THE CITIZEN.

WILLIAM C. NEGLEY - - Publisher

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1898.

REPUBLICAN TICKET.

FOR CONGRESS.
DR. J. B. SHOWALTER, of Millerstown boro

FOR ASSEMBLY.
JAMES N. MOORE, of Butler.
JOHN DINDINGER, of Zelienople.

FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY.
JACOB M. PAINTER, of Butler.

FOR COUNTY SURVEYOR.
FRANK E. McQUISTION, of Butler.

The Congressional Delegates elected are:—

1st District, John Womer; 2nd, C. M. Brown; 3rd, Geo. Maxwell; 4th, H. D. Hockenberry; 5th, John Clark; 6th, A. L. Timblin; 7th, Matt Bippus; 8th, R. M. Johnston; 9th T. H. Greer; 10th, W. S. Dixon; 11th, C. F. L. McQuistion; 12th, A. C. Zeigler; 13th, Sid. Weihl; 14th, Joseph Graham; 15th, Reuben Shanor.

War News.

Yesterday the House at Washington, after a hot debate and one scrap between Brumm, of Pa., and Bartlett, of Ga., passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, etc., That the president is hereby authorized and directed to intervene at once to stop the war in Cuba, to the end and with the purpose of securing peace and order there, and establishing by the free action of the people thereof a stable and independent government of their own in the island of Cuba, and the president is hereby authorized and empowered to use the land and naval forces of the nation to execute the purpose of this resolution."

The Senate split on the majority and minority reports of their Foreign Committee, and debated all day, Spain got an awful scoring. Final action will probably be taken to-day.

The Government has purchased the liners St. Paul and St. Louis. The Squadron at Hampton Roads were out practicing yesterday.

The Official Report of the "Maine" Disaster.

It is not within the province of the Scientific American to discuss the political aspects of the problem which confronts this country with regards to Cuba. It is not for us to determine whether the present condition of the unhappy island, blighted as it is by all the miseries of a two years' war, can be considered as affording a casus belli between ourselves and Spain.

The blowing up of the battle ship "Maine," however, presents a problem of an entirely different complexion—one that has touched the nation to the quick. How deeply we have felt the loss, and appreciate the terrible circumstances attending it, is shown by the significant, the portentious, calmness and self-restraint with which the situation has been endured. The attitude of the public has been one of anxious and patient expectation, in which hasty conclusions and precipitate actions have met with universal disapproval.

The report of the Naval Court was made public by the President without a word of comment on Monday, March 28, and with regret we have to say that the worst fears have been realized and the suspicion that the "Maine', was destroyed by a submarine mine is fully confirmed.

The summary of the official report has been published in the daily press and is already widely known.

The appearance of the wreck, as indicated by the drawings, proves not only that the ship was wrecked by an explosive placed beneath her, but that the mine must have been of vast size and power. No automobile torpedo could have blown the central portion of the hull out of existence and forced the keel at frame 18 right up through the body of the ship through a vertical distance of thirty-four feet. We have on record, thanks to Chilean war, concrete evidence of what effect a Whitehead torpedo will have against the hull of a ship like the "Maine." In that war the "Blanco Encalada" was struck below the water line, at about the same point on the port bow as the "Maine," by a torpedo carrying 175 pounds of guncotton. The result was a horizontal rent in the plating, twenty-five feet in length and not over five feet in width at the widest part. The ship was raised and repaired, the injury being quite local. If it took 175 pounds of guncotton to produce a local rent in the "Blanco Encalada," it must have taken a simply enormous amount of explosive to produce the awful wreck of the hull of the "Maine" which is shown in the official drawings referred to. The tearing open and throwing back of the decks was undoubtedly the result of the subsequent explosion of one or more of the magazines within the ship.

The scale on which the scheme of destruction was carried out was too elaborate for execution by private individuals, and it is unlikely, on account of the risk to general shipping, that the mine was left to be exploded by being struck by a moving vessel. The "Maine," lying at anchor, would swing about with change of tide over on arc some 700 feet in diameter. The exact location of the mine must have been understood by the conspirators on shore, and careful observation of the exact position of the "Maine" must have been obtained in order that the mine could have been electrically exploded at the exact moment at which the ill-fated battleship, floated over the fatal spot.

The authors of this horrible catastrophe are unknown. In all probability the solution of the question will ever remain a mystery. It seems, however, impossible that a mine containing many hundred pounds of guncotton or similar explosive could have been placed under the vessel after she was anchored there. If a mine had been placed there before this particular point of anchorage had been selected, it must have been with the knowledge of the authorities. The fact that this place of anchorage was an unusual one and that, according to the reported evibence of Capt. Stevens, of the "City of Washington," it was the least used buoy in the harbor, and no warships had been moored there, to his knowledge, for five or six years, lends food for a terrible suspicion.—Scientific American.

