

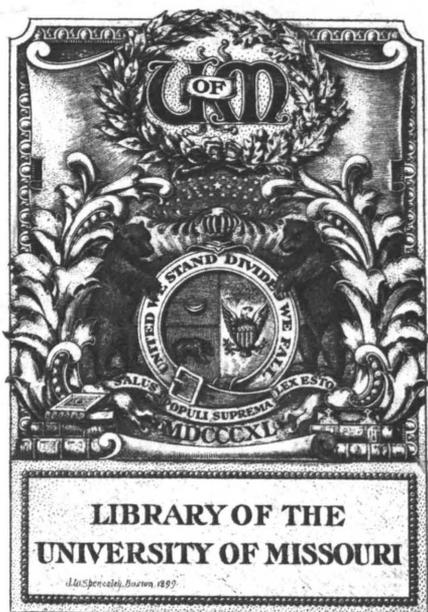
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THE ACQUISITION OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS--- A STEP IN THE  
TERRITORIAL AND COMMERCIAL EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES.



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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS  
in the  
GRADUATE DEPARTMENT

of the  
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI  
1912.



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THE ACQUISITION OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS. A STEP IN THE  
TERRITORIAL AND COMMERCIAL EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I. Introduction, the Relations between Hawaii  
and the United States before 1893.

During the Middle Ages, the rulers of the countries of Europe were little interested in colonial or commercial expansion. The questions which interested them were those relating to the increase of the royal power or the consolidation of their kingdoms. The centralization of the governments, however, enabled the nations to take part in the great colonizing activity following the era of discovery. The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries<sup>1</sup> saw the flags of Europe penetrate into every sea in search of new possessions and new markets.<sup>2</sup> The United States, born of this movement, was late in entering this race, but no sooner was it independent than it began to be a factor in the struggle. From the Purchase of Louisiana in 1803 to the present, territory has been added to the extent of several times the original area. It is with a part of this commercial and territorial expansion that this thesis treats, the acquisition of Hawaii by the United States.

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1- Development of Modern Europe, by Robinson and Beard vol. II, pp. 318-331; 353-367.

2- Introduction to English Historians by Beard pp. 623-636.



The exact date of the origin of the movement leading to annexation can not be accurately determined. For the purpose of this paper, however, the year 1893 has been selected, the year in which the provisional government took steps leading finally to the union of the Pacific Republic to its American protector. Before considering this, however, a brief examination of the relations between Hawaii and the United States to the over-throw of the monarchy will be given.

Hawaiian history might be said to begin with the reign of Kamehameha I, 1795-1819, who centralized his own power and conquered the surrounding islands. Foreign vessels soon began to come to Hawaii, and indeed it was with their help that the first Kamehameha became supreme.

American influence in the Islands started as a result of missionary activity. In 1820<sup>3</sup> the "Foreign Mission School" of Cornwall Connecticut sent out Mr. and Mrs. Thruston and Dr. and Mrs. Holman to preach in the Sandwich Islands. In a short time those men and women living among the people and trying to better their lives obtained a great and lasting power over their simple minds. In the future years although foreign traders and countries were many times in disfavor, there seems to have been little complaint on account of the presence of these New England missionaries.



As these people were Americans, they introduced American ideas and customs. As a result men trained in the United States frequently were appointed as advisers and high officials in the state. Among those who helped to guide the government might be mentioned Mr. William Richards, Dr. J. P. Judd, and Mr. W. L. Lee.

The attitude of the American government in the early years tended to increase the respect and friendship of the Hawaiians. While it is true that some of the ship captains violated common decency, yet the general attitude has been one of fair dealing. Starting with 1826 the United States has made many treaties of a commercial and diplomatic nature, and in all of these Hawaii has been treated as an equal. This can not be said of the nations of England, France or Japan.

While recognizing the rights of the Hawaiian government, America made it clear that under no circumstance would she allow them to be incorporated into the colonial empire of another state. This principle was often stated<sup>4</sup> President Taylor in his annual message of 1849 said: "The position of the Sandwich Islands with reference to the territory of the United States on the Pacific..... render this destiny peculiarly interesting to us. It is our duty to encourage the authorities

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3-- Alexander, Brief History of the Hawaiian People chapter XXIII.

4-- Tyler in 1842, and Fillmore in 1851 are two men who stated this principle. See Messages and Papers of the Presidents vol. IV pp. 211-214 and vol.V p. 120.



of the Islands in their efforts to improve and elevate the moral and political conditions of the inhabitants.... We could in no event be indifferent to their passing under the dominion of any other power....And it is to be hoped that no one of them will attempt to interpose obstacles to the entire independence of the Islands."<sup>5</sup> Secretary Blaine in 1882 in reviewing the relations between the United States and the Hawaiian government made the following statement: "In this line of action the United States does its simple duty to Hawaii and itself, and it can not permit such obvious neglect of national interest as would be involved by silent acquiescence in any movement looking to a lessening of these and the substitution of alien and hostile interests. It firmly believes the position of the Hawaiian Islands, as a key to the Pacific, demands neutrality, to which end it will earnestly co-operate with the native government; and if, through any cause, neutrality should be found by Hawaii impracticable, this government would then unhesitating meet the altered situation by seeking avowedly an American solution of the grave issues presented."<sup>6</sup>

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5--Messages and Papers of the Presidents vol.V.,p.17  
 6-- Foreign Relations of the United States 1881,page 636.



