The Somerset Herald.

EDWARD SCULL, Editor and Proprietor.

WEDNESDAY.....December 8, 1897.

SANTA CLAUS will make his usual visit, notwithstanding the efforts made to prove that he is a myth.

THE Orphans' Court Judges of Philadelphia have decided that the direct inheritance tax law enacted by the last Legislature is unconstitutional.

THE Klondiker who returns with $4,000 in gold dust usually estimates the claim left behind at $500,000. It is well to keep these assets in a separate class.

AND now President McKinley has Congress on his hands; but, as the President and Congress are pretty much in accord, the burden will not likely be a heavy one.

NEW YORK'S first beet sugar factory has handled 15,000 tons of beets this year and made money for all concerned. This American industry will loom up within two or three years.

MARTIN THORN, who butchered William Guldensuppe in New York, and then threw him into the river, was sentenced last Friday to be electrocuted next month. After his conviction Thorn acknowledged his guilt.

FACTORY Inspector Campbell says that there are 150,000 more people employed in Pennsylvania now than there were at this time last year. And of course there are some who will not give the advance agent of prosperity credit for this.

U. S. SENATOR WELLINGTON, of Maryland, has sued the Baltimore American for criminal libel. The American charged that he was using patronage to influence the election of a Senator to succeed Arthur P. Gorman. He has also entered a civil suit for $100,000 damages.

THEY are having a lively time among the Republicans of Philadelphia over the election of tax-receiver. Wm. J. Roney, a brother-in-law of David Martin, seeks a re-election, but is violently opposed by the friends of Senator Quay. The Senator himself is taking no part.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY has appointed Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi, to the responsible position of Register of the Treasury. Mr. Bruce is one of the few colored men of the South who have been honored with office. He is a man of considerable intelligence and ability, and has the esteem and confidence of all who know him.

A COTTON mill has been built in Alabama at a cost of six hundred thousand dollars. The mill has 2,500 spindles, and its owners have a contract to ship all the output for several years to China. While competition at home is strong, the way to make money is to reach out to foreign lands. The South is moving on. Less politics and more business is her best policy.

BRYAN again thinks, or says he thinks, the recent Nebraska election shows that silverism is growing stronger all over the country. If Bryan and the Bryanites can be kept in this mood until 1900 the Republicans and the rest of the honest money men will be happy. There is danger that the Pops will hedge on this issue before the next National contest comes. If they are coaxed or coerced in 1900 into endorsing their platform of 1896, then indeed Providence will have delivered the Bryanites into the hands of their enemies.

OUR Populistic friends, who have recently held meetings at St. Louis, Birmingham and other places and reaffirmed their traditional hostility to banks and their adherence to unlimited issues of Government paper, says the Philadelphia Record, have small appreciation of the real needs of the sections of the country which they distinctly represent. The farmer who grows nothing to sell, or who buys more than he markets, would be no better off if the Government should issue millions in new bills every day of the year. The trouble with these well-meaning theorists is that they have never learned the relation which thrift bears to the comfortable financial condition of farmers and of other people as well. They have a vague but tenacious notion that if the amount of money in the country should be doubled, not by legitimate means but by the fiat of the Government, every individual would somehow come in for a round share, regardless of his deserts or of his ability to earn more than he spends. The farmer might go on managing his farm and affairs in a slipshod way, and still come out all right at the end of the year because the Government had printed notes to the amount of $50 per capita, his neglected crops and unwise expenditures not figuring in the account. And the farmers appear to believe that they and the class they speak for would have a "corner" on this particular kind of money.

It is very strange, and no less unfortunate, that there are so few trusted men of practical intelligence and sense among the farmers of the South and West able to explain to them the real trouble in those parts of the country. The money supply has practically nothing to do with it. The whole matter is one of domestic economy. The farmer who has a few hundred dollars at interest, or a similar sum to his credit at the village bank, though he may not have a dollar of cash, is not much concerned as to whether the currency per capita be $10 or $100. He is able to buy what he wants, and to pay for it in money or its equivalent; and he is likely soon to learn, if he do not already know, that his prosperity is not dependent upon the cash which he jingles in his pocket, but upon the difference between his income and his expenditures. The industrious, thrifty man who puts by fifty cents or a dollar a day is making currency, so far as his requirements go, without reference to bank bills or Government notes; and this is the kind of currency most needed in those sections the residents of which complain so bitterly of an insufficient supply of money. The shortage is not in money, but in savings in the form of convertible credits. Those who have these credits encounter no difficulty at the close of the season, or of the year, in squaring their accounts, whether they have any of the usual forms of money or not. If the people concerned could be brought to an understanding of these simple truths there would soon be a wonderful thinning of the ranks of Populism and Bryanism.

