administer the affairs of state until negotiations should be completed for "union with the United States of America." Sanford B. Dole, an associate justice of the supreme court of Hawaii, was chosen president, with a provisional council to assist him, and the new government received the recognition of the representatives of the foreign powers. A commission was immediately dispatched to Washington, with a view of arranging a treaty of annexation. On the 17th of February, 1893, President Harrison forwarded to the senate the proposed treaty, with a comprehensive review of the entire matter, but congress adjourned without any action having been taken.

President Cleveland seems to have approached the Hawaiian question with a prejudice which was enhanced by the highly colored report he received from the confidential agent who was sent by him to the islands. Almost the first act of the incoming executive was to withdraw the Hawaiian treaty from the senate. He then appointed Mr. J. H. Blount special commissioner to Hawaii, with extraordinary authority, to investigate the existing circumstances and the conditions which led up to them. Mr. Blount proved to be utterly unqualified for the efficient performance of the task intrusted to him. He took up his residence with the royalists and spared no pains from the first to make his prejudice in their favor apparent to all. He based his report, which was refuted by a subsequent senate investigation, solely upon information furnished by the opponents of the provisional government. Of course, this open attitude of favor toward the ex-queen on the part of the personal representative of the president of the United States had the effect of encouraging the royalists in their revolutionary efforts and of creating unrest and anxiety amongst the entire population. This condition was aggravated after the arrival of Mr. Albert Willis, American minister to Hawaii. This diplomat came to his post with instructions to use his best endeavors to subvert the government to which he was accredited. He immediately directed his attention upon confidential relations with the ex-queen, whilst holding aloof from the members of the provisional government.

At length, in December, 1893, his remarkable conduct reached a climax in a written demand upon President Dole "in the name and by the authority of the United States for the prompt relinquishment" of the government to Liliuokalani. Mr. Dole emphatically declined to comply with this demand, which of course, was absurd on the face of it, and proceeded to call the diplomat's attention to the consequences of his unwarranted conduct. "The solemnities of the government," wrote the president to Mr. Willis, "believing in your intentions to restore the monarchy by force, have become emboldened. Threats of assassination of the officers of this government have been made. The police force is frequently informed of conspiracies to create disorder. Aged and sick persons of all nationalities have been and are in daily distress and anxiety. Children in the schools are agitated by the fear of political disturbances. The wives, sisters and daughters of residents, including many Americans, have been in daily expectation of civic disorder, many of them having even armed themselves in preparation thereof, and much more in the same strain, which, coming from a man of Mr. Dole's habits, truthfulness and self-control, must be accepted as a severe arraignment. Mr. Willis had been explicitly instructed by Secretary Gresham that he should not use force to restore the monarchy, but he has refused to refrain from imparting this information—a knowledge of which would have allayed the apprehensions referred to by President Dole—but he actually attempted to instigate the provisional government by a pretense of landing troops from the American ships in the harbor. Drums beat to quarter, landing parties were drawn up along the decks, ammunition was piled up in the sight of the anxious people on shore, and the boats were prepared for lowering. At this juncture President Dole drew up his forces to repel a landing, and Mr. Willis ordered the curtain rung down. What would have happened had the bluff been carried to the extreme point may be surmised from a statement of an officer of one of the vessels just before rejoining his ship. He also part in the demonstration. Addressing a member of the provisional government, he said: "We have not yet received our final orders. . . . I think that if such orders were issued to us and our boats with armed marines shall put out from the ship, if you should fire a charge over our head we should be obliged to put back and abandon our purpose." The firm attitude of the provisional government compelled the president to refer the matter back to congress.

On the fourth day of July, 1894, a republic was proclaimed in Hawaii. Sanford B. Dole as its first president. A constitution, framed on that of the United States, was adopted. It is a significant fact that while the majority of both houses of the legislature were full-blooded natives, they were elected upon a platform the chief plank of which was annexation.

With the establishment of a permanent government peace and prosperity quickly returned to the country, and the history of the republic were the most plentiful in the history of the islands. With the return of the Republican party to power in the United States, the question of annexation again became an active one. A treaty was signed by President McKinley in 1897, and was still under discussion in congress when the war with Spain broke out. The immense value of the Hawaiian Islands from a military point of view was immediately appreciated, and the popular sentiment of the country demanded the completion of that treaty without further delay. The treaty was ratified on the 17th day of August, 1898, and the Army and Navy were landed in Honolulu.