Throughout this period, on account of the constant strife between Hawaii and foreign countries, there were several attempts made to annex Hawaii to the United States. In 1849 the Islands were ceded by the King to the United States and France in order to prevent a possible seizure by France. The treaty, however, was returned when the danger was passed. Again in 1854 a full treaty of annexation was negotiated by Kamehameha III by which Hawaii was to come into the American union. This also failed of being carried into execution.<sup>7</sup> These early attempts are important, however, as showing the attitude of the Hawaiians and the recognized value of American influence there.

While the original dynasty of Kamehameha lasted, the domestic affairs of the Islands were on the whole administered to the satisfaction of the people. On the extinction of this line of kings in 1781 new rulers came to the throne who soon by their immorality and public and private vice turned many subjects against them. The dis-satisfaction of the upper classes came to a climax in 1887 when the sale of a monopoly on opium to a Chinese firm drove them to revolt.<sup>8</sup> They forced the King to sign a new constitution thus making an end to personal government. This was bitter medicine to the followers of the old regime and they undertook an unsuccessful revolt in 1889.



Among the bitterest foes of the new order was Liliuokalani who became queen in 1891. She disliked the restrictions placed upon her and resolved at the earliest moment to subvert the new constitution.<sup>9</sup> Throwing in her lot with the opium ring she dissolved the assembly and presented a private constitution to her ministers. They refused to sign it. The foreign residents with some of the native Hawaiians then held a meeting, established a provisional government, and took over the administration of the Islands.<sup>10</sup> The Queen and her adherents presented but a weak opposition to the revolt and she was soon forced to abdicate.

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7- Brief History of the Hawaiian People. Alexander, ch. XXXII, XXXIII.

8- Ibid, ch. XXXVI. Also Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations 1893-4, pp. 1366, 1631-2, 1687.

9- Constitutional History of Hawaii. Chambers, pp. 27-30

10- Uncompleted Treaty with Hawaii 1893, pp. 11-40.



## CHAPTER II. THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR ANNEXATION IN 1893.

Those who organized the provisional government were chiefly foreigners, the American element being by far the most important. These men owned most of the property and for several years had desired greater stability of government. They now recognized the dangers in the path of a small republic and so looked around for assistance in maintaining their institutions. In a proclamation issued by those revolting against the Queen the purposes of the revolution are expressed:

"(1) The Hawaiian monarchical system of government is hereby abrogated.

"(2) A provisional government for the control and management of public affairs is hereby established until terms of union with the United States of America has been negotiated."<sup>11</sup>

The government<sup>12</sup> provided to carry out these resolutions was intended to be only a temporary one. It was to bridge over a period of transition. There was to be an executive council to administer the laws, the members of which were: Sanford B. Dole, President of the body and chairman of the department of foreign relations; J. A. King, secretary of interior;

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11- Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations 1893-4 vol.II, pp.1197.

12- Ibid. Also Constitutional History of Hawaii, pp. 27-30





P. C. Jones, secretary of finance; W. O. Smith, Attorney-General. An advisory council of sixteen was to act with the executive council and in addition to giving advice was to have all general legislative power. They were also to exercise the power of appointment and removal of officers.

Three weeks from the time the gathering in Rifles' Armory had put an end to the rule of Queen Liliuokalani, a commission was on the way to Washington D. C. to negotiate a treaty of union.<sup>13</sup>

They found President Harrison and his Secretary of State, John W. Foster, very favorably inclined and a treaty was soon drawn up. This was sent to the Senate on February 15th. By it full sovereignty over the Islands was given to the United States. To secure order it was declared: "Until Congress shall otherwise provide the existing government and laws of the Hawaiian Islands are hereby continued, subject to the paramount authority of the United States. The President by and with the consent of the Senate shall appoint a commissioner to reside in said Islands who shall have the power to veto any act of said government, and an act disapproved by him shall there-upon be void and of no effect unless approved by the President."<sup>14</sup> There was no

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Report of Committee on Foreign Relations 1893-4, pp. 1010-13.

14- Ibid p. 1011.



promise given of ultimate statehood for Hawaii.

The news of the President's action caused a great amount of comment. Many articles appeared in the newspapers for and against annexation. In favor of the acquisition the following reasons were urged: first, the territorial increase; second, the commercial and military advantages; third, the large possessions and great interests of Americans in the Islands; and fourth, the duty of the nation to uphold free institutions. Those who opposed the expansion contended: first, that the possession of the Islands would result in a financial loss to America and even in the future they would be of no economic value; second, that they would be a source of military weakness; third, that there would be no gain by the treaty that could not be obtained without it; fourth, that annexation was unconstitutional; and fifth, that it was undesirable to take into the body politic so many people of an alien race.<sup>15</sup>

There is some evidence that the question was becoming a political one, though neither party was as yet definitely decided. The Republicans in the Senate were afraid, or seemed at a loss how to act, and so let the remaining brief period of their power slip by without result. President Cleveland, who took office on March 4, 1893, had no such indecision.

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15 These will be discussed in detail in chapter III when under President McKinley there was a renewed attempt to form a treaty of union.