MOTHER McKINLEY DYING.

The President and Other Members of the Family at Her Bedside.

Mrs. Nancy Allison Mckinley, mother of the president, was stricken with paralysis Tuesday morning. She is 89 years of age, but has been very active and apparently strong.

The paralysis is so far confined to the vocal organs, she being unable to speak a word. She walked to her daughter's bedroom Tuesday morning, but was unable to make her wants known. This was the first intimation of illness to the family. Mrs. McKinley having retired Wednesday night apparently in better health than she has been since a slight attack of grip several weeks ago.

Abner McKinley was visiting at the home of his mother at the time and he immediately communicated the fact of Mother McKinley's illness to the President.

President McKinley left Washington Thursday night and at 8 o'clock the following morning he was at his mother's bedside. All night long the little group around the bedside of the venerable woman anxiously watched for news of the train which was bearing her distinguished son from his post at the nation's capital to her humble cottage. It was a race with death. Each succeeding hour saw the shadow of death draw near.

The sweet face of the mother showed no sign, but the doctors said that life's tide was fast ebbing. As she lay there she seemed as one in a sweet sleep. The same stroke that had paralyzed her organs of speech had numbed her senses so that she felt none of the agony of one suddenly made dumb. Before she relapsed into unconsciousness she was given to understand that her son, the president of the United States, was coming to kneel at her couch and receive her dying blessing. She smiled sweetly and was content. She was proud of her boy, her William. She knew he would come. He had never failed her. He would not fail her now. Her other children were with her, and the tired eyes closed, welcome unconsciousness came, and lulled her into sleep. She suffered no pain.

President McKinley knelt by his mother's bedside. She was yet unconscious. The little family group was complete. All that remained was to wait for death and hope ere it came the mother would be able once more to recognize her loving children.

Contrary to the expectations of Dr. Phillips Mother McKinley continued to breathe throughout Saturday, Sunday and Monday. The fleeting hours were of great suspense in the McKinley household. President McKinley returned to Washington Saturday afternoon, public business requiring his presence at the White House.

The President's presence in Washington was required by the assembling of Congress, but just as soon as he had performed his public duty he returned to the bedside of his dying mother. He was accompanied to Canton by Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. Abner McKinley and Miss Mabel McKinley. They reached Canton yesterday morning.

Latest reports from Canton are to the effect that Mrs. McKinley is reposing quietly. The end is expected at any moment.

The President's mother visited at the home of her son Abner, in Somerset, on several occasions, and was personally known to many of our citizens.

Murderer Morgan Free.

PARKERSBURG, W. Va., Dec. 3.—John Morgan, alias Raines, the triple murderer of the Greene family in Jackson county, who was sentenced to hang December 16, escaped from the Ripley jail this morning. The greatest excitement was aroused all over the county when Morgan's escape became known, and crowds of men started after the murderer from every hamlet in the county.

The escape was made between the hours of 12 and 3 a. m. by means of a dummy fixed in Morgan's cell cot. Morgan retired at 5 o'clock last evening, and asked the guard not to waken him for supper. He left his shoes alongside the stove in his cell. Morgan told the guard that he wanted to take a long sleep. Frank Riley was on turn as death watch when he retired. He left the murderer alone, asleep as he supposed, for a few minutes, during the evening. Morgan seized the opportunity and quickly arranged a dummy of some old clothes which he covered up in the bed. Then he climbed on top of the cell cage and waited for the night watch, Philip Riley, to come on. In the meantime Morgan's supper had been put in his cell by one of the jail attendants, who left the cell door unlocked. Philip Riley looked in Morgan's cell at 12 o'clock and mistook the dummy for the murderer. Later he went out of the jail corridor to eat a lunch and while thus engaged he heard one of the hall doors in the jail open and close. He did not pay any attention to the noise, thinking that Morgan was sound asleep. It is supposed now that Morgan walked out of the jail while Philip Riley was eating lunch. The escape was not discovered until 3 a. m.

Morgan had $25 in money, which he received for a confession of his crime and the story of his life, when he escaped, and was wearing the suit of clothes he expected to hang in. He was tracked to his home, where he got a double-barrel shotgun, which he loaded with buckshot and left for the hills, after stealing a horse and threatening to kill his wife if she informed on him. It is known that Morgan will fight desperately before being captured, but this knowledge only makes the pursuers more determined.