WASHINGTON.

Congressman Showalter has recommended Dr. J. C. Barr, of Mars, for pension examining surgeon for Butler county vice Dr. J. C. Campbell, resigned.

The National government has demanded that Turkey pay over $40.000 reparation to the mother of Frank Lenz, the Pittsburg wheelman, who was murdered in Armenia three years ago while on a trip around the world on his bicycle.

On Friday W. G. Bassler was appointed postmaster at Zelienople, vice Frank Zehner removed.

Pensions have lately been granted to Daniel McMackin, Coylesville, (supplemental) $4; Martha Eckman, Butler, $8.

The pension of Tatty Speer of Murrinsville wars increased for $6 to $8 per month.

Samuel Newell McFann, $12.

POLITICAL.

Lycoming Co. went for Wanamaker last Saturday, his friends securing 46 delegates to the County Convention to W. A. Stone's 30. In Williamsport 12 of the 14 precincts elected Wanamaker men.

Crawford Co. elected three W. A. Stone delegates to the State Convention, but two of the three nominees for Assembly are said to be independents.

Erie Co. defeated the C. W. Stone delegates to the State Convention, and the delegates elected are uninstructed for Governor but instructed for Davenport for Congressman-at-Large. In the fight for Congress in the Erie-Crawford district Higgins of Erie won over Bates of Meadville by a small majority.

INTERVENTION PRESIDENT'S SUGGESTION

WASHINGTON, April 12.—The president's message on the Cuban question says:

To the Congress of the United States:

Obedient to that precept of the constitution which commands the president to give from time to time the congress information of the state of the Union, and to recommend to its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient, it becomes my duty now to address your body with regard to the grave crisis that has arisen in the relations of the United States to Spain by reason of the warfare that for more than three years has raged in the neighboring island of Cuba. I do so because of the intimate connection of the Cuban question with the state of our own Union and the grave relation the course which it is now incumbent upon the nation to adopt must needs bear to the traditional policy of our government, if it is to accord with the precept laid down by the founders of the republic and religiously observed by each succeeding administration to the present day.

The present revolution is but the successor of other similar insurrections which have occurred in Cuba against the dominion of Spain, extending over a period of nearly half a century, each of which, during its progress, has subjected the United States to great expense and effort in enforcing its neutrality laws, caused enormous losses to American trade and commerce, caused irritation, annoyance and disturbance among our citizens, and by the exercise of cruel, barbarous and uncivilized practices of warfare, shocked the sensibilities and offended the humane sympathies of our people.

Effects of the Rebellion.

Since the present revolution began, in February, 1895, this country has seen the fertile domain at our threshold ravaged by fire and sword in the course of a struggle unequaled in the history of the island, and rarely paralleled as to the number of combatants and the bitterness of the contest by any revolution of modern times where a dependent people, striving to be free, have been oppressed by the power of the sovereign state. Our people have beheld a once prosperous community reduced to comparative want, its lucrative commerce virtually paralyzed, its exceptional productiveness diminished, its fields laid waste, its mills in ruins, and its people perishing by tens of thousands from hunger and destitution. We have found ourselves constrained, in the observance of that strict neutrality which our laws enjoin and which the laws of nations commands, to police our own waters and watch our own seaports in prevention of any unlawful action in aid of the Cubans. Our trade has suffered; the capital invested by our citizens in Cuba has been largely lost, and the temper and forbearance of our people have been so sorely tried as to beget a perilous unrest among our own citizens, which has inevitably found its expression from time to time in the national legislature, so that issues wholly external to our own body politic engross attention and stand in the way of that close devotion to domestic advancement that becomes a self-contained commonwealth, whose prime maxim has been the avoidance of foreign entanglements. All this has not needs awaken and has indeed aroused the utmost concern on the part of this government, as well during my predecessor's term as in my own.

Attempts Made to Mediate.

In April, 1896, the evils from which our country suffered through the Cuban war became so onerous that my predecessor made an effort to bring about a peace through the mediation of this government in any way that might tend to an honorable adjustment of the contest between Spain and her revolted country, on the basis of some effective scheme of self-government for Cuba under the flag and sovereignty of Spain. It failed, through the refusal of the Spanish government then in power to consider any form of mediation, or indeed any plan of settlement which did not begin with the actual submission of the insurgents to the mother country, and then rely on such terms as Spain herself might see fit to grant. The war continued unabated. The resistance of the insurgents was in no wise diminished.

