

THE  
HAWAIIAN REPUBLIC  
(1894-98)

AND  
ITS STRUGGLE  
TO WIN  
ANNEXATION

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Exhibit Q-18 p. 1 of 8

Thurston required no prodding. Already he was jotting down those features which ought, in his judgment, to appear in the constitution. He emphasized "the primary necessity of retaining the control for the present in the hands of those who are friends of the new order of things." Democracy could come later.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile he was getting suggestions from Wilson L. Gill, who, as head of the American Patriotic League of New York, offered freely to supply, in the interest of good government, ideas or an entire constitution, if desired. Although expecting to get little aid, Thurston wrote out his own draft and submitted it to Gill for comment; he admitted the impossibility of establishing the ideal form of government that Gill preached, and anyway, the Honolulu officials knew pretty well what they wanted.<sup>56</sup> Gill's reaction was friendly: he thought Thurston's provisions against too much democracy were excellent, because the universal ballot in the United States was a tribute to ignorance rather than to good government.<sup>57</sup> Foreign Minister Hatch called Thurston home to cooperate in the work of preparing a constitution, provided he could be spared from the task of securing justice for Hawaii in the pending Wilson-Gorman tariff bill.<sup>58</sup> Thurston felt he could not leave his present important work of lobbying in the interest of fair tariff treatment for Hawaii. Instead he submitted to Dole a twenty-four-page typewritten memorandum of his ideas regarding the projected constitution.<sup>59</sup>

Some of Thurston's suggestions follow. He proposed departing from free speech enough to prevent men like J. E. Bush and E. C. Norrie from advocating monarchy and telling falsehoods; free speech should be allowed only to those who had a sense of decency. For the purpose of preventing conspiracies which might aim to restore the Queen, the president should have the right to suspend the writ; and the usual guarantee of jury trial ought to be omitted. In other words, because native jurists<sup>60</sup> would not convict con-

<sup>55</sup> Thurston to Dole, confidential, Feb. 11, 1894, M&L.

<sup>56</sup> Same to same, March 10, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> Gill to Thurston, Feb. 20 and 24, March 12, 1894; Thurston to Dole, Feb. 21, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Hatch to Thurston, March 3, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Thurston to Dole, March 10, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Olsson, however, desired native jurists (Olsson to Dole, March 1, 1894, Official Dole Files, Archives of Hawaii).

spirators, the latter should be punished "on the lines of the Russian administrative process." Inasmuch as it would be unsafe to trust majority will in Hawaii,<sup>61</sup> there should be no provision for popular election of the president. Unlike American procedure, cabinet members ought to have the privilege of introducing bills. Appropriation measures must originate in the senate, where property should be represented; and if appropriations failed because of demagogic opposition in the lower house, the last year's laws would continue in force. Individual items in appropriation bills might well be vetoed. Payment of legislators' salaries should be in installments so that they would not spend all their money at once and then want to go home. Certain Royalists, who might falsely swear themselves into the legislature, must be named in the constitution, and in that way disfranchised. They should include: "Bush, Navahi [sic], Bill White, Wilson, Colburn, Sam Parker, and perhaps a few others. . . . Of the white men the names which suggest themselves to me are, T. H. Davies, J. O. Carter, Peterson, Neumann, Cornwall [sic] Cleghorn, and Ned Macartlane." The number of senators should be small because there were not enough good men to fill many positions. "This is a serious matter, and unless the number of positions is reduced, we shall continue in the near future as we have in the past, to be obliged to accept inferior material." The senators first elected should be continued in office until 1900 in order to obviate the lapse of control as happened soon after 1887. Too frequent elections caused the loss of good men. After 1900 the senatorial term might be reduced to four years. There must be a poll tax "for the purpose of eliminating as many as possible of the more undesirable voters." In order to get rid of Chinese and Japanese electors, all voters must be citizens or else have voted in the past. Senators should be chosen as soon as it appeared safe to hold elections. But Thurston advised his colleagues to "postpone the election of the House of Representatives until the Royalist serpent is more thoroughly scotched than it is at present." Having made these and many other suggestions, Thurston reminded Dole of the value of the records of the Mississippi constitutional convention of 1891 as a source where the President might learn how to limit the franchise.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *Advertiser*, Jan. 31, 1894: "There is no natural right of the majority to rule."

