surely of the first importance. nothing but the concealment of its , truth could induce our government to negotiate with the semblance of a government thus created nor could a treaty resulting from the acts stated in the protest have been knowingly deemed worthy of consideration

the senate. Yet the truth or falsity of the protest had not been investigated. I conceived it to be my duty therefore to withdraw the treaty from the senate for examination, and mean-while to cause an accurate, full, and impar-tial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional government of Hawaii and the in-stallment in its place of a provisional gov-

I selected for the work of investigation Hon. James H. Blount of Georgia whose services of eighteen years as a member of the house of representatives and whose experience as chairman of the com-mittee on foreign affairs in that body and his consequent familiarity with international topics, joined with his high character and honorable reputation, seemed to render him peculiarly fitted for the duties entrusted to him

Both President and Senate Misled. His report detailing his action under the instructions given to him and the conclusions derived from his investigation accompany this message. These conclusions do not rest for their acceptance entirely upon Mr. Blount's honesty and ability as a man nor upon his acumen and impartiality as an investigator. They are accompanied by the evidence upon which they are based, which evidence is also berewith transmitted and from which it seems to me no other

tions could possible be reached than those arrived at by the commissioner.

The report, with the accompanying proofs and such other evidence as is now before the congress or is herewith submitted. justifies in my opinion the statement that when the president was led to submit the treaty to the senate with the declaration that the overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this govern ment, and when the senate was induced to receive and discuss it on that basis both president and senate were misled.

Stevens' Hand in the Project.

The attempt will not be made in this com munication to touch upon all the facts which throw light upon the progress and consum-mation of this scheme of annexation. A very brief and imperfect reference to the and evidence at hand will exhibit its character and the incidents in which it had its birth. It is unnecessary to set forth the reasons which in January, 1893, led a considerable portion of the Americans and other foreign merchants and traders residing at Honelulu to favor the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. It is sufficient to note the fact and to observe that the project was one which was zealously prompted by the minister representing the United States in that country. He evidently had an ardent desire that it should be accomplished by his agency and during his ministry and was not onveniently scrupulous as to the means employed to that end.

Letter that Showed His Leanings. On the 19th day of November, 1892, nearly two months before the first over tact tending toward the subversion of the Hawaiian govment and the attempted transfer of the Hawaiian territory to the United States, he addressed a long letter to the secretary of state, in which the cause for annexation was elaborately argued on moral, political and onomical grounds. He refers to the loss the Hawaiian sugar interests from e operation of the McKinley bill and the tendency to the still further depreciation of sugar property unless some positive measure of relief is granted. He strongly inveighs against the existing Hawaiian government and emphatically declares for annexation. He says: truth the monarchy here is an al anachronism. It has nothing on which to logically or legitimately stand. The feudal basis on which it once stood, no longer ex-

isting, the monarchy now is only an impediment to good government, an obstruction to the prosperity and progress of the islands."

He further says: "As a crown colony of He further says: "As a crown colony of Great Britain or a territory of the United States the government modifications could be made readily and good administration of the laws secured. Destiny and the vast future interests of the United States in the Pacific ocean clearly indicate who at a distant day may be responsible for the govern-ment of these islands. Under a territorial government they could be as easily governed as any of the existing territories of the

United States. "Hawaii has reached the parting of the ways. She must naw take the road which leads to Asia or the other which outlets her in America, gives her an American civilization and binds her to the care of American

Annexation or Protectorate.

- He also declares: "One of two courses seems to me absolutely necessary to be followed either bold and vigorous measures for annexation or a customs union, an ocean cable from the California coast to Honolulu. Pearl harbor perpetually ceded to the United States, with an implied but not expressly stipulated protectorate over the islands. I believe the former to be the better course that which will prove the more advantage-ous to the islands and the cheapest and least embarrassing to the United States it was wise through Secretary Marcy, thirty eight years ago, to offer to expend \$100,000 to secure a treaty of annexation, it certainly cannot be chimerical or unwise to expend to secure annexation in the near Today the United States has five times the wealth she possessed in 1854, and much stronger than they were then. I cannot refrain from expressing the opinion, with emphasis, 'that the golden bour is at hand." These declarations certainly show a disposition and condition of mind which may be usefully recalled when interpreting the significance of the minister's conceded acts or when considering the probabilities of such conduct on his part as may not be admitted. Timely "Deviation."

In this view it seems proper to also quote a letter written by the minister to the secretary of state on the 8th day of March, 1892. nearly a year prior to the first step taken

toward appexation. After stating the possibility that the exist-ing government of Hawaii might be overturned by an orderly and peaceful revolution, Minister Stevens writes as follows: "Ordinarily, in like circumstances, the rule seems to be to limit the landing of the United States forces in foreign waters and domin-ions exclusively to the protection of the United States legation and of the lives and property of American citizens. But as the relations of the United States to Hawaii are exceptional, and in former years the United States officials here took somewhat exceptional action in circumstances of disorder, desire to know how far the present minister and naval commander may deviate from es tablished international rules and precedents to contingencies indicated in the first part of

His Cup of Joy Was Full. To a minister of this temper, full of zeal for annexation, there seemed to arise in January, 1893, the precise opportunity for which he was watchfully waiting, an oppor-

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tunity which, by timely deviation from established international rules and pre-cedents, might a improved to successfull established International accomplish the great object in view, and we are quite prepared for the exultant enthusi-asm with which in a letter to the department dated February 1, 1893, he declares:
"The Hawaiian pear is fully ripe and this is
the golden hour of the United States to
pluck it."