The efforts of Spain were increased both by the dispatch of fresh levies to Cuba and by the addition to the horrors of the strife of a new and inhuman phase happily unprecedented in the modern history of civilized Christian peoples. The policy of devastation and concentration inaugurated by the captain general's bando of Oct. 21, 1896, in the province of Pinar del Rio was thence extended to embrace all of the Island to which the Spanish arm was able to reach by occupation or by military operations. The peasantry, including all dwelling in the open agricultural interior, were driven into the garrison towns or isolated places held by the troops. The raising and movement of provisions of all kinds were interdicted. The fields were laid waste, dwellings unroofed and fired, mills destroyed and, in short, everything that could desolate the land and render it unfit for human habitation or support was commanded by one or the other of the contending parties, and executed by all the powers at their disposal.

Awful Suffering of the People.

By the time the present administration took office a year ago reconcentration—so-called—had been made effective over the better part of the four central and western provinces, Santa Clara, Matanzas, Havana and Pinar del Rio. The agricultural population, to the estimated number of 300,000 or more, was herded within the towns and their immediate vicinage, deprived of the means of support, rendered destitute of shelter, left poorly clad, and exposed to the most unsanitary conditions. As the scarcity of food increased with the devastation of the depopulated areas of production, destitution and want became misery and starvation. Month by month the death rate increased in an alarming ratio. In March, 1897, according to the conservative estimates from official sources, the mortality among the reconcentrados, from starvation and the diseases thereto incident, exceeded 50 per centum of their total number. No practical relief was accorded to the destitute. The overburdened towns, already suffering from the general dearth, could give no aid. Socalled "zones of cultivation," established within the immediate area of effective military control about the cities and fortified camps proved illusory as a remedy for the suffering. The unfortunates, being for the most part women and children with aged and helpless men, enfeebled by disease and hunger, could not have tilled the soil without tools, seed or shelter, for their own support or for the supply of the cities. Reconcentration, adopted avowedly as a war measure in order to cut off the resources of the insurgents, worked its predestined result. As I said in my message of last December, it was not civilized warfare; it was extermination. The only peace it could beget was that of the wilderness and the grave. While the military situation in the island had undergone a noticeable change, the extraordinary activity that characterized the second year of the war, when the insurgents invaded even the hitherto unharmed fields of Pinar del Rio and carried havoc and destruction up to the walls of the city of Havana itself, had relapsed into a dogged struggle in the central and eastern provinces. The Spanish arms regained a measure of control in Pinar del Rio and parts of Havana, but under the existing conditions of the rural country, without immediate improvement of their productive situation. Even thus partially restricted the revolutionists held their own and their conquest and submission, put forward by Spain as the essential and sole basis of peace, seemed as far distant as at the outset.

Spanish Policy Changed.

In this state of affairs my administration found itself confronted with the grave problem of its duty. My message of last December reviewed the situation, and narrated the steps taken with a view to relieving its acuteness and opening the way to some form of honorable settlement. The assassination of the prime minister, Canovas, led to a change of government in Spain. The former administration pledged to subjugation without concession gave place to that of a mere liberal party, committed long in advance to a policy of reform involving the wider principle of home rule for Cuba and Porto Rico. The overtures of this government, made through its new envoy, General Woodford, and looking to an immediate and effective amelioration of the conditions of the island, although not accepted to the extent of admitted mediation in any shape, were met by assurances that some relief, in an advanced phase, would be forthwith offered to Cuba, without waiting for the war to end, and that more humane methods should thenceforth prevail in the conduct of hostilities. Coincidentally with these declarations, the new government of Spain continued and completed the policy already begun by its predecessor, of testifying friendly regard for this nation by releasing American citizens held under one charge or another connected with the insurrection, so that, by the end of November, not a single person entitled in any way to our national protection remained in a Spanish prison.

While these negotiations were in progress, the increasing destitution of the unfortunate reconcentrados and the alarming mortality among them claimed earnest attention. The success which had attended the limited measure of relief extended to the suffering American citizens among them by the judicious expenditure through the consular agencies of the money appropriated expressly for their succor by the joint resolution approved May 24, 1897, prompted the humane extension of a similar scheme of aid to the great body of sufferers. A suggestion to this end was anticipated in by the Spanish authorities. On Dec. 24 last I caused to be issued an appeal to the American people, inviting contributions in money or in any kind for the succor of the starving sufferers in Cuba, following this on Jan. 8 by a similar public announcement of the formation of a central Cuban relief committee, with headquarters in New York city, composed of three members representing the American National Red Cross and the religious and business elements of the community. The efforts of the committee have been untiring and accomplished much.