Morgan murdered Mrs. Marian Greene, her son James Greene, and Matilda Pfost, a daughter by a former marriage, at Grass Lick, in Jackson county, on November 5. For a number of years he had been given a home by Mrs. Greene. He wanted to marry one of the daughters and when his suit was rejected he left the Greene homestead, though apparently without any bad feeling, and often visited at the house. The night before the murder he slept there. In the morning he went into the fields with James Greene and killed him. He returned to the house, and while Mrs. Greene was upstairs he slaughtered Matilda Pfost with a hatchet. Alice Pfost was struck with the hatchet but escaped. Morgan then killed Mrs. Greene. He made little effort to escape, and would have been lynched but for a speedy trial promised by Judge Reese Blizzard. It was just 72 hours after the commission of the crime until Morgan was sentenced to hang. At his trial Morgan pleaded insanity.

MORGAN CAPTURED.

PARKERSBURG, W. Va., Dec. 5.—John Morgan was captured last evening near Walton by Constable Crum, of Jackson county. He made no resistance, but seemed greatly terrified. He begged the officers to protect him from the mob. Crum got a strong posse of armed men and took the prisoner to Spencer. The people there, learning by telephone that Morgan was captured and on his way to that town turned out en masse, openly threatening to lynch him.

Instead of taking the prisoner in over the main road the posse went around by paths and got Morgan into town before they were seen. Thousands of men began to shout "Lynch him!" but Crum and the sheriff surrounded Morgan and marched in a hollow square, guns and pistols to the front, up to the jail and succeeded in landing their prisoner safely. They then surrounded the prisoner and kept everybody away.

Congressman Miller, who arrived from Ripley this afternoon, thinks that no further demonstration will be made and that Morgan will be allowed to legally hang on December 16.

Fine Stock For Sale.

Full blood Berkshire brood sows due to farrow in February. None finer. Also, Cotswold lambs weighing 150 lbs. each; will cut 12 lbs. of wool. Prices low.

PETER HEFFLEY.

LET CUBA ALONE.

The President's Message as Read In Congress.

GIVE SPAIN MORE TIME.

Redeemed Greenbacks Should Not Be Paid Out Again Except For Gold.

ANNEXATION OF HAWAII FAVORED.

National Banks Should Be Required to Redeem Their Notes In Gold—The Tariff Deficit Referred to and the President Says That Economy In Appropriations Should Be Observed—He Thinks That Any Recognition of the Insurrectionary Government In Cuba Would Be Unwarranted at Present. Reciprocity Negotiations Progressing. International Arbitration Treaty Urged. Will Uphold and Extend the Civil Service System—The Pacific Railroads. Other Matters.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7.—The president's message to congress is as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

It gives me pleasure to extend greeting to the Fifty-fifth congress assembled in regular session at the seat of government, with many of whose senators and representatives I have been associated in the legislative service. Their meeting occurs under felicitous conditions, justifying sincere congratulation and calling for our grateful acknowledgement to a beneficent Providence which has so signally blessed and prospered us as a nation. Peace and good will with all the nations of the earth continue unbroken. A matter of genuine satisfaction is the growing feeling of fraternal regard and unification of all sections of our country, the incompleteness of which has too long delayed the realization of the highest blessings of the Union. The spirit of patriotism is universal and is ever increasing in fervor. The public questions which now most engross us are lifted far above either partisanship, prejudice or former sectional differences. They effect every part of our common country alike and unite its people in division on ancient lines. Questions of foreign policy, of revenue, the soundness of the currency, the inviolability of national obligations, the improvement of the public service, appeal to the individual conscience of every earnest citizen to whatever party he belongs or in whatever section of the country he may reside.

The extra session of this congress which closed during July last enacted important legislation, and while its effect has not yet been realized, what it has accomplished assures us of its timeliness and wisdom. To test its permanent value further time will be required and the people, satisfied with its operations and results thus far, are in no mind to withhold from it a fair trial.

Views on the Currency.

Tariff legislation having been settled by the extra session of congress the question next pressing for consideration is that of the currency.

The work of putting our finances upon a sound basis, difficult as it may seem, will appear easier when we recall the financial operations of the government since 1866. On the 20th day of June of that year we had outstanding demand liabilities in the sum of $678,508,947.41. On the 1st of January, 1879, these liabilities had been reduced to $443,889,495.88. Of our interest-bearing obligations, the figures are even more striking. On July 1, 1866, the principal of the interest-bearing debt of the government was $2,332,531,208. On the 1st day of July, 1893, this sum had been reduced to $559,037,100, or an aggregate reduction of $1,747,494,108. The interest-bearing debt of the United States on the 1st day of December, 1897, was $847,365,620. The government money now outstanding (December 1) consists of $346,681,016 of United States notes, $107,793,280 of treasury notes issued by authority of the law of 1890, $61,453,504 of silver certificates and $61,280,761 of standard silver dollars.