As a further illustration of the activity of

this diplomatic report, attention is called to the fact that on the day the above letter was written, apparently unable longer to re-strain his ardor, he issued a proclamation whereby, "in the name of the United States," he assumed the protection of the Hawaiian islands and declared that said action was "taken pending and subject to of course this assumption of a protectorate

was promptly overruled by our government, and the American flag remained over the building at Honolulu and the forces remained on guard only until April and after Mr. Blount's arrival on the scene when both were removed.

Committee of Safely Formed.

A brief statement of the occurrences that led to the subversion of the constitutional government in the interests of annexation to the United States will exhibit the true complexion of that transaction. On Saturday, January 4, 1893, the queen of Hawaii, who had been contemplating the preciamation of a new constitution, had, in deference to the wishes and remonstrances of her cabinet, renounced the project for the present at least. Taking this relin-quished purpose as a basis of action, citizens of Honolulu numbering from fifty to 100, mostly resident aliens, met in a private office and selected a so-called committee of safety, composed of thirteen persons, seven of whom were foreign subjects and consisted of five Americans, one Englishman and one German. This committee, though its signs were not revealed, had in view nothing less than annexation to the United States, and between Saturday, the 14th, and the following Monday, the 16th of January, though exactly what action they took may not be clearly disclosed, they were certainly in communication with the United States.

On Monday morning the queen and her cabinet made public a proclamation with a notice which was specially served upon the representatives of all governments that any changes in the constitution would be sought only in the methods provided by that instru-

Nevertheless, at the call and under the auspices of the committee of safety, a mass meeting of citizens was held on that day to protest against the queen's alleged illega and unlawful proceedings and purposes Even at this meeting the committee of safety continued to disguise their real purpose and contented themselves with procuring the passage of a resolution denouncing the queen and empowering the committee to derise means "to secure the permanent mainenance of law and order and the protection of life, liberty and property in Hawaii."

Asked for the Landing of the Forces. This meeting adjourned between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon. On the same day and immediately after such adjournment the committee, unwilling to take further steps without the co-operation of the United States minister, addressed a note representing that the public safety was menaced and that lives and property were in danger. The note concluded as follows: "We are unable to protect ourselves without aid and therefore pray for the protection of the United States forces." Whatever may be thought of the other contents of this note, the absolute truth of this latter statement is incon-testible. When the note was written and delivered the committee, so far as it appears, had neither a man nor a gun at its com-mand, and after its delivery they became so panic stricken at their position that they sent some of their number to interview the minister and request him not to land the United States forces until the next morning, but he replied that the troops had been ordered to land, and whether the committee was ready or not the landing should tak place. And so it happened that on the 16th day of January, 1893, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon, a detachment of marines from the United States steamer Boston, with two pieces of artillery, landed at Hono-lulu. The men, upwards of 160 in all, were supplied with double cartridge belts filled with ammunition and with haversacks and canteens, and were accompanied by a hospital corps with stretchers and medical sup-

Two Alternatives.

This demonstration upon the soil of Hono ulu was of itself an act of war unless made either with the consent of the government of Hawaii or for the bona fide purpose of protecting the imperiled lives and property of citizens of the United States. But there is no pretense of any such consent on the part of the government, for the queen at that time was indisputed both as de facto and de jure government. In poict of fact the existing government, instead of requesting the presence of an armed force, protested against it. There is as little basis for the pretense that such forces were landed for the security of American life and property. If so, they should have been stationed in the vicinity of such property and so as to protect it, instead of at a distance and so as to command the Hawaiian government building and palace. Admirat Skerrett, the officer in command of our naval forces on the Pacific station, has frankly stated that in his opinion the loca-tion of troops was inadvisable if they were landed for the protection of Americans, whose residences and places of business as well as the legation and the consulate were in a distant part of the city; but tocation selected was a wise one if the forces were landed for the purpose of supporting the provincial government. If any peril to hife and property, calling for any such ma-terial array had existed. Great Britain and other foreign powers interested would not have been behind the United States in their activity to protect their citizens.

Gave Their Hand Away.

But they made no sign in that direction. When these armed men were landed the city of Honolulu was in its customary orderly and peaceful condition. There was no symptom of riot or disturbance in any quarter. Men, women and children were about the streets as usual and nothing va ried the ordinary routine or disturbed ordinary tranquitity excepting the landing of the Boston's marines and their march through the town to the quarters assigned to them. Indeed the fact that after having alled for the landing of the United States forces on the plea of danger to life and prop erty, the committee of safety themselves requested the minister to postpone action exposed the untruthfulness of the representations of present peril to life and property. The peril they saw was an anticipation growing out of guilty intentions on their part, and something which though not then existing, they knew would certainly follow their attempt to overthrow the government of the queen without the sid of the United States forces. Thus it appears that Hawaii was taken possession of by the United States forces without the consent or wish of the government of the islands of

or wish of the government of the islands or anybody else so far as shown, except the United States minister.