Arrangements for free transportation to the island of Cuba have greatly aided the charitable work. The president of the American Red Cross and representatives of other contributory organizations have generally visited Cuba, and co-operated with the consul general and the local authorities to make effective distribution of the relief collected through the efforts of the central committee. Nearly $200,000 in money and supplies has already reached the sufferers, and more is forthcoming. The supplies are admitted duty free, and transportation to the interior has been arranged so that the relief, at first necessarily confined to Havana and the larger cities, is now extended through most if not all of the towns where suffering exists. Thousands of lives have already been saved. The necessity for a change in the condition of the reconcentrados is recognized by the Spanish government. Within a few days past the orders of General Weyler have been revoked, the reconcentrados are, it is said, to be permitted to return to their homes, and aided to resume the self-supporting pursuits of peace; public works have been ordered to give them employment, and a sum of $600,000 has been appropriated for their relief.

The war in Cuba is of such a nature that short of subjugation or extermination a final military victory for either side seems impracticable. The alternative lies in the physical exhaustion of the one or the other party, or perhaps both—a condition which in effect ended the ten-years' war by the truce of Zanjon. The prospect of such a protraction and conclusion of the present strife is a contingency hardly to be contemplated with equanimity by the civilized world, and least of all by the United States, affected and injured as we are, deeply and intimately by its very existence.

What This Nation Should Do.

Realizing that it appears to be my duty, in a spirit of true friendliness no less to Spain than to the Cubans, who have so much to lose by the prolongation of the struggle to seek to bring about an immediate termination of the war. To this end, I submitted, on the 27th ultimo as a result of much representation and correspondence, through the United States minister at Madrid, propositions to the Spanish government looking to an armistice until Oct. 1 for the negotiation of peace with the good offices of the president.

In addition, I asked the immediate revocation of the order of reconcentration, so as to permit the people to return to their farms and the needy to be relieved with provisions and supplies from the United States cooperating with the Spanish authorities so as to afford that relief.

The reply of the Spanish cabinet was received on the night of the 31st ultimo. It offers, as the means to bring about peace in Cuba, to confide the preparation thereof to the insular parliament, but such as the concurrence of that body would be necessary to reach a final result, it being, however, understood that the powers reserved by the constitution to the central government are not impaired or diminished. As the Cuban parliament does not meet until the 4th of May next, the Spanish government would not object, for its part, to accept at once a suspension of hostilities if asked for by the insurgents from the general-in-chief, to whom it would pertain, in such case, to determine the duration and condition of the armistice.

The proposition submitted by General Woodford and the reply of the Spanish government were both in the form of brief memoranda, the texts of which are before me, and are substantially in the language above given. The formation of the Cuban parliament, in the matter of "preparing" peace and the manner of its doing so are not expressed in the Spanish memorandum; but, from General Woodford's explanatory reports of preliminary discussions preceding the final conference, it is understood that the Spanish government stands ready to give the insular congress full powers to settle the terms of peace with the insurgents—leaving whether by direct negotiation or indirectly by means of legislation, does not appear.

Plans Proposed For Intervention.

With this last overture in the direction of immediate peace, and its disappointing reception by Spain, the executive was brought to the end of his effort.

In my annual message of December last I said:

"Of the untried measures there remain only: Recognition of the insurgents as belligerents; recognition of the independence of Cuba; neutral intervention to end the war by imposing a rational compromise between the contestants, and intervention in favor of one or the other party. I speak not of forcible annexation; that cannot be thought of. That, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression."

Thereupon I reviewed these alternatives in the light of President Grant's measured words, uttered in 1875, when after seven years of sanguinary, destructive and cruel hostilities in Cuba, he reached the conclusion that the recognition of the independence of Cuba was impracticable and indefensible; and that the recognition of belligerence was not warranted by the facts according to tests of public war. I commented especially upon the latter aspect of the question, pointing out the inconveniences and positive dangers of a recognition of belligerence, which, while adding to the already onerous burdens of neutrality within our own jurisdiction, could not in any way extend our influence or effective offices in the territory of hostilities. Nothing has since occurred to change my views in this regard—and I recognize as fully now as then that the issuance of a proclamation of neutrality by which process the so-called recognition of belligerence is published, could of itself and unattended by other action, accomplish nothing toward the one end for which we labor, the instant pacification of Cuba and the cessation of the misery that afflicts the island.

Opposed to Recognizing Independence.

Turning to the question of recognizing at this time the independence of the present insurgent government in Cuba, we find safe precedents in our history from an early day. They are well summed up in President Jackson's message to congress, Dec. 21, 1836, on the subject of the recognition of the independence of Texas. He said:

"In all the contests that have arisen out of the revolutions of France, out of the disputes relating to the crowns of Portugal and Spain, out of the separation of the American possessions of both from the European governments, and out of the numerous and constantly occurring struggles for dominion in Spanish America, so wisely consistent with our just principles has been the action of our government that we have under the most critical circumstances avoided all censure and encountered no other evil than that produced by a transient estrangement of good will against those whom we have been by force of evidence compelled to decide."