He also listened to the charges of the deposed Queen who claimed that Minister Stevens had by landing troops caused her overthrow.<sup>16</sup> She demanded on her part that the United States restore her to power. To determine the truth of such charges the President sent a special commissioner, James H. Blount of Georgia, to the Hawaiian Islands. In his report he attacked Minister Stevens and the landing of the troops.<sup>17</sup>

It is not the purpose of this thesis to enter into a detailed examination of the Blount report. From the evidence gathered by him, however, there can be no doubt that Stevens strongly sympathized with the provisional government and at once responded to its plea for the landing of troops to protect foreign property. On the other hand there seemed to exist a situation which demanded that some power interfere to protect the lives and property of non-combatants. Contrary to law the Queen had increased the normal levy of troops in Honolulu. The foreign citizens had gathered arms and posted notice of a meeting in opposition to the existing rule. In 1874 and 1889 under similar conditions the United States had placed troops on shore until the danger was passed. So it might be argued that the American envoy had some precedent for his action. But the government of Hawaii had on the two former occasions ac-

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16 Committee on Foreign Relations 1893-4 pp.1675-7.  
 17 Ibid p. 1402



quiesced in this action of the American minister, while in 1893 the request for intervention came from a revolutionary body and so was decidedly unfriendly to the queen. By a stronger power such intervention might have been construed as an act of war.<sup>18</sup> Minister Stevens justified it on the grounds of the necessity of the case, his instructions to preserve order, and the recognized influence of the United States in Hawaii which placed upon America an obligation to protect all foreigners. When he went so far as to place the Islands under the protectorate of the United States his action was disallowed by the home department of State.<sup>19</sup> The troops landed from the American ships took no part in the conflict and did not appear on the streets save when marching to their camping grounds. The only possible help they gave was a moral one. The charge that Minister Stevens was hasty in recognizing the republic might admit of some doubt for when he gave recognition the friends of the republic were in possession of all the effective forces of the government. Moreover the action of the United States was followed the next day by all the foreign envoys who resided there.<sup>20</sup>

18 Moore Digest of International Law vol.VI, pp.2-11.  
 19 Committee on Foreign Relations 1893-4, pp.1050,1214.  
 20 Ibid pp. 545,626,729,744-751,1036-1040.

There were two objections that might be pointed out to Blount's method of gathering evidence. First, it was taken in secret in the presence of a stenographer the witness, and Mr. Blount only. No opportunity was given for any other person to be present and examine the testimony given. Second, that although in his report he attacks Mr. Thurston and other public men, they were not permitted to testify although willing to do so.



As a result of Blount's report, Cleveland in his annual message of 1893 took the following attitude:

"Believing.... that the United States could not under the circumstances disclosed, annex the Islands without justly incurring the imputation of acquiring them by unjustifiable methods, I shall not again submit the treaty of annexation to the Senate for its consideration, and in the instructions to Minister Willis, a copy of which accompanies this message, I have directed him so to inform the provisional government.

"But in the present instance our duty does not, in my opinion end with refusing to consummate this questionable transaction. It has been the boast of our government that it seeks to do justice in all with whom it deals. I mistake the American people if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality, that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one, and that even by indirection a strong power may with impunity despoil a weak one of its territory.....

"Actuated by these desires and purposes, and not unmindful of the inherent perplexities of the situation nor of the limitations upon my power, I instructed Minister Willis to advise the Queen and her supporters of my desire to aid in the restoration of the status existing before the lawless landing of the United States forces at Honolulu on the 16th of January last, if such restoration could be effected upon terms pro-



viding for clemency as well as justice to all parties concerned."<sup>21</sup>

Just how President Cleveland was going to find authority in international law for overthrowing a bona fide government is an interesting question. Thinking that such was his duty he tried to make terms between the two parties. The provisional government refused to accept the Queen, and Cleveland had no other course than to accept and recognize the existing order. The mission of Mr. Willis was later made the object of a bitter attack on the part of certain of the President's enemies.

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Richardson Messages and papers of the Presidents  
vol.IX, pp. 470-2. (note 21)



CHAPTER III. THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII TO THE UNITED STATES.

The failure of annexation for a time caused the friends of royalty to confidently expect the overthrow of the provisional government and the success of the monarchy. They failed to grasp the idea that the forces back of the revolution were permanent. Whether or not the original result of the revolution was due to American intervention, there was little possibility of the monarchy being re-established. It took the unsuccessful rebellion of 1895 to convince some of the royalists that this was the case. The sentiment of the ruling class was well expressed by W. D. Alexander, ex-surveyor general of the Islands, in a letter of May 23, 1893: "Our fate is trembling in the balance. The race question is at the bottom of our troubles, and I think that the people of the South can understand it better than the people of any other section of your country. The natives have, I am sorry to say, deteriorated during the last twenty years, notwithstanding the pains that have been lavished upon them. They seem incapable of comprehending Anglo-Saxon self government. The last king did his best to ruin his countrymen. His idea was a despotism. The white people split up as they are by nationalities and creeds, were forced to combine in 1887 and again this year. The natives are now about two-fifths of the total population, pay about one-seventh of the taxes, own about one-seventh of the land, cast two-thirds of



the vote, and occupy two-thirds of the paid offices. All the business and agricultural enterprises in the country are carried on by Americans or Europeans. No people are more susceptible than the Kanaka to be captured by carpet-baggers who flatter them and work upon their race jealousy. What ever fate is in store for us, we are determined never again to submit to monarchy. Nearly all the white people of the Islands and the better class of the natives are fully convinced that annexation to the United States is the only satisfactory solution for us."<sup>22</sup>