With the great resources of the government and with the honorable example of the past before us, we ought not to hesitate to enter upon a currency revision which will make our demand obligations less onerous to the government and relieve our financial laws from ambiguity and doubt.

The brief review of what was accomplished from the close of the war to 1893 makes unreasonable and groundless any distrust either of our financial ability or soundness; while the situation from 1893 to 1897 must admonish us of the immediate necessity of so legislating as to make the return of the conditions then prevailing impossible.

Many Plans Proposed.

There are many plans proposed as a remedy for the evil. Before we can find the true remedy we must appreciate the real evil. It is not that our currency of every kind is not good, for every dollar of it is good, good because the government's pledge is out to keep it so, and that pledge will not be broken. However, the guaranty of our purpose to keep the pledge will be best shown by advancing toward its fulfillment.

The evil of the present system is found in the great cost to the government of maintaining the parity of our different forms of money—that is, keeping all of them at par with gold. We cannot longer hoodwink ourselves that we do not impose upon the people, even under fairly prosperous conditions, while the past four years have demonstrated that it is not only an expensive charge upon the government, but a dangerous menace to the national credit.

It is manifest that we must devise some plan to protect the government against bond issues for repeated redemptions. We must either curtail the opportunity for speculation, made easy by the multiplied redemptions of our demand obligations, or increase the gold reserve for their redemption. We have $100,000,000 of currency which the government by solemn enactment has undertaken to keep at par with gold. Nobody is obliged to redeem in gold but the government. The banks are not required to redeem in gold. The government is obliged to keep equal with gold all its outstanding currency and coin obligations, while its receipts are not required to be paid in gold. They pay it every kind of money but gold, and the only means by which the government can with certainty get gold is by borrowing. It can get it in no other way when it most needs it. The government without any fixed gold revenue is pledged to maintain the redemption, which it has steadily and faithfully done, and which under the authority now given it will continue to do.

The law which requires the government after having redeemed its United States notes to pay them out again as current funds demands a constant replenishment of the gold reserve. This is especially so in times of business panic and when the revenues are insufficient to meet the expenses of the government. At such times the government has no other way to supply its deficit and maintain redemption but through the incurrence of its bonded debt, as during the administration of my predecessor, when $262,315,400 of four and a half per cent bonds were issued and sold and the proceeds used to pay the expenses of the government in excess of the revenues and sustain the gold reserve. While it is true that the greater part of the proceeds of these bonds were used to supply deficient receipts, a considerable portion was required to maintain the gold reserve.

With our revenues equal to our expenses, there would be no deficit requiring the issuance of bonds. But if the gold reserve falls below $100,000,000, how will it be replenished except by selling more bonds? Is there any other way practicable under existing law? The serious question then is, shall we continue the policy that has been pursued in the past; that is, when the gold reserve reaches the point of danger issue more bonds and supply the needed gold, or shall we provide other means to prevent these recurring drains upon the gold reserve? If no further legislation is had and the policy of selling bonds is to be continued, then congress should give the secretary of the treasury authority to sell bonds at long or short periods, bearing a less rate of interest than is now authorized by law.

Require Gold For Greenbacks.

I earnestly recommend as soon as the receipts of the government are quite sufficient to pay all the expenses of the government, that when any of the United States notes are presented for redemption in gold and are redeemed in gold, such notes shall be kept and set apart, and only paid out in exchange for gold. This is an obvious duty. If the holder of the United States note prefers the gold and gets it from the government, he should not receive back from the government a United States note without paying gold in exchange for it. The reason for this is made all the more apparent when the government issues an interest-bearing debt to provide gold for the redemption of United States notes—a non-interest-bearing debt. Surely it should not pay them out again except for demand and for gold. If they are put out in any other way they may return again to be followed by another bond issue to redeem them—an interest-bearing debt to redeem a non-interest-bearing debt.

In my view it is of the utmost importance that the government should be relieved of the burden of providing all the gold required for exchanges and export. This responsibility is alone borne by the government without any of the usual and necessary banking powers to help itself. The banks do not feel the strain of gold redemption. The whole burden rests upon the government, and the size of the gold reserve in the treasury has come to be with or without reason the signal of danger or of security. This ought to be stopped.