Meanwhile Dole was working on his draft of the projected constitution. Finding it difficult to create a republic and at the same time make the large ignorant vote harmless, Dole wrote to Professor John W. Burgess for advice, and received some interesting comments.<sup>12</sup> Dole sent his draft to Thurston for the latter's reaction. Thurston liked it, but proposed the incorporation of plural voting, as well as suffrage for women, in order, as he explained it, to secure about 500 good votes for senators from school teachers and rich women who owned property.<sup>13</sup> W. N. Armstrong printed a statement favoring female suffrage; the proposal instigated many debates, editorials, and letters to the *Advertiser*.<sup>14</sup>

Thurston finally decided that the sugar tariff problem had been allayed to the point where Hastings could handle it. Heading with pleas for aid from Dole and others, he landed in Honolulu with his own outline of a constitution just in time to sit in on the discussions out of which was forged the final draft for presentation to the convention. Dole's version was united with Thurston's and the product represented a fusion of both men's work;<sup>15</sup> but it would appear that there was more of Thurston than Dole in the result. Article by article, this combined document was presented to, and debated by, a group of friends of the Government, sitting in conjunction with the Executive Council. Votes were taken on each article, and if an article failed to carry a majority of those present it was usually dropped or changed. These informal meetings began on April 27 and lasted to May 28, just before the convention opened. As the day for the convention approached, evening sessions were held. The personnel changed from day to day, but in the course of a month's conferences, the following, in addition to the Executive Council, were present at least part of the time: A. F. Judd, L. A. Thurston, W. N. Armstrong, F. B. McStocker, J. A. Kennedy, W. C. Wilder, William De Witt Alexander, C. I. Carter, W. R. Castle, A. S. Hartwell, Cecil Brown, H. P. Baldwin, A. G. M. Robertson, and some others. At one of the early meetings Dole wished to invite the editors of the two

<sup>12</sup> See Henry Miller Madden, "Letters of Sanford B. Dole and John W. Burgess," in *The Pacific Historical Review*, V (March, 1930), 70-75.

<sup>13</sup> Thurston to Dole, March 28, 1894, M&E.

<sup>14</sup> For instance, April 24, 1894.

<sup>15</sup> See Dole's statement to Miss Kate Field, Dec. 10, 1895, President's Files.

Annexionist papers (H. N. Castle of the *Advertiser* and Walter G. Smith of the *Star*), but the others believed such a move would be unwise. Two days later it was thought to be a good idea, and so the two editors were present quite often.<sup>16</sup> A considerable number of those attending these meetings would later be participants in the convention, either as members of the two Councils or else as elected delegates.

Among the many votes taken, a few are of interest as showing the general attitude of those who were writing the constitution. On the question whether the president should be popularly elected, the vote was thirteen in the negative to none in the affirmative. Should the president appoint the cabinet, subject to the senate's confirmation? The vote was unanimous in favor of granting this power. The title of assembly for the lower house was changed to house of representatives, and the office of secretary of the treasury was changed to minister of finance.<sup>17</sup> On the question whether the first elected senators should serve six years, the vote was eight for and four against. Some disagreement arose over the wisdom of creating an advisory council, but it was finally decided that the president, the house, and the senate should each appoint one-third of the membership of fifteen. Dole objected to having himself declared the first president in the constitution because "I savor too strongly of South Americanism." Lotteries were abolished.<sup>18</sup> The only real trouble stemmed from the question whether Japanese and Chinese should be granted or refused the franchise. Long and earnest discussion took place over this problem. Dannon felt that both nationalities should be represented in the government, but Dole and McStocker doubted that the supporters of the Provisional Government would stand for such a concession. Hatch wanted to limit citizenship to those who were citizens on January 17, 1893, and to any who had since then supported the régime; he also proposed the granting of denization

<sup>16</sup> Minutes of the Executive Council, April 28 and 30, 1894.