Although the people never gave up the hope of bringing about a union with the United States, they had to turn their attention to the formation of a republican government.<sup>23</sup> This was organized as follows: There was to be a president elected for six years and not eligible for re-election. He could appoint his cabinet and the governing boards by and with the consent of the senate. A council of state composed of fifteen members was to advise the president, appropriate money in the interim of the legislature and act with the cabinet and president in exercising the rights of pardon.

The legislature was to be organized into two houses of fifteen members each. The senators were to serve six years and the representatives two.

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22 Johns Hopkins University studies vol.XIV,pp 30-31  
23 Constitutional History of Hawaii, pp.33-38.



The members of both houses had to be able to read and write English or Hawaiian, and be male citizens. A property qualification of \$3000 or an income of \$1200 was required of senators, and property to the value of \$1000 or an income of \$600 was demanded of representatives.

The judicial power was to be vested in a supreme court and other inferior courts. The judges were to be appointed as in the case of the federal judiciary of the United States.

In addition to being a citizen twenty years of age and a tax payer, an educational qualification was also required of voters. In order to vote for a senator there was required the ownership of real property to the value of \$1500, or personal property to the amount of \$3000, or the possession of an income of \$600 per annum.

As can be seen this government threw the control into the wealthy and educated class. All power was to be centered about the senate, and care was taken to make the membership in this body almost entirely white. This can be seen in the results of the election of October 29th, 1894.

The hope of the Hawaiians for annexation was shown by the provision in the constitution which gave to the legislative body the right to enter into a treaty of union with the United States. This hope was revived when the Republican President, McKinley came into power on March 4th, 1897.



Another treaty of annexation was drawn up and ratified by a unanimous vote of the Hawaiian senate, but for fear of not having the required two-thirds, it was not pressed to a vote in the American body. The re-introduction, however, of this treaty by McKinley opened up the question of annexation for renewed discussion. The reasons urged affirmatively and negatively were various and range from sound argument to mere political charges. The more important of these should be examined.<sup>24</sup>

One of the strongest points in favor of American possession, one which had been advocated for a quarter of a century at least, was the military argument. In 1875 General J. M. Schofield, then commanding the division of the Pacific, through Mr. Luttrell presented this report to Congress: "The Hawaiian Islands constitute the only natural outpost to the defences of the Pacific coast. In the possession of a foreign naval power, in time of war, as a depot from which to fit out hostile expeditions against this coast and our commerce in the Pacific ocean, they would afford the means of incalculable injury to the United States. If the absolute neutrality of the Islands could always be insured that would suffice; but they have not, and never can have the power to maintain their own neutrality, and now their necessities force them to seek alliance with some nation which can relieve their embarrassment."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> These arguments are taken from the magazines and the debates as reported in the Congressional Record.

<sup>25</sup> North American Review vol. 156, p. 268.



With this position such well known men as Admiral Porter have agreed. Captain A. T. Mahan in the Forum of March 1893 gave this opinion of their importance:

"From the foregoing considerations may be inferred the importance of the Hawaiian Islands as a <sup>s</sup>position powerfully influencing the commercial and military control of the Pacific, and especially of the northern Pacific, in which the United States, geographically, has the strongest right to assert herself... The serious menace to our Pacific coast and our Pacific trade, if so important a position were held by a possible enemy, has been frequently mentioned in the press and dwelt upon in the diplomatic papers which are from time to time given to the public... Upon one particular, however, too much stress can not be laid, one to which naval officers can but be more sensitive than the general public, and that is the immense disadvantage to us of any maritime enemy having a coaling station well within 2500 miles, as that is, of every point of our coast from Puget Sound to Mexico. Were there many others available we might find it difficult to exclude from all. There is, however, but the one. Shut out from the Sandwich Islands as a coal base an enemy is thrown back for supplies to distances of 3500 or 4000 miles-- or between 7000 and 8000 miles going and coming-- an impediment to sustained maritime operations well nigh a prohibitive."<sup>26</sup>



As soon as the war with Spain was declared the military advantages of the Islands interested more than the naval experts. Dewey's victory at Manila and the necessity of aiding him forced many ships to enter Pearl harbor for coal and supplies. Henceforth until success attended the efforts of those seeking annexation the military argument was always in the foreground.<sup>27</sup>

In answer to this it was urged that the Islands could never be defended by a land force even with the most modern guns. It would require the additional aid of a large navy stationed there, and thus be a drain rather than a help to our protective forces. As to the demand for a coaling station it was pointed out that ships could take colliers with them and coal at sea. Thus the difficulty of a long ocean trip could be overcome.<sup>28</sup>

Another reason for annexation was the desire to extend commerce. The United States had in its efforts to find foreign markets entered into many trade agreements with the Hawaiian government. In 1866 and 1867 attempts were made to conclude treaties of reciprocity but these failed on account of the opposition of the American senate. In 1875 in spite of strenuous opposition a reciprocity treaty was ratified by both countries. Commerce between the two nations now greatly