If we are to have an era of prosperity in the country, with sufficient receipts for the expenses of the government, we may feel no immediate embarrassment from our present currency; but the danger still exists and will be ever present menacing us so long as the existing system continues. And besides, it is in time of adequate revenues and business tranquility that the government should prepare for the worst. We cannot avoid without serious consequences the wise consideration and prompt solution of this question.

Plan of Gage Endorsed.

The secretary of the treasury has outlined a plan in great detail for the purpose of removing the threatened recurrance of a depleted gold reserve and save us from future embarrassment on that account. To this plan I invite your careful consideration.

I concur with the secretary of the treasury in his recommendation that the national banks be allowed to issue notes to the face value of the bonds which they have deposited for circulation, and that the tax on circulating notes secured by deposit of such bonds be reduced to one-half of one per cent per annum. I also join him in recommending that authority be given for the establishment of national banks with a minimum capital of $25,000. This will enable the smaller villages and agricultural regions of the country to be supplied with currency to meet their needs.

I recommend that the issue of national bank notes be restricted to the denomination of $20 and upward. If the suggestions I have herein made shall have the approval of congress then I would recommend that national banks be required to redeem their notes in gold.

Recommendations Regarding Cuba.

The most important problem with which this government is now called upon to deal pertaining to its foreign relations concerns its duty toward Spain and the Cuban insurrection. Problems and conditions more or less in common with those now existing have confronted this government at various times in the past. The story of Cuba for many years has been one of unrest; growing dissent; an effort toward a large enjoyment of liberty and self control; of organized resistance to the mother country; of depression after distress and warfare, and of ineffectual settlement to be followed by renewed revolt. For no enduring period since the enfranchisement of the continental possessions of Spain in the western continent has the condition of Cuba or the policy of Spain toward Cuba not caused concern to the United States.

The prospect from time to time that the weakness of Spain's hold upon the island and the political vicissitudes and embarrassments of the home government might lead to the transfer of Cuba to a continental power called forth, between 1823 and 1869 various emphatic declarations of the policy of the United States to permit no disturbance of Cuba's connection with Spain unless in the direction of independence or acquisition by its through purchase; nor has there been any change of this declared policy since upon the part of the government. The revolution which began in 1868 lasted for ten years, despite the strenuous efforts of the successive peninsular governments to suppress it. Then, as now, the government of the United States testified to its grave concern and offered its aid to put an end to the bloodshed in Cuba. The overtures made by General Grant were refused and the war dragged on, entailing great loss of life and increased injury to American interests, beside throwing enhanced burdens of neutrality upon this government. In 1878 peace was brought about by the truce of Zanjon, obtained by negotiations between the Spanish commander, Martinez de Campos, and the insurgent leaders.

Rules of Civilized War Ignored.

The present insurrection broke out in February, 1895. It is not my purpose at this time to recall its remarkable increase or to characterize the tenacious resistance against it by Spain. The revolt and the efforts to subdue it carried destruction to every quarter of the island, developing wide proportions and defying the efforts of Spain for its suppression. The civilized code of war has been disregarded, no less so by the Spaniards than by the Cubans.

The existing conditions cannot but fill this government and the American people with the gravest apprehensions. There is no desire on the part of our people to profit by the misfortunes of Spain. We have only the desire to see the Cubans prosperous and contented, enjoying that measure of self control which is the inalienable right of man, protected in their right to reap the benefit of the exhaustless treasures of their country.

The offer made by my predecessor in April, 1896, tendering the friendly offices of this government failed. Any mediation on our part was not accepted. In brief the answer read: "There is no effectual way to pacify Cuba unless it begins with the actual submission of the rebels to the mother country."

Then only could Spain act in the premised direction of her own motion and after her own plans. The cruel policy of concentration was initiated February 16, 1896. The productive districts controlled by the Spanish arms were depopulated. The agricultural inhabitants were herded in and about the garrison towns, the lands laid waste and their dwellings destroyed. This policy the late cabinet of Spain justified as a necessary measure of war and as a means of cutting off supplies from the insurgents. It has utterly failed as a war measure. It was not civilized warfare. It was extermination.

Protested Against Spanish Cruelty.

Against this abuse of the rights of war I have felt constrained on repeated occasions to enter the firm and earnest protest of this government. There was much of public condemnation of the treatment of American citizens by alleged illegal arrests and long imprisonment awaiting trial or pending protracted judicial proceedings. I felt it my first duty to make instant demand for the release or speedy trial of all American citizens under arrest. Before the change of the Spanish cabinet in October last 22 prisoners, citizens of the United States had been given their freedom.