<sup>17</sup> A motion in the convention to change "Minister" to "Secretary" later failed because of the plea that it was impossible to translate the word "Secretary" into the native language.

<sup>18</sup> The discussion and votes on every article can be found in the Minutes of the Executive Council, April 27, 28, 30; May 2, 4, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 25, 26, and 28, 1894.

papers to residents who did not wish to give up their original allegiance. Damon and Hartwell, however, believed that such large groups of inhabitants as the Chinese and Japanese ought to have some way of making their desires heard. Armstrong likewise thought they were "too important to be left to themselves [and] they will be heard in some way." Robertson disagreed: "Asiatics must be shut out; [the] convention will shut them out; [it] must be done." Thurston suggested referring the matter to a committee, which at once proceeded to wrestle with the question. Then the problem of the Portuguese came up. Thurston wanted them to be enfranchised because they had supported the Provisional Government, and Hartwell thought that a government which excluded them would be "beneath contempt." McStocker, however, said they were ignorant and dangerous. Alexander answered: "I believe in the Portuguese. Their Consul has stood by us." Thurston summed up his feelings about who should vote in the following way: "We made a failure in 1887—We tried to do with low grade voters. Boards will be too lenient in examination, instead of being too strict. We should fix the qualifications high."<sup>79</sup>

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During this time, registration and elections were taking place. All loyal supporters of the Provisional Government were registered if they showed their loyalty by taking the following oath:

I, \_\_\_\_\_, aged, \_\_\_\_\_ years, a native of \_\_\_\_\_, residing at \_\_\_\_\_, in said District, do solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God, that I will support and bear true allegiance to the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and will oppose any attempt to reestablish monarchical government in any form in the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>80</sup>

The oath thus required caused no little difficulty because there were so many noncitizens in the islands. For instance, what was the meaning of the word "oppose" in the oath?<sup>81</sup> So widespread was the objection to the wording that the Executive Council had

<sup>79</sup> Minutes of the Executive Council, May 15, 1894.

<sup>80</sup> Enclosed in Willis to Gresham, No. 47, April 5, 1894, Despatches; printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 85* (53 Cong. 2 Sess.).

<sup>81</sup> Geo. C. Potter to J. A. Palmer, March 19, 1894, President's Files.

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<sup>82</sup> Minutes of the Executive Cou  
April 26, 1894, M&E.

<sup>83</sup> April 12, 1894.

<sup>84</sup> Minutes of the Executive Cou  
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<sup>85</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc. 85* (53 Cong.  
Hatch, April 28, 1894, M&E.

<sup>87</sup> *Advertiser*, May 12, 1894.

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to take official notice of the matter, particularly when Emmeluth, a member of the Advisory Council, refused to register.<sup>82</sup> One of the national groups that took a diffident attitude was the Portuguese. The *Advertiser* maintained that subscribing to the oath did not naturalize a foreigner,<sup>83</sup> and yet the Portuguese wanted to be sure. Upon inquiry from the Portuguese League, the Executive Council said that the oath was not an oath of naturalization, and would not deprive the Portuguese of the protection of their own Government.<sup>84</sup> Consequently, the Portuguese at a mass meeting informed the Councils that they would take the oath to vote for delegates to the convention, with the understanding that in so doing they were not abjuring their Portuguese citizenship.<sup>85</sup>