Wholly Without Justification. Therefore the military occupation of Honolulu by the United States on the day mentioned was wholly without justification either as an occupation by consent or as an occupation necessitated by danger threatening American life and property. It must be accounted for in some way on other grounds. for its real motive and purpose are neither

obscure nor far to sees.

These forces being now on the scene and favorably stationed, the committee proceeded to carry out their original scheme. They met the next morning. Tuesday, the 17th, perfected the plan of temporary government and fixed upon its principal officers, ten of whom were drawn from the thirty members of the committee of safety. Between I and of the committee of safety. Between I and 2 o'clock, by squads and by different routes to avoid notice and having first taken the to avoid notice and having first taken the precaution of ascertaining there was no one to oppose them, they proceeded to the government building to proclaim the new government. No sign of opposition was manifest and thereupon an American citizen began to read the proclamation from the steps of the government building, almost entirely without auditors. It is said that before the reading was finished quite a concourse of persons, variously estimated at from fifty to 100, some armed and some unarmed, gathered about the committee to give them aid and confidence. This statement was not important, since the one conment was not important, since the one con-trolling factor in the whole affair was un-questionably the United States marines, who, drawn up under arms and with artil-lery in readiness, only seventy-six yards dis-tant, dominated the situation.

Suspiciously Sudden Recognition. The provisional government thus pro-

claimed was by the terms of the proclamation "to exist until the terms of union with the United States had been negotiated and agreed upon." The United States minister, pursuant to prior agreement, recognized this government within an hour after the reading of the proclamation, and before 5 o'clock, in answer to an inquiry in behalf of the queen and her cabinet, announced that he had done so. When our minister recognized the pro-visional government the only basis upon which it rested was the fact that the committee of public safety declared it to exist. It was heither a government de facto nor de jure. That it was not in such possession of government property and agencies as entitled it to recognition is conclusively proved by a note found in the files of the legation at Honolulu addressed by the declared head of the pro-visional government to Minister Stevens dated January 17, 1893, in which he acknowledged with expressions of appreciation the minister's recognition of the provisional government, and states that it is not in possession of the station (the place where a large number of the queen's troops were quartered), though the same had been de-manded of the queen's officers in charge. Lill's Embarrassing Position.

Nevertheless, this wrongful recognition by

ur minister placed the government of

ucen in a position of most perilous perplex ity. On the one hand she had posses of the palace, of the barracks and of police station and at her command at least 500 fully armed men and several pieces of artillery. Indeed, the whole military force of her kingdon, was on her side and at her disposal, while the committee of safety, by careful search, had discovered that there were but few arms in Honolulu that were not in the service of the government. In this state of things, if the queen could have dealt with the insurgents alone, her course would have been plain and the result un-But the United States had allied herself with her enemies, had recogallied herself with her enemies, had recognized them as the true government of Hawaii, and put her in the position of opposition against lawful authority. She knew that she could not withstand the power of the United States, but she believed that she might safely trust to its justice. Accordingly, some hours of the trust of the power of the control of the complex of the trust of the recognition of the complex of the ngly, some hours after the recognition of ingly, some hours after the recognition of the provisional government by the United States minister, the palace barracks and the police station, with all the military resources of the coun-try, were delivered up by the queen upon the representation made to her that the matter would be thereafter reviewed at Washington and while protesting that she Washington, and while protesting that she surrendered to the superior force of the United States, whose minister ordered United States troops to be landed at Hono-lulu and declared that he would support the provisional government, and that she vielded her authority to prevent a collision of armed forces and loss of life, and only until such time as the United States, upon the fact being presented to it, should understand the action of its representative and reinstate her in the authority she claimed as the con-stitutional sovereign of the flawaiian islands.

This protest was delivered to the chief of the provisional government, who endorsed on his acknowledgement of its receipt The terms of the protest were read withou dissent by those assuming to constitute the provisional government, who were certainly charged with the knowledge that the queen instead of finally abandoning her power, had appealed to the justice of the United States for reinstatement in authority; and yet the provisional government, with this unanswered protest in its hand, hastened to negotiate with the United States for the permanent banishment of the queen from power and for a sale of her kingdom. Our country was in danger of occupying the posi-tion of having actually set up a temporary government on foreign soil for the purpose of acquiring through that agency the terri-

Her Protests Unheeded.

possession.

