

HAWAIIAN DOCUMENTS

An Immense Amount of Printed Matter Sent to Congress.

Two Dispatches Suppressed for the Present By Mr. Cleveland—Substance of the Message Sent to the Senate and House—The President Gives Up the Task of Endeavoring to Restore the Monarchy in Hawaii—The Queen's Refusal to Promise Amnesty to Those Who Assisted in Her Overthrow Causes Him to Abandon His Plans.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—The immense bulk of correspondence accompanying the Hawaiian message sent in to congress by the president, including all the Blount exhibits, has constructively gone down to the government printing office to reappear in the shape of congressional documents. As a matter of fact, the great body of the correspondence is already in print, but the most interesting portions, namely, the recent correspondence and instructions, will be looked for with much interest.

The president in his supplemental message to the house makes mention of two documents that have been suppressed because their publication at this time was not deemed "compatible with the public interest," one a dispatch from the former minister to Hawaii (Mr. Stevens) of date October 8, 1892, and one from the present minister, (Mr. Willis) of date November 16, 1893. It is suggested that it was to this last dispatch that Secretary Gresham's supplemental instruction of December 31 refer as being "Your (Minister Willis) dispatch sent by steamer of 25th, of November" which "seems to call for additional instructions."

This, however, may not be the dispatch withheld as there appears to be too long an interval between its date and the sailing of the steamer. In any event the fact that no dispatch from Minister Willis, as far as can be discovered by hasty examination of voluminous documents, appears in the correspondence and the admitted fact that one at least of his dispatches is withheld from publication, increase the general anxiety to know exactly what Minister Willis did report to the state department.

The Hawaiian Message. The president in his message on the Hawaiian matter says in substance:

In my recent annual message to the congress I briefly referred to our relations with Hawaii and expressed the intention of transmitting further information on the subject when additional advice permitted.

Though I am not able now to report a definite change in the actual situation I am convinced that the difficulties lately erected both here and in Hawaii and now standing in the way of a solution through executive action of the problem presented, render it proper and expedient that the matter should be referred to the broader authority and discretion of congress, with a full explanation of the endeavor thus far made to deal with the emergency, and a statement of the considerations which have governed my action.

I suppose that right and justice should determine the path to be followed in treating this subject. If national honesty is to be disregarded and a desire for territorial extension, or dissatisfaction with a form of government not our own, ought to regulate our conduct, I have entirely misapprehended the mission and character of our government and the behavior which the conscience of our people demands of their public servants.

The Harrison Treaty Bill.

When the present administration entered upon its duties the senate had under consideration a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian islands to the territory of the United States. Surely under our constitution and laws the enlargement of our limits is a manifestation of the highest attribute of sovereignty, and if entered upon as an executive act, all things relating to the transaction should be clear and free from suspicion. Additional importance attached to this particular treaty of annexation, because it contemplated a departure from unbroken American tradition in providing for the addition to our territory of islands of the sea more than two thousand miles removed from our nearest coast.

These considerations might not of themselves call for interference with the completion of a treaty entered upon by a previous administration, but it appears from the documents accompanying the treaty when submitted to the senate, that the ownership of Hawaii was tendered to us by a provisional government set up to succeed the constitutional ruler of the islands, who had been deposed, and it did not appear that such provisional government had the sanction of either popular revolution or the Hawaiian people.

Two other remarkable features of the transaction naturally attracted attention. One was the extraordinary haste—not to say precipitancy—characterizing all the transactions connected with the treaty.

Between the initiation of the scheme for a provisional government in Hawaii on the 14th day of January and the submission to the senate of the treaty of annexation concluded with such government, the entire interval was thirty-two days, fifteen of which were spent by the Hawaiian commissioners in their journey to Washington.

Facts of Vital Importance.

In the next place, upon the face of the papers submitted with the treaty, it clearly appeared that there was open and undetermined an issue of facts of the most vital importance. The message of the president accompanying the treaty declared that "the overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this government," and in a letter to the

president from the secretary of state, also submitted to the senate with the treaty, the following passage occurs: "At the time the provisional government took possession of the government buildings, no troops or officers of the United States were present or took any part whatever in the proceedings. No public recognition was accorded to the provisional government by the United States minister until after the queen's abdication and when they were in effective possession of government buildings, the archives, the treasury, the barracks, the police station, and all the potential machinery of the government."

Protest of the Deposed Queen.

But a protest also accompanied said treaty, signed by the queen and her ministers at the time she made way for the provisional government, which explicitly stated that she yielded to the superior force of the United States, whose minister had caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support such provisional government.