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27 Speech by Mr. Hitt. Cong. Rec. p. 5772-

28 Speech by Mr. Morrill. Cong. Rec. pp. 6141-4.



increased. For instance in 1875 the sugar imported from Hawaii amounted to 11,151 tons and in 1901-2 it was 317,509 tons.<sup>29</sup> The possession of the Sandwich Islands, many thought, would not only increase this trade but would secure the shipping in American bottoms. Moreover these "cross-roads of the Pacific" would help American exporters in developing a trade with Asia. The importance of this trade has been recognized for a long time. Early in the history of the United States the value of commerce with the Far East was recognized, and in 1853 Commodore Perry was sent to make arrangements with the sovereign of Japan to protect and promote American trade. In 1857 Mr. Parker, American Minister to China, suggested that the United States acquired Formosa in order to secure a Pacific base. Secretary Marcy refused because he was then trying to obtain the Hawaiian Islands for the same purpose. Even at that time it was seen that America must seek for herself new and greater markets in this region where one half the population of the world lives.<sup>30</sup>

This economic desire together with the hope of acquiring more territory has led England, Germany and France to seize ports of advantage on the Asiatic coast. America wanted a gate-way and so turned to the Philippines and Hawaii. J. H. Callahan in speaking of the

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<sup>29</sup> Senate Document 206, p.1.

<sup>30</sup> American Academy of Political and Social Science for May 1899, p. 107.



relations with the Far East and the development of trade said: "The interests which the United States suddenly acquired in California, the development of Oregon, and the prospects of closer communication with Asia, increased the importance of the earlier American policy to prevent foreign colonization or control of the Hawaiian Islands, when American elements had predominated from earliest days of foreign interests there, and led the American government to contemplate the annexation of the Islands as a possible contingency necessary to American interests."<sup>31</sup>

Mr. Gillette of Massachusetts in a speech in the 55th Congress on the same topic said: "We were looking on with some jealousy while European nations were partitioning among themselves the Chinese Empire and making for themselves trade footings in that vast and populous East, which is just entering into the commercial currents of the world; and we were wondering if we ought not to have our share in this dismemberment, and how we could accomplish it, when in the twinkling of an eye, without plan or thought of our own, we find ourselves prospective masters of a vaster area and population than any of our rivals, and plunged at once into the responsibilities and politics of the Far East, and Hawaii, which had seemed so useless and unnecessary became our essential stepping stone and base."<sup>32</sup>

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31 Johns Hopkins University studies, vol.19,p. 114  
 32 Congressional Record, 55th Cong. 2nd Sess.p.5782



While the value of the Pacific trade was admitted by those who opposed expansion, yet they denied that annexation would benefit it. As far as Hawaii was concerned they believed that it would be just as valuable to the merchants of America under a treaty agreement as it would be if the United States owned the Islands.

In the third place it was represented that there were many American citizens who had gone to the Islands and invested their money there. Thrum's Annual shows that in 1893 there was over \$30,964,290 invested in sugar alone and of this amount over seventy percent was American capital. As the Hawaiian government had failed to protect and promote their interests, they declared it was the duty of the United States to act favorably on their plea for admission.

Again the fact that the Hawaiians had lived under a monarchy created some feeling of sympathy among a certain class of Americans. They felt, like the people of France in 1791, that the United States ought to uphold democratic institutions as the best possible type of government. In order to do this they advocated annexation. This point evoked some criticism. Mr. Springer in an article entitled "Hawaii, our present Duty" held that America had no more right to interfere with the government of Hawaii because certain citizens did not like it than she did to overthrow the monarchy of Turkey or Spain. He denied it to be the mission of any country to support democratic institutions where-



ever found. "There is no divine right of Republicanism in this world, any more than there is a divine right of Kings."<sup>33</sup>

Finally, although some historians have objected to the phrase "manifest destiny" as justification for aggrandizement, this theory was advanced by the supporters of annexation. They pointed out the various steps by which America had expanded westward. Hawaii they claimed was by geographical position bound to the United States and it was her destiny to own the Islands. There is no doubt that the mere acquisition of territory, regardless of other reasons, appealed to many Americans. They recognized the value of military and commercial arguments but back of it is the desire to become great by becoming large. One can see this same principle in city life. To a large number of citizens a municipality is to pride itself on its large area and population. To these people the Sandwich Islands presented a very desirable means of territorial expansion and the opportunity was one to be grasped. They tried to show that if America did not take the Islands some other country would. England was charged with wanting this "Gibraltar of the Pacific." France, Germany and Japan were said to look with covetous eyes on the Island Republic.<sup>34</sup> While this was often repeated and denied on the part of European countries, Japan gave some grounds for suspicion.