The control of both sides of a bargain acquired in such a manner is called by a familiar and unpleasant name when found in private transactions. We are not with-out a precedent showing how scrupulously we avoided such accusations in former days.

tory which we had wrongfully put in our

Texas as a Precedent. After the people of Texas had declared their independence of Mexico they resolved that, on the acknowledgement of their independence by the United States, they would seek admission into the United States. al months after the battle of Jacinto, when Texas independwas practically assured and speed, President Jackson decl to recognize it, alleging as one of his reasons that in the circumstances it became us "to beware of a too early movement, as it might subject us, however unjustly, to the imputation of seeking to establish the claim of our neighbors to a territory with a view to its subsequent acquisition by ourselves." This is in marked contrast with the hasty recognition of a government openly set up for the purpose of tendering to us territorial annex-

I believe that a candid and thorough examination of the facts will force the conviction that the provisional government owes its existence to an armed invasion by the United States. Fair-minded people, with the evidence before them, will hardly claim that the Hawaiian government was over-thrown by the people of the islands or that that the provisional government has ever existed with their consent. I do not under stand that any member of this government claims that the people would uphold it by their suffrages if they were allowed to vote

Our Course in South America. While naturally sympathizing with the efwhile naturally sympathizing with the ef-fort to establish a republican government, it is the settled policy of the United States to concede to people of foreign countries the same freedom and independence in the man-agement of their domestic affairs, that we have always claimed for ourselves, and it has been our practice to recognize revoluhas been our practice to recognize revolutionary governments as soon as it became apparent that they were supported by the people. For illustration of this rule, I need only refer to the revolution in Brazil in 1880, when our minister was instructed to recognize the republic so soon as a majority of the people of Brazil should have signified their assent to its establishment and maintenance; to the revolution in Chili in 1891, when ou minister was disposed to recognize the new government if it was accepted by the people and to the revolution in Venezuela in 1893, when our recognition was accorded on condition that the new government was fully established in power of the nation and accepted by the people.

Every Move Made with Our Aid.

As I apprehend the situation, we are brought face with the following conditions: The lawful government of Hawaii was over-thrown without a drawing of the sword or the firing of a shot, by a process every ster of which it may safely be asserted is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States government through its diplomatic and naval

presentatives.
But for the notorious predilections of the United States minister for annexation the committee of safety, which should be called he committee of annexation, would never

have existed.

But for the landing of the Unted States forces upon the false pretexts respecting the danger to life and property the committee would have exposed themselves to the pains and penalties of treason by undertaking the subversion of the queen's government.

But for the presence of the United States forces in the immediate vicinity and in a

forces in the immediate vicinity and in a position to afford all needed protection and support, the committee would not have proclaimed the provisional government from the steps of the building; and, finally, but for the lawless occupation of Honolulu under false pretexts by the United States forces, and but for Minister Stevens recognition of the provisional government when the United States forces were its sole support and constituted its only military strength, the queen and her government would never have yielded to the provisional government even for a time and for the sole purpose of submitting her case to the enlightened justice of the United States.

Annexation Treaty Shelved.

Annexation Trenty Shelved. Betieving, therefore, that the United States cannot annex the islands without justly incurring the imputation of acquiring them by unjustifiable methods, I shall not again subject the treaty of annexation to the senate for its consideration, and in the communication to Minister Willis, a copy of which accompanies this message, I have directed him to so inform the provisional government.

But in the present instance our duty does mot, in my opinion, end with refusing to con-summate this questionable transaction. It has been the boast of our government that it seeks to do justico in all things without

regard to the strength or weakness of them with whom it deals? I mistake the Ameriwith whom it dears. I mistake the American people if they dayor 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 week one, and that even by indirections attrong power may with impunity despoil a weak one of its territory. By an act of war committed with the particle of the day of the committed with the particle of the day of the committed with the particle of the committed with the ticipation of a diplomatic representative of the United States, and without consent of congress a government of a feeble but friendly and confiding beople has been over-thrown. A substantial wrong has thus been

done, which a due regard for our national character, as well as the right of the in-jured people, required that we should en-Merely an Arbitrary Oligarchy.

The provisional government has not assumed a republican or other constitutional form, but has remained a mere executive council or oligarchy set up without the as council or oligarchy set up without the as-sent of the people. It has not seen fit to find a permanent basis of popular support and has given no evidence of an intention to do so. Indeed, the representatives of that government assert that the people of Hawaii are unfit for popular government and frankly avow that they can best be ruled by arbi-trary or describ rowers.

trary or despotic power.

The law of nations is founded upon reason and justice and the rules of conduct governing individual citizens or subjects of a civil-ized state are equally applicable as between enlightened nations. The considerations enlightened nations. The considerations that international law is without a court in its enforcement and that obedience to its commands practically depends upon good faith instead of upon the mandate of a superior tribunal only give additional sanction to the law itself and brand any deliberate infraction of it not merely as a wrong but as disgrace. A man of true honor pro-tects the unwritten word, which binds his conscience more scrnpulously, if possible than he does the bond, a breach of which subjects him to legal liabilities, and the United State, in alming to protect itself as one of the most enlightened nations, would do its citizens a gross injustice if it applied

to its international relations any other than a high standard of honer and morality. On that ground the United States cannot properly be put in the position of counte-nancing a wrong after its commission any more than in that of consenting to it in ad-vance; on that ground it cannot allow itself to refuse to redress an injury inflicted through an abuse of power by officers clothed with its authority and wearing its uniform; and on the same ground, if a feeble but a friendly state is in danger of being robbed of independence and its sovereignty by a misuse of the power of the United States, the United States cannot fail to vindicate its honor and its sense of justice by an earnest effort to make all possible repara-

Conditions of the Surrender.