The truth or falsity of this protest was surely of first importance. If true, 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 by 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 meanwhile to cause an accurate, full and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional government of Hawaii, and the installment in its place of the provisional government. I selected for the work of investigation the Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia, whose service of eighteen years as a member of the house of representatives and whose experience as chairman of the committee of 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 intrusted to him.

Review of the Situation.

President Cleveland submits the reports of Commissioner Blount, the features of which have already been given in these despatches, and reviews in detail the circumstances of the revolution which resulted in the establishment of the provisional government. Regarding Minister Stevens, the president says:

It is unnecessary to set forth the reasons in which in January, 1893, led a considerable proportion of American and other foreign merchants and traders residing at Honolulu 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 promoted by the minister representing the United States in that country. He evidently had an ardent desire that it should be a fact accomplished by his agency and during his ministry, and was not inconspicuously scrupulous as to the means employed to that end.

On the 19th day of November, 1892, nearly two months before the first overt act tending toward the subversion of the Hawaiian government and the attempted transfer of Hawaiian territory to the United States, he addressed a long letter to the secretary of state in which the case for annexation was elaborately argued on moral, political and economical grounds. He refers to the loss to the Hawaiian sugar interests from the operation of the McKinley bill, and the tendency to 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.

Zeal for Annexation.

Several letters of Minister Willis to the state department are quoted deprecating the monarchy, and showing what the president terms "zeal for annexation." As a further illustration of the activity of this diplomatic representative, attention is called to the fact that 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 negotiations at Washington." Of course this assumption of a protectorate was promptly disavowed by our government, but the American flag remained on the scene, and after Mr. Blount's arrival on the scene, when both were removed.

When our minister recognized the provisional government, the president continues, the only basis on which it rested was the fact that the committee of safety had declared it to exist. It was neither a government de facto nor de jure. That it was not in such possession of the government's property and agencies and several of its recognition is conclusively proved by a note found in the files of the legation at Honolulu addressed by the declared head of the provisional government to Minister Stevens, dated Jan. 17, 1893, in which he acknowledges with expressions of appreciation the minister's recognition of the provisional government, and states that it is not yet in the possession of the station house (the place where a large number of the queen's troops were quartered) though the same had been demanded of the queen's officers in charge. Nevertheless, this wrongful recognition by our minister placed the government of the queen in a position of most perilous perplexity. On the one hand she had possession of the palace, of the barracks, and of the police station, and had at her command and several five hundred fully armed men and several pieces of artillery. Indeed the whole military force of her kingdom was on her side and at her disposal, while the committee of safety, by actual search, had discovered that there were but very 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 unmistakable. But the United States had allied herself with her enemies, had recognized them as the true government of Hawaii and had put her and her adherents in the position of opposition against lawful au-

thority. She knew that she could not withstand the power of the United States, but she believed that she might safely trust to its justice.

Yielded Only to Force.

Accordingly, some hours after the recognition of the provisional government by the United States minister, the palace, the barracks and the police station, with all the military resources of the country, were delivered up by the queen upon the representation made to her that her cause would thereafter be reviewed at Washington, and while protesting that she surrendered to the superior force of the United States, whose minister had caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the provisional government, and that she yielded her authority to prevent collision of armed forces and loss of life and only until such time as the United States, upon the facts being presented to it, should undo the action of its representative and reinstate her in the authority she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian islands.

This protest was delivered to the chief of the provisional government, who endorsed thereon his acknowledgment of its receipt. The terms of the protest were read without 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 her authority, and yet the provisional government with this unavailing 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.

Sympathy With Republicans.

While naturally sympathizing with every effort to establish a republican form of government, it has been the settled policy of the United States to concede to people of foreign countries the same freedom and independence in the management of their domestic affairs that we have always claimed for ourselves; and it has been our practice to recognize revolutionary governments as soon as it became apparent that they were supported by the people.

As I apprehend the situation, we are brought face to face with the following conditions:

The lawful government of Hawaii was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot by a process, every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives.

But for the notorious predilections of the United States minister for annexation, the committee of safety which should be called the committee of annexation, would never have existed. But for the landing of the United States forces upon false pretenses respecting the danger to life and property, the committee would never 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 position to afford all needed protection and support the committee would not have proclaimed the provisional government from the steps of the government building.

President Cleveland's Conclusions. And finally, but for the lawless occupation of Honolulu under false pretenses 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.

Believing therefore, 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 instruction 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 not, in my opinion, and with refusing to constrictants this question-matter transaction. It has been the boast of our government that it seeks to do justice in all things without regard to the strength or weakness of those with whom it deals.

Reparation Advocate.

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 indirect or a strong power may with impunity despoil a weak one of its territory.