The decision that the oath did not naturalize the taker was very questionable, considering the fact that it included the words "bear true allegiance to the Provisional Government." For that reason many Americans were not satisfied. Willis reported a thin registration of Americans because they were afraid of losing their citizenship if they accepted the oath. He asked Gresham the status of an American national who subscribed to it. Gresham replied that acceptance of such an oath would cause an American to lose his citizenship, because the United States did not believe in perpetual allegiance.<sup>86</sup> Annexationists were of course critical of this ruling because it cut down the number of desirable voters.<sup>87</sup>

The oath also aroused the Royalists. The native sheet, *Holomua*, declaring that a Kanaka must "Register as a P.G. Voter, or Starve!", called registration "The Mammoth Fraud."<sup>88</sup> The *Bulletin* divested itself of some "Registry reflections" as follows: "This is constitutional government! First, the thirteen elected themselves, then they elected the electors, and then elect the eighteen."<sup>89</sup> In a meeting on April 9, between two and three

<sup>82</sup> Minutes of the Executive Council, April 2, 1894; Thurston to Hastings, April 26, 1894, M&E.

<sup>83</sup> April 12, 1894.

<sup>84</sup> Minutes of the Executive Council, April 16, 1894.

<sup>85</sup> EAC, April 25, 1894.

<sup>86</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc. 85* (53 Cong. 2 Sess.); and enclosures in Hastings to Hatch, April 28, 1894, M&E.

<sup>87</sup> *Advertiser*, May 12, 1894.

<sup>88</sup> April 3 and 23, 1894.

<sup>89</sup> April 9, 1894.

thousand of the Queen's adherents passed a resolution refusing to swear to such an obligation as was implied in the oath; furthermore, they resolved that the Provisional Government was deliberately trying to disfranchise the natives, because the prescribed oath would prevent them from remaining "loyal to the form of government here existing from time immemorial."<sup>10</sup> This attitude of the States Congress would in some way help them. Said Charles T. Wilder to Hastings: "What are the chances for the Morgan Report to be acted upon, the adoption of that report by the senate would help our side wonderfully, as it is the natives are holding off from registering, still claiming that restoration will take place, pointing to the vote of the House to back up their argument."<sup>11</sup>

About 1,500 persons registered in Honolulu,<sup>12</sup> very few were natives, however, because the Kanakas were told, as Admiral Walker heard, that if the Queen ever won restoration, they would be proscribed for taking an oath to the Provisional Government. "Foreign influence has undoubtedly encouraged this belief and apprehension." Walker pointed out, on the other hand, that loyalty to the monarchy was largely a matter of self-interest, and that if the United States would come out openly in a clear-cut statement against intervention in Hawaiian politics, trouble would soon cease. Hope for a restoration was becoming less marked every day; and besides, the natives lacked leadership.<sup>13</sup>

It soon became evident that the franchise question would be the <sup>10</sup>Enclosure in Willis to Gresham, No. 51, April 14, 1894, Despatches; printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 92* (53 Cong. 2 Sess.). The *Advertiser*, April 10, 1894, called the meeting a fizzle.

<sup>11</sup>Wilder to Hastings, April 18, 1894, M&E.

<sup>12</sup>The Honolulu registration was 1,507, or 1,243 fewer than in the last election for Representatives. There were 185 natives and half-castes; 101 foreigners born in Hawaii; 390 Americans; 195 from Great Britain and its colonies; 120 Germans; 418 Portuguese; and 98 others. The *Bulletin*, April 24, 1894, maintained that these figures proved the existence of a large amount of opposition among the natives and Portuguese.