Thereupon Andrew Jackson proceeded to consider the risk that there might be imputed to the United States motives of selfish interest in view of the former claim on our part to the territory of Texas, and of the avowed purpose of the Texans in seeking recognition of independence as an incident to the incorporation of Texas in the Union; concluding thus:

"Prudence, therefore, seems to dictate that we should still stand aloof and maintain our present attitude, if not until Mexico itself, or one of the great foreign powers shall recognize the independence of the new government, at least until the lapse of time or the course of events shall have proved beyond cavil or dispute the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty and to uphold the government constituted by them. Neither of the contending parties can justly complain of this course. By pursuing it we are carrying out the long-established policy of our government, a policy which has secured to us respect and influence abroad, and inspired confidence at home."

These are the words of the resolute and patriotic Jackson. They are evidence that the United States, in addition to the test imposed by public law as the condition of the recognition of independence by a neutral state (to wit: that the revolted state shall "constitute in fact a body politic, having a government in substance as well as in name, possessed of the elements of stability," and forming de facto, "if left to itself, a state among the nations, reasonably capable of discharging the duties of a state"); has imposed for its governance in dealing with cases like these the further condition that recognition of independent statehood is not due to a revolted dependency until the danger of its being again subjugated by the parent state has openly passed away.

Historic Precedents Given.

This extreme test was in fact applied in the case of Texas. The congress to whom President Jackson referred the question as one "probably leading to war," and therefore a proper subject for "a previous understanding with that body by whom war can alone be declared, and by whom all the provisions for sustaining its perils must be furnished," left the matter of the recognition of Texas to the discretion of the executive, providing merely for the sending of a diplomatic agent when the president should be satisfied that the republic of Texas had become "an independent state." It was so recognized by President Van Buren, who commissioned a charge d'affaires March 7, 1837, after Mexico had abandoned an attempt to reconquer the Texas territory, and when there was at the time no bona fide contest going on between the insurgent province and its former sovereign.

I said in my message of December last:

"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 same requirement must be no less seriously considered when the graver issue of recognizing independence is in question, for no less positive test can be applied to the greater act than to the lesser; while on the other hand the influences and consequence of the struggle upon the internal policy of the recognizing state, which form important factors when the recognition of belligerency is concerned, are necessary if not rightly eliminable factors when the real question is whether the community claiming recognition is or is not independent beyond peradventure.

Nor, from the standpoint of expedience do I think it would be wise or prudent for this government to recognize at the present time the independence of the so-called Cuban republic. Such recognition is not necessary in order to enable the United States to intervene and pacify the island. To commit this country now to the recognition of any particular government in Cuba might subject us to embarrassing conditions of international obligation toward the organization so recognized. In case of intervention our conduct would be subject to the approval or disapproval of such government; we would be required to submit to its direction and to assume to it the mere relation of a friendly ally. When it shall appear hereafter that there is in the island a government capable of performing the duties and discharging the functions of a separate nation, and having as a matter of fact the proper forms and attributes of nationality of such government can be promptly and readily recognized and the relations and interests with such nation adjusted.

There remains the alternative form of intervention to end the war, either as an impartial neutral by imposing a rational compromise between the contestants, or as the active ally of the one party or the other.

As to the first, it is not to be forgotten that during the last few months the relation of the United States has virtually been one of friendly intervention in many ways, each not of itself conclusive, but all tending to the exertion of a potential influence toward an ultimate pacific result just and honorable to all interests concerned. The spirit of all our acts hitherto has been an earnest, unselfish desire for peace and prosperity in Cuba, untarnished by differences between us and Spain and unstained by the blood of American citizens.

The forcible intervention of the United States as a neutral, to stop the war, according to the large dictates of humanity, and followed many historical precedents where neighboring states have interfered to check the hopeless sacrifice of life by intercecine conflicts beyond their borders, is justifiable in international grounds. It involves, however, hostile constraint upon both the parties to the contest, as well to enforce a truce as to guide the eventual settlement.

Grounds For Intervention.

The grounds for such intervention may be briefly summarized as follows:

First—In the case of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation and horrible miseries now existing there and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate. It is no answer to say this is all in another country, belonging to another nation, and is therefore none of our business. It is especially our duty, for it is right as we are able to prevent.

Second—We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.

Third—The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade and business of our people and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.

Fourth—And which is of the utmost importance. The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace, and entails upon this government an enormous expense. With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us and with which our people have such trade and business relations—when the lives and liberty of our citizens are in constant danger and their property destroyed and themselves ruined—where our trading vessels are liable to seizure and are seized and our citizens are murdered on a foreign nation, the expeditions of filibustering that we are powerless to prevent altogether, and the irritating questions and entanglements thus arising—all these and others that I need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are constant menace to our peace and compel us to keep on a semi-war footing with a nation with which we are at peace.

The Maine Explosion.

