

HIS DEFENSE.

[Continued from First Page.]

she possessed in 1854 and reasons now existing for annexation are much stronger than they were then. I cannot refrain from expressing the opinion with emphasis that the golden hour is near at hand.

STEVENS CRITICIZED.

These declarations 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.

In this view it seems proper to quote from 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 toward annexation. After stating the possibility that the government of Hawaii might be overthrown by a peaceful revolution, Minister Stevens writes as follows: "Ordinarily, in like circumstances, the rule seems to be to limit the landing and movement of the United States forces in foreign waters and dominion 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, I desire to know how far the present minister and naval commander may deviate from established international rules and precedents in contingencies indicated in the first part of this dispatch."

To a minister of this temper, full of zeal for annexation, there seemed to arise in January, 1893, the precise opportunity for which he had been watchfully waiting, an opportunity which by timely "deviation from established international rules and precedents" might be improved to successfully accomplish the great object in view; and we are quite prepared for the exultant enthusiasm which a letter to the state department, dated February 1, 1893, he declares "the Hawaiian year is now fully ripe and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it."

As a further illustration of the activity of this diplomatic representative attention is called to the fact that on the day the above letter was written, apparently unable longer to restrain 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 negotiations at Washington."

Of course this assumption of a protectorate was promptly disavowed by our government, but the American flag remained over the government building at Honolulu and the forces remained on guard until after April, and after Mr. Blount's arrival on the scene, when both were removed. A brief statement of the occurrences that led to the subversion of the constitutional government of Hawaii in the interests of annexation to the United States will exhibit the true complexion of that transaction.

On Saturday, January 14, 1893, the queen of Hawaii, who had been contemplating the proclamation 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 relinquished purpose as a basis of action, citizens of Honolulu, numbering from fifty to one hundred, mostly resident aliens, met in a private office and selected a so-called committee of safety, composed of fifteen persons, seven of whom were foreign subjects, five Americans, one Englishman and one German. This committee, though its designs 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 what action was taken may not be clearly disclosed, they were certainly in communication with the United States minister.

On Monday morning the queen and her cabinet made public a proclamation, with a notice which was served upon the representatives of all foreign governments, that any changes in the constitution would be sought only in the methods provided by that instrument. 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 illegal and unlawful proceedings and purposes. Even at this meeting the committee of safety continued to disguise their real purpose and contented themselves with procreting the passage of a resolution denouncing the queen and empowering the committee to devise ways and means "to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order and the protection of life, liberty and property in Hawaii."

This meeting adjourned between three and four 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 and concluded as follows: "We are unable to protect ourselves without aid and therefore pray for protection of the United States forces."

THE TROOPS LANDED.

Whatever may be thought of the other contents of this note, the absolute truth of this latter statement is incontestable. When the note was written and delivered the committee so far as it appears had neither a man or a gun at their command, 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 till the next morning, but he replied that the troops had been ordered, and whether the committee were ready or not the landing should take place, and so it happened that, on the 10th 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 Honolulu. The men, upwards of 100 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 supplies. This demonstration upon the soil of Honolulu 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 imperilled lives and property of citizens of the United States, but there is no pretence of any such consent on the part of the government of the queen, which was at that time undisputed, and both de facto and de jure government. In point of fact, the existing government, instead of requesting the presence of an armed force, protested against it. There is as little basis for the pretence that such forces were landed for the security of American life and property. If so, they would 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 buildings and palace.

Admiral Stieritz, the officer in command of our naval force on the Pacific station, has frankly stated that in his opinion the location of troops was inadvisable if they were landed for the protection of American citizens, whose residences and places of business, as well as the legation and consulate, were in a distant part of the city, but the location selected was a wise one if the forces were landed for the purpose of supporting the provisional government.

If any peril to life and property calling for any such martial array had existed, Great Britain and other foreign powers interested would not have been behind the United States in activity to protect their citizens. But they made no sign in that direction. When those 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 varied the ordinary routine or disturbed the ordinary tranquility except 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 called for the landing of the United States forces on the plea of danger to life and property the committee of safety themselves requested the minister to postpone action, exposed the untruthfulness of their 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 aid 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, or of anybody else, so far as shown, except the United States minister.

Therefore the military occupation of Honolulu by the United States on the day mentioned was wholly without justification, either as an occupation by consent and an occupation necessitated by dangers that threatened American life and property. It must be accounted for in some other way and on some other ground, and its real motive and purpose are neither obscure nor far to seek. The United States 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 thirteen members of the committee of safety. Between 1 and 2 o'clock, by squads and by different routes to avoid notice, and having first taken the precaution of ascertaining whether there was any one to oppose them, they proceeded to the government building to proclaim the new government.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

No sign of opposition was manifest and thereupon an American 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 50 to 100, some armed and some unarmed, gathered about the committee to give them aid and confidence. This statement is not important, since the one controlling factor in the whole affair was unquestionably the United States marine men, drawn up under arms and with artillery in readiness only seventy-six yards distant, dominated the situation. The provisional government thus proclaimed "to exist until terms of union with the United States had been negotiated and agreed in." 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 on behalf of the queen and her cabinet, announced that he had done so. When our minister recognized the provisional government the only basis upon which it rested was the fact that the committee of public safety had in the manner above stated declared it to exist. It was neither a government de facto nor de jure. That it was not in such possession of the 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 provisional 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 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 the most perilous perplexity. "On the one hand she had possession of the island, of the barracks and of the police station, and had at her command at least five hundred fully armed men and several pieces of artillery. Indeed, the whole military 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 itself with her enemies, had recognized them as the true government of Hawaii and had her and her adherents 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 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 that country, were delivered 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 landed 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 the use 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.