<sup>13</sup>Walker to Secretary of the Navy, April 28, 1894, No. 49704, Bureau of Navigation. Walker, who had just arrived, said in the same despatch that the ill feeling which had existed heretofore had died down. "I have come in contact with all classes of society and if the recent events have left personal animosities they are not readily perceptible. Royalists and supporters of the Provisional Government appear to be on pleasant personal terms."

most difficult problem the constitutional convention had to face. There were three phases to it: (1) the American, whereby nationals of the United States refused to endanger their citizenship; (2) the native, whereby great numbers of Kanakas would not swear away their chances of regaining monarchical government; and (3) the Oriental, whereby the large Japanese section of the population demanded the vote. The last was the most disturbing. This fact was well explained by Admiral Walker, who, in his first important despatch to Herbert, reported that, since his arrival on April 12, he had talked with many persons in order to reach some conclusions on the political situation. He came to two chief ones: that the Provisional Government was firmly established because it was forcing the observance of law and order; and that there was considerable concern regarding the wisdom of disfranchising the Japanese. "Many persons here both in and out of the government think the Japanese a possible source of future danger."<sup>14</sup>

An earlier demand of Japan that its people in Hawaii be granted political rights was discussed toward the end of Chapter IV of *The Hawaiian Revolution (1893-94)*. Thereafter the subject arose frequently. For example, Thurston had an audience with Gresham on January 25, 1894, to tell about the Japanese menace. They were, he said, asking suffrage according to the equal-rights clause of the Japanese-Hawaiian treaty. If refused, no more Japanese would be permitted to go to Hawaii and those already there would be recalled. That eventually, he declared, could be unfortunate for the sugar planters because their labor supply might be endangered. When he said he was not opposing the granting of the vote to the natives, Gresham, ever the lawyer, interposed to remind Thurston that his ideas had changed; for in a former interview Thurston asserted he wanted no ignorant vote whatever. The Hawaiian Minister replied that he would allow ignorant natives to vote only for members of the lower house. "We will need a house of Lords," he averred. Gresham, who just then was not in a good humor about things Hawaiian, asked testily why Thurston was telling *him* about the trouble. Thurston thought Gresham could do something. Gresham asked whether Hawaii

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

to change my Cabinet and to appoint certain officers of the kingdom, in the event of my restoration, I will admit."<sup>129</sup>

Although the Government was perplexed about what to do with her,<sup>131</sup> the commission sentenced the erstwhile ruler to five years of hard labor, with a fine of \$5,000. This sentence was later commuted to confinement with one female attendant, during which time she amused herself raising house flowers and composing the verses of "Aloha Oa" ("Farwell to Thee"), the popular song.<sup>132</sup>

When the military commission proceeded to try the real conspirators, some of whom were American, a tedious international problem emerged. The *Advertiser* spoke truthfully when it said that "nothing growing out of the recent unpleasantness is more interesting or attended with more serious results than the decisions of the various governments, whose former citizens have made themselves liable to Hawaiian law, upon the question of citizenship."<sup>133</sup> The Hawaiian Government was weak; a majority of the population was opposed to it; and the inhabitants consisted of diverse nationalities. Would England or the United States allow Hawaii to hang one of its citizens, or even one of its former nationals who had been naturalized? The question was made more complicated by the uncertainty regarding Hawaiian citizenship.

Under the monarchy, the Government had been so feeble that Americans often disliked to entrust their welfare and property to its protection by becoming naturalized Hawaiians;<sup>134</sup> and yet, living in the kingdom, they desired to participate in political

<sup>129</sup> *Advertiser*, Feb. 8, 1895; enclosed in Willis to Gresham, No. 86, Feb. 8, 1895, Despatches; see also Liliuokalani, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-283.

<sup>130</sup> Julius A. Palmer, Jr., *Alpin in Hawaii* (Boston, 1895), p. 5. Thurston suggested that, if Liliuokalani was to be deported, she be sent South (i.e., the South Sea Islands) and not to the United States where she would receive sympathy (Thurston to Hatch, Feb. 6, 1895, Cable File).

<sup>131</sup> Liliuokalani, *op. cit.*, p. 290. Albert Pierce Taylor, *Under Hawaiian Skies* . . . (Honolulu, 1922, 1926), pp. 528-535, gives a different version of the origin of the song.