For the relief of our own citizens suffering because of the conflict the aid of congress was sought in a special message and under the appropriation of April 4, 1897, effective aid has been given to American citizens in Cuba, many of them at their own request having been returned to the United States.

The instruction given to our new minister to Spain before his departure for his post cited him to impress upon that government the sincere wish of the United States to lend its aid toward the ending of the war in Cuba by reaching a peace in and lasting result, just and honorable alike to Spain and to the Cuban people. These instructions recited the character and duration of the contest, the wide spread losses it entails, the burdens and restraints it imposes upon us, with constant disturbance of national interests and the injury resulting from an indefinite continuance of this state of things. It was stated that at this juncture our government was constrained to seriously enquire if the time was not ripe when Spain of her own volition moved by her own interests and every sentiment of humanity, should put a stop to this destructive war and make proposals of settlement honorable to herself and just to her Cuban colony.

It was urged that as a neighboring nation, with large interests in Cuba, we felt we required to wait only a reasonable time for the mother country to establish its authority and insure peace and order within the borders of the island; that we could not contemplate an indefinite period for the accomplishment of this result. No solution was proposed to which the slightest idea of humiliation to Spain could attach, and, indeed, precise proposals were withheld to avoid embarrassment to that government. All that was asked or expected was that some safe way might be speedily provided and permanent peace restored.

Conciliatory Reply From Spain.

It so chanced that the consideration of this offer, addressed to the same Spanish administration which had declined the tenders of my predecessor, and which for more than two years had poured men and treasure into Cuba in the fruitless effort to suppress the revolt, fell to others. Between the departure of General Woodford, the new envoy, and his arrival in Spain the statesman who had shaped the policy of his country fell by the hand of an assassin, and although the cabinet of the late premier still held office and received from our envoy the proposals he bore, that cabinet gave place within a few days thereafter to a new administration under the leadership of Sagasta. The reply to our note was received on the 23d day of October. It is in the direction of a better understanding. It appreciates the friendly purposes of this government. It admits that our country is deeply effected by the war in Cuba, and that its desires for peace are just. It declares that the present Spanish government is bound by every consideration to a change of policy that should satisfy the United States and pacify Cuba within a reasonable time.

To this end Spain has decided to put into effect the political reforms heretofore advocated by the present premier, without halting for any consideration in the path which his judgment leads to peace. The military operations, it is said, will continue, but will be humane and conducted with all regard for private rights, being accompanied by political action leading to the autonomy of Cuba, while guarding Spanish sovereignty. This, it is claimed, will result in investing Cuba with a distinct personality; the island to be governed by an executive and by a local council or chamber, reserving to Spain the control of the foreign relations, the army and navy and the judicial administration. To accomplish this the present government proposes to modify existing legislation by decree, leaving the Spanish cortes, with the aid of Cuban senators and deputies, to solve the economic problem and properly distribute the existing debt.

Should Let Spain Alone.

In the absence of a declaration of the measures that this government proposes to take in carrying out its proffer of good offices it suggests that Spain be left free to conduct military operations and grant political reforms, while the United States for its part shall enforce its neutral obligations and cut off the assistance which it is asserted the insurgents receive from this country. The supposition of an indefinite prolongation of the war is denied. It is asserted that the western provinces are already well nigh reclaimed; that the planting of cane and tobacco therein has been resumed, and that by force of arms the new and ample reforms very early and complete pacification is hoped for.

The immediate amelioration of existing conditions under the new administration of Cuban affairs is predicted, and thereupon the disturbance and all occasion for any change of attitude on the part of the United States. Discussion of the question of the international duties and responsibilities of the United States as Spain understands them is presented with an apparent disposition to charge us with failure in this regard. This charge is without any basis in fact. It could not have been made if Spain had been cognizant of the constant efforts this government has made at the cost of millions and by the employment of the administrative machinery of the nation at command to perform its full duty according to the law of the nations. That it has successfully prevented the departure of a single military expedition or armed vessel from our shores in violation of our laws would seem to be a sufficient answer. But of this aspect of the Spanish note it is not necessary to speak further now. Firm in the conviction of a wholly performed obligation, due response to this charge has been made in diplomatic course.

Throughout all these horrors and dangers to our own peace this government has never in any way abrogated its sovereign prerogative of resorting to itself the determination of its policy and course according to its own high sense of right and in consonance with the dearest interests and convictions of our own people should the prolongation of the strife so demand.

What This Country Should Do.