AN "UNPLEASANT" NAME.

This protest was delivered to the chief of the provisional government, who endorsed the acknowledgment of its receipt. The terms of the protest were read with 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 of her authority, and yet the provisional government, with its unanswered protest in its hand, has tried 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 position of having actually set a temporary government on foreign soil for the purpose of acquiring through that agency territory which we had wrongfully put in our possession. The control of both sides of a bargain secured in such a manner is called by a familiar and unpleasant name when found in private transactions. We are not without a precedent showing how scrupulously we avoided such accusations in former days. After the people of Texas had declared their independence of Mexico, they resolved that on the acknowledgment of their independence by the United States they would seek admission into the Union. Several months after the battle of San Jacinto, by which Texan independence was practically insured and established, President Jackson declined to recognize it, alleging as one of his reasons that in the circumstances it became us to beware of such a movement too early, a movement such as might subject us, however unjustly, to the imputation of seeking to establish the claim of our neighbors' territory with a view to its subsequent acquisition by ourselves. This is in marked contrast with the hasty recognition of a government openly and concededly set up for the purpose of ordering to us territorial annexation. I believe that a thorough examination of the facts will force the conviction that the provisional government owes its existence to an armed invasion by the United States.

BLOUNT'S ONE-SIDED EVIDENCE.

Fair minded people, with the evidence before them, will hardly claim that the Hawaiian government was overthrown by the people of the islands, or that the provisional government has ever existed with their consent. I do not understand that any member of this government claims that the people would uphold it by their suffrages if they were allowed to vote on the question. While naturally sympathizing with the every effort to establish a republican form of government, the settled policy of the United States is to concede to the 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. For illustration of this rule I need only refer to the revolution in Brazil in 1889, when our minister was inducted to recognize the republic as soon as a majority of the people of Brazil should have signified their assent to its establishment and maintenance; the revolution in Chile in 1891, when our minister was directed to recognize the new government if it was accepted by the people; and to the revolution in Venezuela in 1892, when our recognition was accorded on condition that the new government was "fully established, in possession of the power of the nation and accepted by the people."

HIS DEDUCTIONS.

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 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 government 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 the false pretense of expecting 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 needed protection and support, the committee would not have proclaimed provisional government from the steps of the government building; and, finally, but for the lawless occupation of Honolulu under a false pretext 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 island 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 to so inform the provisional government.

But in the present instance our duty does not in my opinion end with the refusing to consummate this questionable 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. I mistake the American people if they favor the odious doctrine that there is not such a thing as international morality; that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one, and that even by indirect means 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 without authority of Congress. A government of feeble but friendly and kindling people has been overthrown. A substantial wrong has thus been done, which a due regard for our national character, as well as for the rights of the injured people, requires that we should endeavor to repair.

DENIES ITS RIGHT TO EXIST.

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 assent of the people. It has not sought 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 arbitrary or despotic power. The law of nations is founded upon reason and justice and the rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized state are wholly applicable as between enlightened nations. The considerations that enter into 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 and deliberate infraction of it, not merely as a wrong, but as a disgrace. A man of true honor protects an un-

written word which binds his conscience more scrupulously, if possible, than he does the bond, a breach of which subjects his legal liabilities; and the United States, in aiming to maintain as one of the most enlightened of nations, would do its citizens gross injustice if it applied to international relations any other than a high standard of honor and morality. On that ground the United States cannot properly be put in the position of countenancing a wrong after its commission any more than in that of consenting to it in a defiance. 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 uniforms; 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 of the power of the United States.

The United States cannot fail to vindicate 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 the government who urged her peaceable submission, not merely to avoid bloodshed, but because she could place explicit reliance upon the justice of the United States, and that the whole subject would be finally considered at Washington.

DON'T OVERLOOK ONE THING.

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 indelible encouragement and assistance of our diplomatic representative. This fact may entitle them to claim that in every effort to rectify the wrong of the committee some regard should be had for their safety. This sentiment is strongly seconded by my anxiety to do nothing which would invite harsh retaliation 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, 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 government, by its own declared limitation was only to exist until terms of union with the United States of America had been negotiated and agreed upon, I hoped that after the assurance to them by members of that government that such union could not be consummated, I might compass a peaceful adjustment of the difficulty. 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 decision 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 QUEEN NOT WILLING.

The conditions suggested, as the instructions show, contemplate amnesty to those concerned in setting up the provisional government and all its bona fide acts and obligations. In short, they require that the past should be buried and the government restored should resume 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 wise discretion of the Congress, I desire to add the assurance to co-operate, in any legitimate plan which may be devised for the solution of the problem before us which is consistent with American honor, integrity and morality. GROVER CLEVELAND, Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C., December 18, 1893.

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