These principles apply to the present case with irresistible force when the special con-ditions of the queen's surrender of her sov-ereignty are recalled. She surrendered, not to the provisional government, but to the United States. She surrendered, not absolutely and permanently, but temporarily and conditionally, until such time as the fac-could be considered by the United States. Furthermore, the provisional government acquiesced in her surrender in that manner and on those terms, not only by tacit consent, but through the positive assurance of some members of the government, who urged her peaceable submission, not merely to avoid bloodshed, but because she could place implicit reliance upon the justice of the United States and that the whole sub ject would be finally considered at Wash

I have not, however, overlooked an inci-dent of this unfortunate affair which re-mains to be mentioned. The members of the provisional government and their supporters, though not entitled to extreme sympathy, have been led to their present predicament of revolt against the government of the queen by the indefensible encouragement and queen by the indefensible encouragement and assistance of our diplomatic representative. This fact may entitle them to claim that in every effort to rectify the wrong some regard should be had for their safety. This sentiment is strongly seconded by my anxiety to do nothing which would invite either harsh relation on the part of the queen or violence and bloodshed in any quarter.

Policy of Restoration. In the belief that the queen, as well as her enemies, would be willing to adopt such a course as would meet with these conditions, and in view of the fact that both the queen and the provisional government had at one time apparently acquiesced in a reference of the entire case to the United States government, and considering the further fact that in any event the present govern-ment by its own declared limitation was only to exist "until terms of annexation with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon." I hoped that after the assurance to the members of that government that such union could not

e consummated I might compass a peaceful adjustment of the difficulty. Actuated by these desires and purposes and not unmindful of the inherent perpiexities of the situation nor of the limitations ipon my power, I instructed Minister Willis to advise the queen and her supporters of ny desire to aid in the restoration of the status existing before the lawlessness of the forces at Honolulu on the 16th of January last, if such restoration could be effected terms providing for clemency vell as justice to all parties med. The conditions suggested, as the last instructions show, contemplate a general amnesty to those concerned in the provisional government and a recognition of all its bona fide acts and obtigations. In short, they require that the past should be buried and that the restored government should resume its authority as if the conti-nuity had not been interrupted.

His Plans Prove a Failure.

These conditions have not proven acceptable to the queen, and though she has been informed that they will be insisted upon, and that unless acceded to the efforts of the president to aid in the restoration of her government will cease, I have not thus far her acquiescence. The check which may plans have thus encountered has prevented their presentation to the members of the provisional government, while unfortunate misrepresentations of the situation, and the exaggerated statements of the sentiments of our people, have obviously injured the prospects of successful executive mediation.

I therefore submit this communication with the accompanying exhibits, embracing Mr. Blount's report, the evidence and statements taken by him at Honolulu, the in-structions given to both Mr. Blount and Minister Willis and correspondence connected with the affair in nand.

In commending this subject to the ex-tended powers and wide discretion of the congress, I desire to add the assurance that I shall be much gratified to co-operate in any legislative plan, which may be devised for the solution of the problem before us, which is consistent with American honor, integrity EXECUTIVE MASSION WAShington, Dec.

Held Back, Willis' Mossage.

In his letter of transmission to the senate, President Cleveland, states that under the clause in the resolution of inquiry for the correspondence which allowed nim to withold such matters as he considered incompatible with the spablic welfare, he has retained the message received by the State department from Minister Willis. At 1 o'clock the reading of the first message was finished in the senate, and the second message in answer to the request for correspondence was begun.

Messrs. Chandler and Hoar asked for Willis' instructions but the democratic sen ators objected to absorpeding of Willis' in-structions in any shape except in regular Mr. Butler of South Carolina moved to

refer the papers to the committee on foreign relations, which, after debate, was held to be in order. Mr. Chandler debated the motion and discussed the president's message Instructions to Willis.

The original instructions to Mr. Willis, dated October 18, 1833, are as follows:
"Supplementing the general instructions which you have received with regard to your official duties, it is necessary to communi-cate to you is confidence special instructions for your guidance, insofar as concerns rela-tions of the government of the United States as toward the de facto government of States as toward the de facto government of the Hawaiian islands. The president deems it his auty to withdraw from the senate the treaty of annexation which has been signed by the secretary of state and agents of the provisional government, and to dispatch a trusted representative to Hawaii to impar-tially investigate the causes of the so-called revolution, and ascertain and report on the

true situation in the islands. This informa tion was needed the better to enable the president to discharge a delicate and portant public duty.

portant public duty.

'The instructions given to Mr. Blount, of which you are furnished a copy, had a line of conduct to be observed by him in his oft and personal relations to the islanders, by which you will be guided so far as they are applicable, and in consistence with which it is herein stated. It remains to acquaint you with the president's conclusions upon the facts embodied in Mr. Blount's report, and to direct your course in accordance theredirect your course in accordance there Had Guaranteed Justice.

"The provisional government was not entablished by the Hawaiian people with entablished by the Hawaiian people with their consent or acquiescence, nor has it since existed with their consent. The queen refused to surrender her power to the provisional government until con-vinced that the minister of the United States had recognized it as the de facto authority, and would support and defend it with the military force of the United States and that resistance would pre cipitate a bloody conflict with that force

She was a dvised and assured by her minis ters and by the leaders of the movement for the overthrow of her government that if she afterwards be thoroughly considered by the president of the United States. The queen finally and wisely yielded to the armed forces of the United States, quartered in Honolulu, relying upon the good faith and honor of the president, when informed of what had occurred, to undo the action of the minister and reinstate her and the authority which she claimed as the constitutional soy

ereign of the Hawaiian islands. Treaty Was Finally Withdrawn.