In 1897 about one-fourth of the population of the Islands were Japanese and these people were entering at



the rate of over 2,000 per month. When Hawaii tried to prohibit this immigration, Japan denied her right to pass such laws and sent war-whips to help settle the question. Moreover she now demanded the right for her subjects to vote. This would have soon resulted in their triumph and the overthrow of the white supremacy. Secretary Willis, who was sent by President Cleveland to demand the restoration of the monarchy, said that the danger from Japan was real and had the Japanese the right to vote they would control the Islands.<sup>35</sup> When annexation with the United States seemed imminent in 1898 Japan protested against the union of the two countries.<sup>36</sup>

Those who did not want annexation contended that America did not want territory aggrandizement. What was needed was the development and improvement of the country the American people now owned. From their point of view the United States was big enough already. If territory made a nation great then Russia would be the greatest of all and yet she was only a despotism. The anti-expansionists quoted Bryce<sup>37</sup> as saying that England could have had Hawaii had she wanted it, but she did not and at this time would not have it. If the object of the expansionists were to prevent a foreign power seizing Hawaii, the way to do this was to enter into treaties with the leading kingdoms and to guarantee

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<sup>33</sup> North American Review vol.157, pp.745-62.

<sup>34</sup> Speech by Mr. Alexander. Cong. Rec. 55th Cong. 2nd Sess pp. 5785-7

<sup>35</sup> Speech by Mr. Hitt Cong. Rec. 55th Cong. 2nd Sess., p. 5774.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Forum vol.24, pp.385-7.



the territory and independence of the Republic. The other method involved too many risks.

One of the strongest objections raised against annexation was racial in its nature. The experience of the people of America with the negro in politics has made many doubt the wisdom of including a large element of non-teutonic blood in their citizenship. According to figures quoted by Champ Clark,<sup>38</sup> the population of Hawaii in 1898 was divided as follows: 39,504 Hawaiians; 25,407 Japanese; 21,616 Chinese; 15,291 Portugese; 3,080 Americans; 2,250 British; and 1,432 Germans. As can be seen from the standpoint of the race which has done most to develop free institutions only about one-fifteenth of the population of the Sandwich Islands was suitable for real self government.<sup>39</sup> But even the teutons were centuries in learning the lesson and could these Islanders of another race become in a few years capable of being taken safely into the body of voters? To make Hawaii a part of the United States and refuse her people the right of participation in the government was held to be undemocratic and contrary to the principles on which the nation was founded. To give them the franchise would mean in turn that Hawaii would fall under the control of certain political leaders and would constitute the great American "rotten borough".

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<sup>38</sup> Cong. Rec. 55th Cong. 2nd. Sess.p.5789.

<sup>39</sup> This idea was advanced by many writers--see Nation vol. 56, p.96. or Cong. Rec. 55th Cong. 2nd Sess.pp. 5788,5776-7,6141.



Then over 21,000 of these people belonged to a race which was by law excluded from coming to the United States. If the Islands were annexed could the Chinese, citizens of a part of the nation, be prohibited from moving to another section of the same? There were some who thought not. This was one of the reasons which led the American Federation of Labor in its meeting held at Nashville in 1897 to protest against the passage of the treaty.<sup>40</sup> They saw in its triumph the defeat of their years of agitation for Asiatic exclusion.

Another argument against annexation was a confusion as to the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine. When the Holy Alliance threatened to restore the revolted colonies of Spain in the new world, President Monroe stated the attitude of the United States towards intervention in the Americas in that famous message of 1823. This idea as stated by Monroe was in many ways an old one, and yet one which the future would see expanded to fit many cases unthought of by its author. Broadly speaking, to many it has come to mean that the interests of the United States shall be recognized in the affairs of the new world, but with the problems of European countries America will not interfere. Up to 1898 this ideal had been followed with great consistency. Our expansion had been in the western hemisphere. The agitation for the admission of Hawaii

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<sup>40</sup> Letter from Mr. Gompers vol. 31, p. 6270 Cong. Rec.



now brought up the question whether this was a departure from the traditional policy.<sup>41</sup> The solution of course depended on the two parties reaching a common definition as to the status of the Monroe Doctrine in 1898.

The constitutional argument against annexation was also pressed. Ever since the Louisiana Purchase caused Jefferson to doubt the power of the United States to acquire territory every increase has raised this question. But while this furnishes a field for academic discussion, it might be doubted whether it appeals very much to the average citizen or voter. The fact that every addition since 1803 has had a precedent is sufficient for them. Never-the-less this argument was found in many papers and even presented in the debates in Congress. While some writers go so far as to claim all acquisition to be beyond the powers delegated to the national government, most of them try to formulate a theory which will explain the departures of the past. George T. Curtis says that before a territory can be legally incorporated or added to the domain of the nation it must be shown that it is contiguous and that its acquisition is absolutely necessary. To prove this he goes into an extended analysis of American expansion. While his argument fits in some cases better than in others, he finds no great difficulty until he comes to Alaska. Here he has to admit that

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<sup>41</sup> Congressional Record 55th Cong. 2nd Sess. pp. 5786-7



that it is not contiguous to the United States, but finds consolation in its being a portion of the mainland of North America. As to the absolute necessity he says: "The third precedent was the case of Alsaska. Alaska was purchased from Russia, the controlling reasons for its acquisition being: first, to prevent its annexation by any other power; and secondly, to secure certain rights in the Behring Sea, especially the right of catching seals."<sup>42</sup> After considering Hawaii he comes to the conclusion that annexation would be illegal. In the light of his own reasoning his critics urged that those Islands were as nearly contiguous as Alaska and the controlling reasons for their acquisition were: first, to prevent their annexation by any other power, as Japan; and secondly, to secure certain rights in the Pacific Ocean, especially those of military protection and commercial advantages.