These elements of danger and dishonor already pointed out have been strikingly illustrated by the tragic event which has deeply and justly moved the American people. I have already transmitted to congress the report of the naval court of inquiry on the destruction of the battleship Maine, in the harbor of Havana, during the night of the 15th of February. The destruction of that noble vessel has filled the national heart with inexpressible horror. Two hundred and fifty-eight brave sailors and marines and two officers of our navy, reposing in the fancied security of a friendly harbor, have been hurled to death, grief and want brought to their homes and sorrow to the nation.

The naval court of inquiry, which, it is needless to say, commands the unqualified confidence of the government, was unanimous in its conclusion that the destruction of the Maine was caused by an exterior explosion, that of a submarine mine. It did not assume to place the responsibility. That remains to be fixed.

In any event, the destruction of the Maine by whatever exterior cause, is a patent and impressive proof of a state of things in Cuba that is intolerable. That condition is thus shown to be such that the Spanish government cannot assure safety and security to a vessel of the American navy in the harbor of Havana on a mission of peace and rightfully there.

Further referring in this connection to recent diplomatic correspondence, a dispatch from our minister to Spain of the 26th ultimo, contained the statement that the Spanish minister for foreign affairs assured him positively that Spain will do all that the highest honor and justice require in the matter of the Maine. The reply above referred to of the 31st ultimo also contained an expression of the readiness of Spain to submit to an arbitration all the differences which arise in this matter, which is subsequently explained by the note of the Spanish minister at Washington of the 10th inst., as follows:

"As to the question of fact which springs from the diversity of views between the report of the American and the Spanish boards. Spain proposes that the fact be ascertained by an impartial investigation by experts, whose decision Spain accepts in advance."

To this I have made no reply.

Opinion of President Grant.

President Grant, in 1875, after discussing the phases of the contest as it then appeared, and its hopeless and apparent indefinite prolongation, said: "In such event, I am of opinion that other nations will be compelled to assume the responsibility which devolves upon them, and to seriously consider the only remaining measures possible, mediation and intervention. Owing, perhaps, to the large expanse of water separating the island from the peninsula the contending parties appear to have within themselves no depository of common confidence, to suggest wisdom when passion and excitement have their sway, and to assume the part of peacemaker. In this view, in the earlier days of the contest, the good offices of the United States as a mediator were tendered in good faith, without any selfish purpose, in the interests of humanity and in sincere friendship for both parties, but were at the time declined by Spain with the declaration nevertheless that at a future time they would be indispensable. No intimation has been received that in the opinion of Spain that time has been reached. And yet the strife continues with all its dread horrors, and all its injuries to the interests of the United States and of other nations.

"Each party seems quite capable of working great injury and damage to the other, as well as to all the relations and interests dependent on the existence of peace in the island; but they seem incapable of reaching any adjustment, and both have thus far failed of achieving any success whereby one party shall possess and control the island to the exclusion of the other. Under the circumstances, the agency of others, either by mediation or by intervention, seems to be the only alternative which must, sooner or later, be invoked for the termination of the strife."

In the last annual message of my immediate predecessor, during the pending struggle, it was said: "When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is confined in Cuba for all purposes of its rightful exercise, and when a hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject matter of the conflict, a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge."

Enforced Pacification Needed.

In my annual message to congress December last, speaking of this question, I said: "The near future will demonstate whether the indispensable condition of a righteous peace, just alike to the Cubans and to Spain as well as equitable to all our interests so intimately involved in the welfare of Cuba, is likely to be attained. If not, the exigency of further and other action by the United States will remain to be taken. When that time comes that action will be determined in the line of indisputable right and equality. It will be faced without misgiving or hesitancy in the light of the obligation this government owes to itself, to the people who have confided to it the protection of their interests and honor, and to humanity.

"Sure of the right, keeping free from all offense ourselves, actuated only upon upright and patriotic considerations, moved neither by passion nor selfishness, the government will continue its watchful care over the rights and property of American citizens, and will abate none of its efforts to bring about by peaceful agencies a peace which shall be honorable and enduring. If it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization and humanity to intervene with force, it shall be without fault on our part and only because the necessity for action shall be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world."

The long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged the war cannot be attained. The fire of insurrection may flame or may smoulder with varying seasons, but it has not been, and it is plain that it cannot be, extinguished by present methods. The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba.

In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop.

Problem Left With Congress.

In view of these facts and of these considerations, I ask the congress to authorize and empower the president to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, ensuring peace and tranquility and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.

And in the interest of humanity and to aid in preserving the lives of the starving people of the island I recommend that the distribution of food and supplies be continued and that an appropriation be made out of the public treasury to supplement the charity of our citizens.

The issue is now with the congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the constitution and the law, I await your action.

Latest Move of Spain.