"After a patient examination of Mr. Blount's report the president is satisfied the movement against the queen, if not initiated, was encouraged and supported by the rep-resentative of this government at Honolulu; that he promised in advance to assist her enemies in any effort to overthrow the Hawaiian government and set up by force a new government in its place, and that he kept those promises by causing a detach-ment of troops to be landed from the Boston on the 16th day of January and by recognizing the provisional government the next day which was too feeble to defend itself, and successfully maintain its authority against any threatening force, other than that of the United States already landed. The president is, therefore, determined that he will not send back to the senate for its ac-tion thereon the treaty which he withdrew from that body for further consideration on March 9, last.

To'd to Tell the Queen.

"On your arrival you will take advantage of the earliest opportunity to inform the queen of this. Make known to her the president's policy regarding the irresponsible conduct of the American minister and the presence on land of the United States forces. Advise her of the desire of this government to do justice and to undo this wrong. You will, however, at the same time inform the queen that the president expects that sne will extend amnesty to all who were against her, including all who were connected with the provisional government. with the provisional government, depriving them of no right or privilege. Having secured the queen's agreement to pursue this policy, you will advise the executive of the provisional government and his ministers of the president's determination of this question which their action and that of the queen devolved upon him, and that they are expected to promptly restore her constitutional authority. Should the queen decline to pursue the course suggested, or should the provisional government refuse to should the provisional government refuse to await further instructions.

Mr. Gresham telegraphed to Minister Willis through the dispatch agent under date of November 24: "The bravity of your telegrams is embarrassing. You will insist upon all amnesty and recognition of obligations of the provisional government as essential conditions of restor-tion. All interests will be promoted by

Gresnam's Last Instructions.

Mr. Gresham to Mr. Willis, telegram: DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, Dec. 3, 1893.—Your dispatch, which was received by steamer on the 25th of November, seems to call for additional instructions. Should the queen the refuse to assent to the written condions, voi cease interposition in her behalf, and while he deems it his due to endeavor to restore her as the sovereign, the constitutional government of the islands, his further efforts in that direction will depend upon the queen's unqualified agreement that all obligations created by the provis-ional government, in a proper course of ad-ministration, shall be assumed and upon by her as will prevent adoption of any measures of proscription or punishment for what has been done in the past by those setting up or supporting the provisional government. The president that by our original ference, have incurred responsibility to the whole lawaiian community and it would be unjus to put one party at the mercy of the other Should the queen ask whether, if she accedes to the condition, active stops would be taken by the United States to effect her restoration or to maintain her authority hereafter, you will say that the president cannot use force without the authority of congress. Should the accept conditions and the provisional gov

ernment refuse to surrender you will be gov erned by previous instructions. If the provisional government asks whether e United States will hold the queen to the fulfillment of the stipulated condi-tions, you will say that the presi-dent, acting under dictates of honor and duty, as he has done in endeavoring to affect restoration, will do all in his constitutional power to cause observance of the conditions he has imposed. GRESHAM.

DEPARTMENT CORRESPONDENCE.

it is Submitted to Congress-A Few Ex-

pressions on the Subject. WASHINGTON, Dec. 18 .- The State depart ment correspondence on the Hawaiian question, which was submitted today, is an unniense volume of official dispatches, a part of which has already been published. Under date of July 26, 1889, Minister Merrill gives confidential information of a plot of halfcaste natives to depose King Kalakaua and proclaim Liliuokalani queen. This is what afterwards developed into the abortive Wilcox revolution of the same year. Under date of November 6, 1889, Secretary Blaine transmitted to Minister Stevens the report of Admiral Kimberly on the uneasiness of the natives, dissatisfied with the new con stitution, which had been wrung from Kalakaua, and their fear of future aggression by the whites. The admiral recommends that a man-of-war be kept at Honolum during the February elections. On the same date Secretary Blaine asks Secretary Tracy to have a force in the Hawaiian waters.

Stevens Begins His Argument.

Under date of March 2, 1890, Minister Stevens begins his series of arguments for some decisive steps to be taken by the United States to insure the influence over the islands, long considered its right and duty. In February, 1891. Minister Stevens reports having gone to the British commis-sioner to advise the king against efforts he sioner to advise the king against efforts he was making to change the constitution. The advice was effective. The succeeding portions of the correspondence were transmitted to the senate by President Harrison with the annexation treaty and have already been published. After Minister Stevens' dispatch of March 8, 1892, in which he asks for instructions in the event of another insurrection by the Wilcox party, then threatening, is the note: "No answer was found to this dispatch." to this dispatch.

In the dispatch of April 2, 1892, Minister Stevens said: "The annexation sentiment is growing rapidly and would carry all before it, providing they could get any en-couragement that the United States would take the islands as a territory." On November 8, 1892, Minister Stevens re-ported to Secretary Foster that the Ameri-can party had won the ascendancy after a

prolonged struggle.
The portion of the correspondence detail ing the events of the revolution of last January and Minister Stevens' arguments for granting the request of the provisional government for annexation, are already plished, as is that of President flarrison

President Dole, acknowledging the provisional governi Under date of March 24, Minister Stevens

eports to Secretary Gresbam on the of the Japanese to secure control of the gov ernment.
The correspondence from Commissioner Blount, the substance of which has already been published, is also transmitted.