D. Agnew in the Forum also discusses the constitutionality of the proposed treaty and comes to a like conclusion. He believes all increase of the national domain to be illegal, but says that some may be justified by an overruling necessity. In the case of Alaska he finds this to be: "The purchase was absolutely necessary to present a barrier to British schemes and British claims."<sup>43</sup> The reader can see how his own doctrine could be taken over by the advocates of the theory of

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<sup>42</sup> North American Review vol. 156, p. 284.

<sup>43</sup> Forum vol. 24, p. 461.



expansion.

Many other reasons were assigned why the people of the United States ought either to favor or oppose the further expansion of the nation. Some of these were charges of a political nature as: to give more Gold Standard senators, and to give McKinley three more votes in November 1900.<sup>44</sup> One accusation seems worthy of notice, however, and that was as to the position of the sugar growers and refiners.

In 1875, when the reciprocity treaty was being negotiated with Hawaii, the producers of cane sugar in the United States protested against its ratification. The objections raised were: that the treaty would greatly stimulate the production of sugar in Hawaii; that the industry would be developed by American capital which would otherwise be kept at home; and that it would mean eventual annexation to America.<sup>45</sup> In the twenty-five years following the importation into the United States of sugar from the Sandwich Islands increased over 3,000 percent. The other crops of Hawaii decreased in value until in 1896 sugar amounted to 96 percent of the entire export. Contract labor was introduced and Chinese and Japanese were forced to work on the plantations at a very low price. To this cheap cost of producing sugar the United States under the treaty suffered a loss from tariff duties from 1875 to 1900 of \$89,549,053.<sup>46</sup> This great increase in the

<sup>44</sup> Speech of Champ Clark, Congressional Record 55th Cong. 2nd Sess. page 5790.



amount of Hawaiian sugar did not cheapen the price to the consumer in America. According to the terms of the treaty only low grade unrefined sugar and molasses could be admitted free.<sup>47</sup> So before it was fit for table use it had to be refined. The refiners took the additional profit and even raised the price in the West higher than it was in the East where they had to compete with the importers from Europe. As can be seen this was a great help to the refiners in many ways: First, it gave them cheap unrefined sugar. Second, it protected them by a tariff from foreign sugar by bringing in competing sugar. These advantages were so apparent in the case of Hawaii that when Cuba later was freed from Spain, men in the pay of Mr. Havemeyer, who organized the sugar trust, tried to get Cuban sugar into the United States on exactly the same terms.<sup>48</sup> Whether or not the success of the plans of the refiners would have meant the crushing of the producers of sugar in America might be open to question, but there is little doubt of the position of the growers and refiners on the annexation of Hawaii.

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45 Dietrich History of Hawaiian Treaty and Cuban Reciprocity. Senate Document no. 206.

46 See July 1901 monthly report of the Treas. dep't.

47 Treaties and Conventions 1776-1887, p. 547.....  
 "muscavado, brown, and all unrefined sugar, meaning hereby the grades of sugar here-to-fore commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands and now known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as 'Sandwich Island sugar'; syrups of sugar cane, melado, and molasses; tallow."

48 Senate Document no. 206.



In 1893 one can see by the different attitudes of the Harrison and Cleveland administrations and the discussions in the press that the question of Hawaiian annexation had some political connections. From that time on this became more and more apparent. Most of those who favored expansion were Republicans and came from states strong in that faith. On the other hand the majority of their opponents were Democrats and came from the South. Like other issues of the day, however, there were numerous exceptions. Some of the strongest pro-annexation speeches were made by Democrats, while many Republicans, like Speaker Reed,<sup>49</sup> opposed the measure. The final vote as taken in the House of Representatives<sup>50</sup> and the Senate,<sup>51</sup> and its success under a Republican administration after its failure in a Democratic shows its political bearing. Two years later in 1900 the colonial expansion of the United States and the resulting increase in naval expenditure gave rise to the issue on which W. J. Bryan placed great emphasis, that of Imperialism.

As has been shown the war created a new desire for the possession of the Sandwich Islands. Whether from fear of not having the two-thirds required by the constitution for the ratification of treaties, or, as the friends of the plan alleged, that it was of such a nature as to come under the subjects which require a statute, the substance of the treaty was changed to the form of a joint resolution and passed the House by the vote of 209 to 91, 49 not voting. The Senate voted in the



affirmative 42 to 21, 26 refusing to vote. Among those in the Senate who refused to answer to their names were Aldrich of Rhode Island, Platt of New York, Tillman of South Carolina, Cockrell and Vest of Missouri.

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49 Reed's attitude can be seen in an articles written by him in the Review of Reviews, vol.17,p.77. This does not bring out his objections because of the tariff.  
50 Vote in the Senate in Cong. Rec. 55th Cong. 2nd. Sess page 6712.  
51 Vote in the House in Cong. Rec. 55th Cong. 2nd Sess pp. 6018-19.