Of the untried measures there remains only: Recognition of the insurgents as belligerents, recognition of the independence of Cuba; neutral intervention to end of the war by proposing a national compromise between the contestants and intervention in favor of one or the other party. I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That by our code of morality would be criminal aggression. Recognition of the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents has often been canvassed as a possible if not inevitable step both in regard to the previous 10 years' struggle and during the present war. I am not unmindful that the two houses of congress in the spring of 1896 expressed the opinion by concurrent resolution that a condition of public war existed requiring or justifying the recognition of a state of belligerency in Cuba, and during the extra session the senate voted a joint resolution of like import, which, however, was not brought to a vote in the house of representatives. In the presence of these significant expressions of the sentiment of the legislative branch it behooves the executive to soberly consider the conditions under which so important a measure must rest for justification. It is to be seriously considered whether the Cuban insurrection possesses beyond dispute the attributes of statehood which alone can demand the recognition of belligerency in its favor. The question is, in short, of the essential qualities of sovereignty by the insurgents and the conduct of the war by them according to the received code of war are no less important factors toward the determination of the problem of belligerency than are the influence and consequences of the struggle upon the internal policy of the recognizing state.

The war utterances of President Grant in his memorable message of December 7, 1875, are equally relevant to the present situation in Cuba and it may be worthy of quotation now to recall them. At that time a ruinous conflict had for seven years wasted the neighboring island. During all those years an utter disregard of the laws of civilized warfare and of the just demands of humanity, which called for the expressions of condemnation from the nations of Christendom, continued unabated. Desolation and ruin pervaded that productive region, enormously effecting the commerce of all commercial nations, but that of the United States more than any other by reason of proximity and larger trade and intercourse. At that juncture I spoke for our country these words, which now as then sum up the elements of the problem:

What Grant Said on Cuba.

"A recognition of the independence of Cuba being, in my opinion, impracticable and indefensible, the question which next presents itself is that of the recognition of belligerent rights to the parties to the contest. In a former message to congress I had occasion to consider this question and reached the conclusion that the conflict in Cuba, dreadful and devastating as were its features, did not rise to the fearful dignity of war. * * * It is possible that the acts of foreign powers, and even acts of Spain herself, of this very nature, might be pointed to in defense of such recognition. But now, as in its past history, the United States should carefully avoid the false light which might lead it into the mazes of doubtful law and of questionable propriety, and adhere rigidly and sternly to the rule, which has been its guide, of doing only that which is right and best and of good report. The question of according or of withholding rights of belligerency must be judged in every case, in view of the particular attending facts. Unless justified by necessity, it is always, and justly, regarded as an unfriendly act and a gratuitous demonstration of moral support to the rebellion. It is necessary, and it is required, when the interests and rights of another government or of its people are so far affected by a pending civil conflict as to require a definition of its relations to the parties thereto, that this conflict must be one which will be recognized in the sense of international law as war."

Belligerency, too, is a fact. The mere existence of contending armed bodies, and their occasional conflicts, do not constitute war in the sense referred to, applying to the existing condition of affairs in Cuba the tests recognized by publicists and writers on international law, and which have been observed by nations of dignity, honesty and power, when free from sensitive or selfish and unworthy motives. I fail to find in the history of the United States to lend its aid toward the ending of the war in Cuba by reaching a peace in and lasting result, just and honorable alike to Spain and to the Cuban people. These instructions recited the character and duration of the contest, the wide spread losses it entails, the burdens and restraints it imposes upon us, with constant disturbance of national interests and the injury resulting from an indefinite continuance of this state of things. It was stated that at this juncture our government was constrained to seriously enquire if the time was not ripe when Spain of her own volition moved by her own interests and every sentiment of humanity, should put a stop to this destructive war and make proposals of settlement honorable to herself and just to her Cuban colony.

It was urged that as a neighboring nation, with large interests in Cuba, we felt we required to wait only a reasonable time for the mother country to establish its authority and insure peace and order within the borders of the island; that we could not contemplate an indefinite period for the accomplishment of this result. No solution was proposed to which the slightest idea of humiliation to Spain could attach, and, indeed, precise proposals were withheld to avoid embarrassment to that government. All that was asked or expected was that some safe way might be speedily provided and permanent peace restored.

Conciliatory Reply From Spain.