<sup>132</sup> Enclosed in Willis to Gresham, No. 109, May 8, 1895, Despatches. <sup>133</sup> The total number of foreigners (mostly Americans) who had been naturalized between 1869 and 1878 was 750. After that period most aliens became denizens, rather than subjects. See *House Executive Document 47* (53 Cong. 2 Sess.), p. 645. This publication is the report made by Commissioner James H. Blount for President Cleveland in the summer of 1893. It is discussed in chapter V of *The Hawaiian Revolution* (1893-94). Hereafter referred to as "Blount."

affairs.<sup>135</sup> A peculiar compromise was worked out, whereby an American could secure papers of denization,<sup>136</sup> take part in all political affairs, and yet not lose his American citizenship.<sup>137</sup> When, after the uprising of 1887, the question came up, Assistant Secretary of State James D. Porter informed John H. Putnam, the American Consul General at Honolulu, that, under the oath provided in the Constitution of 1887, an American could become an Hawaiian subject, and yet not lose his American citizenship. Such an interpretation was not, however, consistently held by the State Department.<sup>138</sup>

Upon establishment of the Provisional Government, an oath was concocted whereby an alien subscriber swore to "support" the new Government, but "expressly reserving all allegiance to any foreign country now owing by me."<sup>139</sup> This was a clever method by which the Revolutionists secured aid from foreigners (especially Americans like Henry E. Cooper) without endangering the latter's original allegiance.

In the Republican Constitution of 1894 the oath required the taker to swear he would support the Republic and oppose monarchy.<sup>140</sup> Two kinds of letters of denization were provided for. The Executive Council might grant a patent which would confer all the

<sup>135</sup> Blount, p. 128.

<sup>136</sup> For examples of denization papers, see *ibid.*, pp. 610-615. A list, comprising about sixty-five names, of those who had taken out letters patent of denization after July 10, 1883, is also given.

<sup>137</sup> Enclosure 3, in Willis to Gresham, No. 93, March 7, 1895, Despatches. For instance, the sugar planter, Z. S. Spalding, voted in 1887, and yet claimed American citizenship. See *Senate Report 227* (53 Cong. 2 Sess.), p. 249. This is the report of the so-called Morgan investigating committee of 1894, discussed in *The Hawaiian Revolution* (1893-94), chapter VIII. Hereafter referred to as "Morgan."

<sup>138</sup> Thus, in 1897 Alvin R. Hawkins, formerly of Gatesville, Texas, died in Hawaii where he had taken out a patent of denization under King Kalakaua in order to practice law. Consul Hayward inquired at Washington whether he was to administer Hawkins's estate. The record indicated that upon taking the oath of denization he had added: " . . . without prejudice to his native allegiance." A memo from the Consular Bureau to Hayward said that Hawkins, having taken an oath to Kalakaua, had abandoned his American citizenship. Hayward, therefore, was not to administer the estate (William Hayward to Sherman, No. 14, Aug. 30, 1897, Consular Letters, National Archives; Sewall to Sherman, No. 38, Sept. 13, 1897, Despatches).

<sup>139</sup> Enclosure 2, in Sewall to Sherman, No. 38, *ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> Enclosure 4, in *ibid.*

privileges of citizenship except the vote; or it might grant a special letter, which would confer the franchise, but only those eligible for naturalization could secure this kind of denization. Since Hawaii had no naturalization treaties with any other country, the number who might be so denized by the Executive Council was limited. But the door was not entirely closed. The requirement in the Constitution of 1894 to the effect that the applicant's country must have a naturalization treaty with Hawaii was waived for those who had resided in Hawaii seven years before the Constitution of 1894 and who applied within five years after its promulgation. All persons taking out letters of denization had to swear to support the Constitution of the Republic and not to encourage the restoration of monarchy; but they did not abjure their original allegiance.<sup>142</sup> The application for such letters read in part: "... so long as I reside in this country, I will renounce all right to appeal to the Government of my native country for intervention on my behalf for any cause whatever." A patent of the first type read:

Republic of Hawaii: Letters Patent of Denization. To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting: Know Ye, that in pursuance of the power conferred upon the Executive Council by the Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii, all of the Privileges of Citizenship, except the right to vote, are by these Letters of Denization conferred upon \_\_\_\_\_ of the \_\_\_\_\_ temporarily residing in this Republic, without prejudice to his native allegiance, and subject to his accountability to the Laws of this Republic and his performance of all of the duties and obligations of a citizen so long as these Letters shall remain in force.