Willis' Arrival.

Minister Willis reports his arrival, and November II he transmits confidential letters to Secretary Gresham. He expected to in-terview the queen and has assured the British commissioner that the queen would be protected from any attempt at assassina-tion, and the next Monday he would insist upon her coming to the legation. He re-norted that the town is in a state of excite-ment. His telegram of November 16, which called out the changed instructions in the State department, rea is as follows: of first party so extreme as to require further instructions." First party, of course, re-ferring to the ex-queen.
Under date of November 8 Minister Willis

reports that Mr. Damon, minister of finance, had called to detail rumors of trouble on the

morrow—Kalakaua's birthday.
"In view of these facts, I thought it prop: n an informal way to make public the fact that there would be no decisive action taken by our government for three or four weeks, or until I had heard from Washington. i also thought it proper, with the private knowledge and consent of all factions, to say that mob violence would not be allowed dur ing the interval."

The last enclosure of the correspondence is the letter from Minister Thurston to Secre-tary Gresham, dated December 5. Mr. Thurston claims for the provisional govern ment that it is a duly organized and fully recognized and independent government He denies that the provisional government has submitted to the president the power to arbitrate the case as between itself and Queen Liliuokalaut. He complains that his government has received no notice that it was on trial for its life, and has had no chance to bring witnesses to refute those of Mr. Blount. He argues that the provisional government in its proclamation has fixed no termination for itself but annexation, and denies it can be said to terminate with the refusal of annexation. If the United States representatives exceeded their power in the islands, that confers no power in the United States government to again do the same, and if the ex-queen abdicated under the belief that the provisional government was to submit to the arbitration of the United States, that does not confer jurisdiction on the United States without the consent of the provisional government.

Cleveland's Remarks.

In transmitting the Hawaiian correspond ence to the house of representatives President Cleveland said: "In compliance with a resolution of the house I hereby transmit a report, with copies of the instructions given to Mr. Albert S. Willis, the repre sentative of the United States now in the Hāwaiian islands, and also the correspond ence since the 4th day of March, 1889, con cerning the relations of this government to those islands. In making this communica tion I have withheld only a dispatch from the former minister to Hawaii, No. 70, under date of October 8, 1892, and a dispatch from the present minister, No. 3 under date of November 16, 1893, because in my opinion, the publication of these two papers would be incompatible with the pul ic interests.'

The dispatch of November 16, 1893, i without doubt the detailed information o the developments which prompted Minister Willis' telegraphic dispatch of the same dat to Secretary Gresham, on which is based the order to suspend instructions.

From Secretary Herbert. Secretary Herbert submits a mass of

correspondence from naval officers in command of the United States naval forces at Hawaii. It goes back to July, 1889, and is rought down to Admiral Irwin's brief confi iential dispatch of December 4 to Mr. Herbert, telling him the provisional govern-ment had 1,000 men under arms.

On January 18 Captain Wiltze makes his report on the uprising and the landing of marines and sailors of the Boston under his

command. He says: "On January 16 there command. He says: "On January 16 there was a large and enthusastic mass meeting, composed of representative men in Honolulu, held in the largest hall in the city at 2 p. m. On the same day I received from United States Minister Stevens a request to land tect the United States legation, consulate and the lives and property of American citizens. At 4:80, January 16, I landed the ship's battalion, under command of Lieutenant Swinebury. One detachment of marine was placed at the legation and one at the consulate, while the main body of men, with two pieces of artillery, were quartered in hall in a central location near the govern

ment buildings. '
The text of Minister Stevens' letter to Captain Wiltze of January 16, 1893, asking him to land the troops, was as follows: "In view of the existing critical circumstances, indicating an inadequate legal force, I re quest you to land marines and sailors from the ship under your command for the pro-tection of the United States legation and the United States consulate and to secure the safety of American life and property.'

Had Established Its Government. Captain Wiltze then recites that the provisional government was established, the pueen dethroned and the new authorities ecognized by the United States minister. Captain Wiltze reports to the secretary of the navy, under date of February 5, that the islands had been placed under the protection f the United States by formal declaration

f Minister Stevens. On February 14, 1893, Secretary Tracy re ceived a letter from Secretary John Foster stating that the latter had telegraphed Min-ister Stevens commending his action, "so far as it lies within the scope of standing in structions to the legation and the naval connanders in Hawaiian waters, but disavow ing in so far as it may appear to overstep the limit by setting the authority of the United States above that of the Hawaiian govern ment.

On April 17 Admiral Skerett, then in com mand, reports that he hauled down the United States flag from the government building by order of Mr. Blount. He says there was no expression from the citizens.

Opinions on the action of the president are not very freely expressed by senators and representatives, most of them preferring to wait until they have heard the message and correspondence in detail.

A Few Expressions.