By an act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States, and without authority of congress, the government of a people has been overthrown. A substantial wrong has thus been done, which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair. The provisional government has not assumed a republican or other constitutional form, but has remained a mere executive council or oligarchy, set up with the assent of the people. It has not sought to find 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 be best ruled by arbitrary or despotic power.

The United States cannot allow itself to refuse to redress an injury inflicted through an abuse of power of officers clothed with its authority and wearing its uniform, and on the same ground, if a feeble but friendly state is in danger of being robbed of its independence and its sovereignty by a misuse of the name and 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 reparation.

These principles apply to the present case with irresistible force when the

special conditions of the queen's surrender of her sovereignty 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 facts 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 acts of some members of that government who urged her peaceful submission, not merely to avoid bloodshed, but because she could place implicit reliance upon the justice of the United States.

What Has Been Done.

I have not, however, overlooked an incident of this unfortunate affair which remains 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 assistance of our diplomatic representative. This fact may entitle them to claim that in our effort to rectify the wrong committed some regard should be had for their safety. This sentiment is strongly seconded by my anxiety to do nothing which would invite either harsh retaliation on the part of the queen or violence and bloodshed in any quarter. In the belief that the queen, as well as her enemies, would be willing to adopt such a course as would meet 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 provisional government by its own declared limitation was only "to exist until terms of union 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 be consummated I might compass a peaceful adjustment of the difficulty.

The Queen Refuses Terms Proposed.

Actuated by these desires and purposes, and not unmindful of the inherent perplexities of the situation nor of the limitations of 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 providing for clemency as well as justice to all parties concerned.

The conditions suggested, as the instructions show, contemplated a general amnesty to those concerned in setting up provisional government and a recognition of all its bona fide acts and obligations. In short, they require that the past should be buried, and that the restored government should reassume its authority as if its continuity had not been interrupted. These conditions have not proved 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 learned that she is willing to yield them her acquiescence. The check which my plans have thus encountered has prevented their presentation to the members of the provisional government, while unfortunate public misrepresentations of the situation and exaggerated statements of the sentiments of our people have obviously injured the prospects of successful executive mediation.

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

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

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Instructions to Willis.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—The material points contained in Secretary Gresham's letter to Mr. Willis, October 18, are as follows: The provisional government was not established by the Hawaiian people or with their consent.

The president is satisfied that the movement against the queen if not instigated was encouraged and supported by the representative of this government at Honolulu.

The president is therefore determined that he will not send back to the senate for its action thereon the treaty which he had withdrawn from the body for further consideration on the 9th of March last.

On your arrival at Honolulu you will take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the queen of this determination, making known to her the president's regret that the reprehensible conduct of the American minister and the authorized presence on land of the military force of the United States, obliged her surrender her sovereignty for the time being and to rely on the justice of this government to undo the flagrant wrong done to her.

You will, at the same time, inform the queen that when reinstated the president expects that she will pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, including the persons who are, or have been, officially or otherwise, connected with the provisional government, depriving them of no right or privilege enjoyed before the so-called revolution.

Having secured the queen's agreement to pursue this wise and humane policy, which we believe you will readily obtain, you will then advise the president of the provisional government and his ministers of the president's determination of the question, which their action and that of the queen devolved upon him, and that they are expected to relinquish to her promptly her constitutional authority.

Should the queen decline to pursue the liberal course suggested, or should the provisional government refuse to abide by the president's decision, you will report the facts and await further instructions.



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AUDITOR'S NOTICE.—Court of common pleas of Luzerne county. John D. Hayes, trustee, vs. Bertha A. Grimes, No. 250, December term, 1893. The undersigned, an auditor appointed by the court of common pleas of Luzerne county to distribute the proceeds of sheriff's sale of personal property of the defendant, to and among the parties entitled thereto, hereby gives notice that he will attend to the duties of his appointment at the office of John D. Hayes, 25 Centre street, Freeland, Pa., on Friday, January 12, 1894, at 10 o'clock a. m., at which time and place all persons interested are notified to appear and present their claims, or else be forever debarred from coming in on said fund.

AUDITOR'S NOTICE.—No. 193, June sessions, Luzerne county. In re annexation to the borough of Freeland of adjacent territory. The undersigned, an auditor appointed by the court of quarter sessions of the peace of Luzerne county to ascertain and adjust the indebtedness of Freeland borough, township of Foster and the school districts therein, and make report to the said court according to the provisions of the act of general assembly of Pennsylvania, approved first day of June, A. D. 1887, hereby gives notice that he will attend to the duties of his appointment at the office of John D. Hayes, Esq., attorney at law, No. 25 Centre street, Freeland, Pa., on Friday, December 29, 1893, at 10 a. m., at which time and place all parties interested may appear if they see proper.

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