Then followed the signatures of President Dole and the Cabinet.<sup>143</sup> A patent of the second type read similarly, except that it granted the vote.

<sup>142</sup> Admiral Walker said that the monopoly on granting letters of denization was given to the Executive Council in order that only desirable foreigners might take part in political affairs (Walker to Secretary of the Navy, July 12, 1894, No. 54797, Bureau of Navigation).

<sup>143</sup> See Chapter I for more on this topic.

<sup>144</sup> Enclosure 5, in Sewall to Sherman, No. 100, April 11, 1895, Despatches; see Enclosure 9, in Willis to Olney, No. 140, Oct. 20, 1895, *ibid.*; and Enclosure 1, in Willis to Olney, No. 140, Oct. 20, 1895, *ibid.*

Such a policy of double citizenship created innumerable problems to untangle. Willis sarcastically said that Hawaii had no citizenship at all: "It is certainly a novelty in governmental history—A Country without a citizenship. The 390 American [sic] (U. S. A.) includes Soldiers, police &c Many of whom have not been in the Country a year but are allowed to vote by reason of *Military* service—Said service being in defending from the attacks? [sic] of U. S. war vessels."<sup>144</sup>

An instance of the kind of question which arose was the appointment of a certain John Randolph Galt as Hawaiian Consul at Seattle; it turned out that he was an American citizen and not an Hawaiian at all.<sup>145</sup> Still another instance was the objection made by the State Department to the selection of Frank P. Hastings as Secretary of Legation and *chargé* during Thurston's numerous absences. Investigation of Hastings's status showed, however, that he had become a naturalized Hawaiian in March, 1891.<sup>146</sup> These were easily solved. It would be more difficult when the situation required a decision as to whether the United States could protect Americans who had taken part in the Royalist insurrection. Said the *Advertiser*: "... the American taking the oath of allegiance today is like a man without a country."<sup>147</sup>

When the military commission proceeded to try the three hundred<sup>148</sup> or more rebels, some of whom were Americans (or claimed to be), Willis said: "I fear the worst." He added that the officials were so vengeful they refused to look upon the prisoners as revol-

<sup>144</sup> Willis to Gresham, private, April 28, 1894, Gresham MSS.

<sup>145</sup> Castle to Olney, Nov. 9, 1895, Notes from Hawaii. See also Olney to Castle, Nov. 12, 1895, M&E.

<sup>146</sup> Dole to Gresham, May 23, 1893; Thurston to Gresham, June 23, 1893; and Hastings to Gresham, June 30, 1893, Notes from Hawaii. Hastings had been an American Consul officer in Hawaii from 1877 to 1889. The list of those who had taken out denization papers, from July 10, 1893, to May 15, 1895, contains his name (Blount, pp. 611-612). It will be recalled that new denization letters had been issued to him by the Republic on July 13, 1894; Henry E. Cooper, who had been a leader in the Revolution and who was a circuit judge, also received papers that day (Minutes of the Executive Council, July 13, 1894; Edwin F. Uhl, acting Secretary of State, to Hastings, April 5, 1895, Notes to Hawaii).

<sup>147</sup> May 2, 1895, enclosed in Willis to Gresham, No. 105, May 2, 1895, Despatches. On the other hand, see editorials praising Hawaii's naturalization policy, in *Advertiser*, June 22, and 24, 1895.

<sup>148</sup> This is the estimate of the *Star*, Feb. 2, 1895. Other guesses reached 700.