Yesterday, and since the preparation of the foregoing message, official information was received by me that the latest decree of the queen regent of Spain directs General Blanco, in order to prepare and facilitate peace, to proclaim a suspension of hostilities, the duration and details of which have not yet been communicated to me. This fact, with every other pertinent consideration, will, I am sure, have your just and careful attention in the solemn deliberations upon which you are about to enter. If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian, peace-loving people will be realized. If it fails, it will only be another justification for our contemplated action.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

WANAMAKER'S LABOR RECORD

He Tells the Story of a Conspiracy to Blackmail His Firm—All the Facts Laid Bare Before the People of Pennsylvania—They Should Be the Judges.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Harrisburg, April 12.—Everywhere that ex-Postmaster General Wanamaker goes he is greeted with crowds and attentive audiences. His progress during the past week has been an ovation. Everywhere that he has spoken he has dealt a telling and crushing blows at corruption and bossism. And the point of it all is that he presents facts to emphasize everything he says.

The enemies of Mr. Wanamaker—the Andrews-Quay crowd—have assailed him personally and politically, and especially upon what they term his "labor record." Mr. Wanamaker has permitted this to go unnoticed until last Wednesday night, when, at Athens, Pa., he replied to his traducers in the most energetic and convincing way. He denounced the amazing falsehoods all the stories that have been told about his so-called "labor record," and revealed some facts concerning himself and his firm that are of the greatest interest.

Mr. Wanamaker prefaced his speech that evening by reading newspaper clippings attacking him. He then said: "Clippings of newspapers like these I have just read have been sent out from Philadelphia to the country newspapers by the Andrews-Quay management, endeavoring to poison the workingmen of the state against me by all effort to make it appear that I had imported foreign workmen, who take the place of American laborers. To prove this charge a single case in nearly 40 years is cited where my business house, composed of John Wanamaker, Robert C. Ogden, T. B. Wanamaker and Rodman Wanamaker, doing business under the name of John Wanamaker, was fined for employing a man contrary to law.

"Let me say that I was never charged personally of even so much as trying to evade any labor or importation law. The case on which the firm of John Wanamaker was fined was during my absence in Europe. No papers were ever served upon me. I was not a witness in the case; in fact, I had no knowledge of the latter until long after it was over. I would dismiss this matter here if it was not so apparent that the Andrews-Quay candidate for governor, who dare not face you upon the real issues of this campaign, which are of broken promises, unequal taxation, machine corruption and legislative debauchery and dishonor, proposes to raise this irrelevant and false and misleading question to divert your attention from vital issues, and because I wish to embrace this opportunity to emphasize the position that I have consistently maintained on the question of immigration for 15 years.

THE ALIEN LABOR CASE.

"The case in question hinged on two points. First, did the head of a department make a contract with a foreign workman in violation of law? Second, had he authority from the firm to employ such workman? It is an inflexible rule of the firm of John Wanamaker that no one shall be employed in any capacity whatsoever except by the head of the employment department, and so strict is this rule that I myself have no authority to employ any one, and cannot do so except through that medium.

"The man who instituted this suit against the firm brought a letter of introduction and recommendation to one of our buyers, when in London. The man asked many questions about America, about the chances of securing employment and the possibilities of advancement. The buyer, an Englishman by birth, took an interest in the man, and persuaded him that no country afforded such opportunities as did America. Our buyer told the man that he could not guarantee him employment, but would use his best efforts to assist him if he would come to Philadelphia. Through the influence of the London house, which introduced the man to our buyer, he loaned him the money to pay the man's passage, and upon his arrival in Philadelphia made good his promise to assist him.

"Without communicating the peculiar circumstances to our firm our buyer on his return from his visit to Europe instructed the man to apply for employment in the regular way. The applicant was given the same examination that all others are given, and answered every question satisfactorily. His name was placed upon the eligible list. Soon after an opening for such a man was reported and he was given employment.

TROUBLE STIRRED UP.

"The man was recommended as a skilled laborer of a class that is unknown in America. But after a trial, while he proved a competent workman, he showed himself to be a man of bad instincts, and he was removed for insulting a lady customer. He refused to work in the new department to which he was assigned and left our employment, not, however, until after he had attempted the worst kind of blackmail—appearing in person in our general office and demanding $200 or he would bring suit against our firm for the violation of the contract alien labor law, claiming for the first time that he had a contract with our silk buyer, though it was a year after he had entered our employ. As I learned afterward, for many weeks, our firm was threatened with prosecution by certain irresponsible lawyers, unless we paid the man several hundred dollars. Of course our firm refused.

"Suit was brought, to which our attorneys attached little significance, and much to their surprise, and wholly unknown to me, a verdict was given against our firm, and not until months after did it dawn upon any of our people that the prosecution could have been inspired by politics, and that the verdict might not be accident, but the result of methods.