Senator Chandler said: "I think it is dis ngenious, and the weakness of the presi lent's plan is found in the fact that he at ributes the failure to restore the queen t her refusal to grant amnesty, whereas she decimed to accept restoration because she rould not be assured of the support of the United States troops. This she was to know, but the information was to be withheld from the provisional government. This policy is one which will not appeal to the sense of fair play of the American people."
Senator Hansbrough said: "I regard it as a complete backdown on the part of the

dministration. Senator Peffer said: "I think when the case of Hawaii was submitted to the United States government it was done by and through an established government, represented by officers, and it is now too late for us to inquire what was the manner of establishing that government."

Mr. Springer, democrat, of Illinois said:

CONTINUED ON EIFTH PAGE.



So small is the chance of failure, with Dr. Sage's Catarrh Remedy, that its proprietors are willing to make this promise: "If we can't cure your Catarrh, no matter how bad your case is, we'll pay you \$500 in cash."

BRILLIANT HOLIDAY DISPLAY

Magnificent Showing of Presents that May Be Put to Practical Use.

POINTERS FOR WOULD-BE PURCHASERS

An Establishment Where Christmas Gifte May Be Purchased Either for Cash or on Easy Payments Some thing Worth Considering.

To give a present is one thing, and to give omething that is useful, by which the giver will always be kindly remembered is an-other thing. In former years 900 out of every 1,000 presents on Christmas day were ound to be useless, but in the last few years uite a change has taken place and it is to be noticed in all the large stores that holi-day purchasers are selecting presents that are more useful and fewer "jimeracks" are

The great establishment of the People's Mammoth Installment house, 1315-1317 Far-nam street, is full to overflowing with an immense display of useful holiday presents. In the crockery department can be seen emonade sets, umbrella stands, chocolate sets, water sets, jardoniers, banquet and plano lamps, hanging lamps, dinner and tea sets, vases, bisque figures, shaving mugs, fancy cups and saucers, oyster and cake plates, fancy bread plates, and hundreds of other articles too numerous to mention. Just off articles too numerous to mention. Just off from the crockery department is the house furnishing department, where all the necessary utensils for the kitchen are displayed. All kinds of granite ware, the "everlasting," "never break" ware, one minute coffee pots, crumb trays and brushes, fancy rice boilers, copper toa kettles, copper wash boilers, flour cans, cake boxes, baking and

roasting pans, meat broilers, waffle irons, patent sad irons, etc. On the main floor are to be found blacking commodes, pictures, foot rests, cuspidores, and in the silveware department, which is also located on the main floor, there is shown as complete a stock of silverware as can be found in any of the exclusive jewelry stores, but at prices from 25 to 50 per cent less. Conspicuously displayed but at prices from 25 to 50 per cent less. Conspicuously displayed are castors, silver plated butter dishes, pickle dishes, silver plated sugars and creamors and creamers, nut crackers, silver plated orange spoons, 5 o'clock coffee spoons, cake baskets, pin trays, water bitchers, carving sets, clocks, toilet sets, plush work boxes,

aibums, shaving sets, etc.

Now, take the elevator to the second floor, where you will find the most beautiful as-sortment of parlor furniture that you ever saw. Plush reception chairs, leather rockers, leather easy chairs, plush and tapestry rockers, couches, mirrors, music cabinets, work stands, easels, screens, onyx tables, medicine cabinets, clock shelves, book cases, brass beds, triplicate mirrors, bevel mirrors, brass tables, plano chairs, gilt corner chairs, bam-boo chairs and rockers, conversation chairs, high chairs, children's rockers, cribs, floid-ing beds and hall racks.
On the third floor can be seen Smyrna rugs

of every description, from the smallest size to the largest size made; skin rugs, both lined and unlined; lace curtains, portiers, art squares, chenille and tapestry table covers. In fact this mammoth establishment is packed fuli of elegant and attractive articles suitable for Christmas presents.

Will Have Headquarters in Chicago. CHICAGO, Dec. 18 .- The American Bimetallie league has announced that it will open offices in Chicago. W. H. Harvey, proprietor of the journal Coin, has been made chairman of the executive committee, which will be in charge of the Chicago headquarters.

The Rugged Child

"outdoor" product. Fresh air and exercise usually produee sound appetite and sound sleep.

Sickly children obtain great benefit from

of cod-liver oil with Hypophosphites, a fat-food rapid of assimilation and almost as palatable as milk.

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doesn't buy what it
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2 Nights and 1 Matinese. Tuesday and Wednesday, December 19th and 20th.

RHEA Will present the following favorite plays

Tuesday evening JONEPHINE
Wednesday matinee. CAMILLE
Wednesday evening (New) QUEEN OF SHEBA Supported by a powerful dramatic company, including MR W. S. HART.

Notwithstanding the great expense of this engagement the prices will remain as usual—25c, 55c, 75c and \$1.00. The sale of seats will open Monday forenoon. 15th STREET THEATRE Popula

TONIGHT. The Still Alarm

MATINEE WEDNESDAY. 15th STREET THEATER PARILA

EXTRA.
Three Nights and Saturday Matin COMMENCING THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21 The Famous Ta-Ra-Ra LOTTIE COLLINS THE NEW BOSTON HOWARD ATHENAEUM