## CHAPTER IV. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ANNEXATION.

As a natural conclusion to this thesis the significance of the acquisition of Hawaii ought to be pointed out and its connection with the great territorial and commercial expansion of the United States shown. The early colonial history was filled with the struggle between France and England for the possession of a continent. The separation of the colonies from England did not lessen this question. In fact during the Revolutionary War the rebelling states found time to quarrel over western lands, and this disagreement put off the ratification of the Articles of Confederation several years. Up to 1800 the problem was about the ownership and organization of the land east of the Mississippi river. Starting with 1803 the United States entered on an era of expansion which lasted to the Gadsen Purchase in 1853. This expansion although connected with other questions was mainly one of giving to the United States a natural boundary. Beyond the doubt as to its constitutionality the several territorial additions in no way gave the country a difficult colonial problem or caused any break in its traditions. The country was for the most part uninhabited and was of the same general character as the original domain of the United States. Great influence on the history of the nation, however, resulted.



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The next step in American territorial growth came in 1867 when Secretary Seward bought Alaska. This was largely a pet scheme of his and one with which many American people did not sympathize. This purchase was in some ways different from the additions which had been made to the national domain up to that time. All previous annexation or cessions to the United States had been of contiguous land, similar to the country to the east, and soon organized into territories preparatory to making states. Alaska while a part of the North American continent was separated from the main portion of the United States by a part of Canada. While it had very few inhabitants the climate and geographical conditions there were such as to forbid the probability of statehood in the near future. The problems connected with the administration, however, were so simple that it did not constitute a sharp break in the traditions of the country.

Except for President Grant's attempt to acquire Santo Domingo the movement presented no new new developments for over a quarter of a century. In 1893 the overthrow of the monarchy in Hawaii and the establishment of a provisional republic led to the negotiation of a treaty of annexation to the United States. President Cleveland's opposition to the treaty brought about its temporary defeat. In 1897 owing to a change of administrations and the war with Spain the treaty



was revived and after being changed to the form of a joint resolution was adopted.

Like Alaska, Hawaii was not contiguous territory. In fact the Sandwich Islands could hardly be called a part of the American continent. The Islands were inhabited by another race and the geographical conditions were very different from those of the United States. Was the annexation a departure from the policy of expansion held up to this time? In some respects it was a change. It could hardly be defended as necessary to complete the natural boundary of the United States. Neither was it acquired with the hope at any time in the near future of making it a state of the union. This shows that the United States has taken up the idea of a colonial empire. Yet this acquisition although different from past expansions is a part of the territorial growth that has been going on since the nations birth. Just what the results will be can not as yet be seen. The United States because of her ownership of Hawaii and the Philippines has become a factor in the Far East and will exercise a large influence in the settlement of the problems of the Orient.

No less marvelous is the commercial development of America. From a group of dependent colonies, living on the results of the production of certain agricultural commodities it has become one of the greatest trading nations of the world. While subject to Great Britain the colonies were required by law to obtain all of their manufactured goods from the mother



country. The attempt of England to press her commercial ideas was one of the causes of disagreement between her and the colonies. The early diplomatic struggles under the Confederation were largely over commerce, and the failure of the Confederation to meet this difficulty was one of the causes for the demand for a stronger union.

During the period between 1783 and 1812 America continued her economic dependence on Europe. There was a little manufacturing done but the states were almost entirely agricultural. Yet the commerce with the countries of Europe and the West Indies was very important. The Napoleonic struggles caused American trade to suffer greatly and it was in part due to the harassing of their commerce that brought on the war of 1812 with England. After 1812 manufacturing industries rapidly developed in the United States under the influence of a protective tariff. As these infant industries became stronger, they reached out for new markets. Treaties of commerce had been concluded with the important European countries, and representatives of the United States were sent to China and Japan to seek admission for its merchants.

As factories have increased their output the competition has become more and more keen. Large steamship lines have been subsidized in order to encourage trade with certain countries. There has been an entire occupation of Africa and the islands of the sea, and today one phase of the attempts to partition China might



be explained on this basis. Much of this land represents a deficit in the treasury of the governments of Europe, but their merchants reap advantages and better returns are expected in the future.

The best fields open to competition are Asia and South America. Their merchants and statesmen of America can see that it is to these countries and not to Europe that they must look for customers in the future. Hawaii from its size will never be important as far as its own commerce is concerned. The islands now support about all the inhabitants that they are capable of supporting. Their trade, now amounting to fifteen or twenty million dollars a year, will not increase much, for the best land there is all under cultivation. Their situation, however, gives them a strategic place in the world's commerce. Their possession together with the Philippines opens to American traders a gateway to the valuable and prized Asiatic trade. They mean to the United States what Hongkong means to England, French Indo-China to France or Kiauchau to Germany.

To students of actual government the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands is of great interest. Up to this annexation the land not included in the states was organized into territories which passed through a regular process towards statehood. Because of the large number of Asiatics in Hawaii a special type of government had to be provided. Hawaii has lately, however, been formed into one of the "organized ter-



ritories" and this is the first time that the American system has been extended to any people outside of the continent. As the voting qualifications are such as to excluded all of the Asiatic peoples this government has so far woked fairly well. Time alone will prove whether Anglo-Saxon institutions can thrive there.

Briefly summarized the Hawaiian annexation is only s step in the territorial and commercial expansion of the United States. It constitutes a break in the previous traditions but is a part of the same process. Commercially it represents the desire of the United States to participate in the commercial activity which is going on in the Pacific and the Far East.





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