FROM ANOTHER STANDPOINT.

"This is viewing the case from the most unfavorable standpoint, to our firm. Let us take the other view; that our buyer did employ this foreigner, and that he did pay his passage to America. This fellow was recommended as a skilled laborer of a class unknown to the American trade, was said to have served an apprenticeship of many years—unlike the American salesman, he had picked pins and wound ribbon for a year. He had labored a term of years in a factory, and knew how every silk product was made.

"He had learned the ladies' tailoring business. He was able to suggest harmonious and becoming colors, and to tell accurately the number of yards of a given width required for any style, for a person of any size. He was a skilled and artistic window dresser; in fact, it was believed that he combined the learning of the manufacturer, the knowledge and taste of the dressmaker, the ability of the salesman and the art of the window trimmer. To attain this proficiency required a dozen years of plodding work, such as the American salesman will not do.

"But our silk buyer, believing he saw an opportunity to increase the efficiency of his department, did encourage this man to make Philadelphia his place of residence and shaped things so that he became a salesman in his department, believing that the smart, quick Yankee salesman would learn from the Englishman in a few months all that it had taken him years to learn, thereby giving our salesman the benefit of the Englishman's experience and long term of apprenticeship, without the years of drudgery, making our American salesman more efficient, their services more valuable and their wage earning capacity greater.

"Under the alien labor law our buyer could have made a contract with this man and agreed to pay his passage to America, not as a pauper nor a common or unskilled laborer, but an artist in a new line. He did not come in any competition with any American workman, but was really an instructor in a new field of work, secured for the education and betterment of every man employed in our silk department.

FIRM'S PROUD RECORD.

"This is the only case where we have been fined for violating the labor law in 40 years. Upon the payroll of our firm are nearly 8,000 people, whose wages range annually from $20,000 each to the boys at $250. We have employed in the past 30 years more than 100,000 persons, and have never had a strike nor a threatened strike. We are never obliged to seek workmen, but only to choose from the 5,000 people who apply to our employment department for work every 30 days. It would be absurd to go abroad to hire salesmen when dozens apply daily who are acquainted with Philadelphia, with the manners and customs of the people, and who are, therefore, the most successful salesmen and saleswomen.

"Though we sell goods made in almost every country on the globe we have never found it necessary to employ any but English speaking people. Our house has for years maintained a pension roll for aged and worthy employes; a system of weekly benefits, wholly controlled by the employes themselves, to be paid in case of sickness or death, has paid more than $100,000. Employes are allowed a discount, reducing the price of goods to cost. Length of service is rewarded by increase of salary, other things being equal. No young children are employed in any service in the house. Salesmen and others at times are allowed dividends in addition to their salaries.

"A man or woman's nativity or creed are not made conditions for employment by our establishment, but only intelligence, integrity and capability. A free school had been kept up for years among the younger employes to give them a commercial education.

AN AMUSING FALSEHOOD.

"That employes are searched before leaving the store is an amusing and desperate falsehood, and that they are compelled to patronize the house or its restaurant is another and ridiculous falsehood. I believe we pay the highest average wages paid by any large mercantile house in America, and for 36 years, since our business began, we have not defaulted in an instant in the wages of our employes.

"And I want to repeat what I have said many times before. The employment system and wage schedule of our store are now and have always been open for investigation; we have always accorded individuals who are interested in labor questions, and especially committees representing workingmen's organizations, the fullest privileges and facilities to examine into our methods.

"I would not dignify this charge with denial but for fear some well meaning persons may be misled. It is so ridiculous that it would be as reasonable to say that Senator Quay was guilty of murder, because a careless motorman on his street railway killed a passenger, or that the president of the Standard Oil company, or a stockholder in the Pennsylvania Railroad company was responsible for the misdeeds of Senator Andrews, because he happened to be in the employ of those corporations. This is not a campaign of personalities. I have no personal quarrel with Senator Quay or slated candidates of the machine. It is a battle against system, and if tonight I find it necessary to use personal names, it is because names best designate the systems they are responsible for and control.

WHO HIS CRITICS ARE.

"It is indeed strange that all these criticisms should be inspired by men who never employed a dozen men at one time, except to do political work; and that the head of a merciless political machine, who for 20 years has caused laws to be passed that have constantly encroached upon the rights and decreased the wages of the workingman, should be able to cajole and deceive intelligent labor men, is still more strange.

"Workingmen, let us see what Senator Quay has done for you within the past 20 years, when he had it within his power to do much. He has filled the statute books of Pennsylvania with laws giving to the great corporations your valuable franchises. He has so directed legislation that the privileges of corporations are well nigh absolute, while their interests have been so well protected that an unjust proportion of taxation fal