It so chanced that the consideration of this offer, addressed to the same Spanish administration which had declined the tenders of my predecessor, and which for more than two years had poured men and treasure into Cuba in the fruitless effort to suppress the revolt, fell to others. Between the departure of General Woodford, the new envoy, and his arrival in Spain the statesman who had shaped the policy of his country fell by the hand of an assassin, and although the cabinet of the late premier still held office and received from our envoy the proposals he bore, that cabinet gave place within a few days thereafter to a new administration under the leadership of Sagasta. The reply to our note was received on the 23d day of October. It is in the direction of a better understanding. It appreciates the friendly purposes of this government. It admits that our country is deeply effected by the war in Cuba, and that its desires for peace are just. It declares that the present Spanish government is bound by every consideration to a change of policy that should satisfy the United States and pacify Cuba within a reasonable time.

To this end Spain has decided to put into effect the political reforms heretofore advocated by the present premier, without halting for any consideration in the path which his judgment leads to peace. The military operations, it is said, will continue, but will be humane and conducted with all regard for private rights, being accompanied by political action leading to the autonomy of Cuba, while guarding Spanish sovereignty. This, it is claimed, will result in investing Cuba with a distinct personality; the island to be governed by an executive and by a local council or chamber, reserving to Spain the control of the foreign relations, the army and navy and the judicial administration. To accomplish this the present government proposes to modify existing legislation by decree, leaving the Spanish cortes, with the aid of Cuban senators and deputies, to solve the economic problem and properly distribute the existing debt.

Should Let Spain Alone.

In the absence of a declaration of the measures that this government proposes to take in carrying out its proffer of good offices it suggests that Spain be left free to conduct military operations and grant political reforms, while the United States for its part shall enforce its neutral obligations and cut off the assistance which it is asserted the insurgents receive from this country. The supposition of an indefinite prolongation of the war is denied. It is asserted that the western provinces are already well nigh reclaimed; that the planting of cane and tobacco therein has been resumed, and that by force of arms the new and ample reforms very early and complete pacification is hoped for.

The immediate amelioration of existing conditions under the new administration of Cuban affairs is predicted, and thereupon the disturbance and all occasion for any change of attitude on the part of the United States. Discussion of the question of the international duties and responsibilities of the United States as Spain understands them is presented with an apparent disposition to charge us with failure in this regard. This charge is without any basis in fact. It could not have been made if Spain had been cognizant of the constant efforts this government has made at the cost of millions and by the employment of the administrative machinery of the nation at command to perform its full duty according to the law of the nations. That it has successfully prevented the departure of a single military expedition or armed vessel from our shores in violation of our laws would seem to be a sufficient answer. But of this aspect of the Spanish note it is not necessary to speak further now. Firm in the conviction of a wholly performed obligation, due response to this charge has been made in diplomatic course.

Throughout all these horrors and dangers to our own peace this government has never in any way abrogated its sovereign prerogative of resorting to itself the determination of its policy and course according to its own high sense of right and in consonance with the dearest interests and convictions of our own people should the prolongation of the strife so demand.

What This Country Should Do.

Of the untried measures there remains only: Recognition of the insurgents as belligerents, recognition of the independence of Cuba; neutral intervention to end of the war by proposing a national compromise between the contestants and intervention in favor of one or the other party. I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That by our code of morality would be criminal aggression. Recognition of the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents has often been canvassed as a possible if not inevitable step both in regard to the previous 10 years' struggle and during the present war. I am not unmindful that the two houses of congress in the spring of 1896 expressed the opinion by concurrent resolution that a condition of public war existed requiring or justifying the recognition of a state of belligerency in Cuba, and during the extra session the senate voted a joint resolution of like import, which, however, was not brought to a vote in the house of representatives. In the presence of these significant expressions of the sentiment of the legislative branch it behooves the executive to soberly consider the conditions under which so important a measure must rest for justification. It is to be seriously considered whether the Cuban insurrection possesses beyond dispute the attributes of statehood which alone can demand the recognition of belligerency in its favor. The question is, in short, of the essential qualities of sovereignty by the insurgents and the conduct of the war by them according to the received code of war are no less important factors toward the determination of the problem of belligerency than are the influence and consequences of the struggle upon the internal policy of the recognizing state.

The war utterances of President Grant in his memorable message of December 7, 1875, are equally relevant to the present situation in Cuba and it may be worthy of quotation now to recall them. At that time a ruinous conflict had for seven years wasted the neighboring island. During all those years an utter disregard of the laws of civilized warfare and of the just demands of humanity, which called for the expressions of condemnation from the nations of Christendom, continued unabated. Desolation and ruin pervaded that productive region, enormously effecting the commerce of all commercial nations, but that of the United States more than any other by reason of proximity and larger trade and intercourse. At that juncture I spoke for our country these words, which now as then sum up the elements of the problem:

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